THE
Ā-ĪN-I AKBARĪ
VOL.

By
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Translated into English by
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PREFACE

(First Edition)

The Āʾīn-i Akbarī is the third volume of the Akbarnāma, by Shaykh Abū 'l-Fazl, and is by far the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India. The first volume of this gigantic work contains the history of Tīmūr's family as far as it is of interest for the Indian reader, and the reigns of Bābar, the Sūr kings, and Humāyūn whilst the second volume is devoted to the detailed history of nearly forty-six years of the reign of the Great Emperor. The concluding volume, the Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, contains that information regarding Akbar's reign, which, though not strictly historical, is yet essential to a correct understanding of the times, and embodies, therefore, those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administration Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers. It contains the *āʾīn* (i.e. mode of governing) of Akbar, and is, in fact, the Administration Report and Statistical Return of his government as it was about A.D. 1590. The contents, therefore, of the *Āʾīn* are naturally varied and detailed. The first of its five books treats of Akbar's household and court, and of the emperor himself, the soul of every department, who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship, and who enters into the details of government in order to create a harmonious whole. Vouchsafed as king with a peculiar light from on high, his person is prominently put forward as the guide of the people in all matters temporal and spiritual; in whose character and temper the governed find that rest and peace which no constitution can give, and in whom, as the author of a new and advanced creed, the dust of intoleration is for ever allayed.

The second book treats of the servants of the throne, the military and civil services, and the attendants at

court whose literary genius or musical skill receives a lustre from the encouragement of the emperor, and who in their turn reflect a brilliant light on the government

The third book is entirely devoted to regulations for the judicial and executive departments, the establishment of a new and more practical era, the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, and the rent-roll of the great Finance minister whose name has become proverbial in India

The fourth book treats of the social condition and literary activity, especially in philosophy and law, of the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, and in whose political advancement the emperor saw the guarantee of the stability of his realm There are also a few chapters on the foreign invaders of India, on distinguished travellers, and on Muhammadan saints and the sects to which they respectively belong

The fifth book contains the moral sentences and epigrammatical sayings, observations, and rules of wisdom of the emperor, which Abū 'l-Fazl has gathered as the disciple gathers the sayings of the master

In the A*īn, therefore, we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects Whilst in most Muhammadan histories we hear of the endless turmoil of war and dynastical changes, and are only reminded of the existence of a people when authors make a passing allusion to famines and similar calamities, we have in the A*īn the governed classes brought to the foreground men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in, and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful, and therefore vivid, colours

It is for this reason that the A*īn stands so unique among Muhammadan histories of India, and we need not wonder that long before curious eyes turned to other native sources of history and systematically examined their

contents, the A'īn was laid under contribution Le Pere Tieffentaller, in 1776, published in his *Description Geographique de l'Indostan* long extracts from the rent roll given in the Third Book, Chief Sarishtadar Grant used it largely for his Report on Indian Finances, and, as early as 1783, Francis Gladwin, a thorough Oriental scholar, dedicated to Warren Hastings his "*Ayeen Akberi*", of which in 1800 he issued a printed edition in London In his translation, Gladwin has given the greater part of the First Book, more than one-half of the Second and Third Books, and about one fourth of the Fourth Book, and although in modern times inaccuracies have been discovered in the portions translated by him—chiefly due, no doubt, to the fact that he translated from MSS in every way a difficult undertaking—his translation has always occupied a deservedly high place, and it may confidently be asserted that no similar work has for the last seventy years been so extensively quoted as his The magnitude of the task of translating the A'īn from uncollated MSS will especially become apparent, when we remember that, even in the opinion of native writers, its style is "not intelligible to the generality of readers without great difficulty"

But it is not merely the varied information of the A'īn that renders the book so valuable, but also the trustworthiness of the author himself Abu 'l-Fazl's high official position gave him access to any document he wished to consult, and his long career and training in various departments of the State, and his marvellous powers of expression, fitted him eminently for the composition of a work like the *Akbarnāmah* and the *A'īn* His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book, which he wished to leave to future ages as a memorial of the Great Emperor and as a guide for inquiring minds, and his wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence

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of personal grievances and of expressions of ill will towards encompassing enemies, show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom Abu 'l Fazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the *Akbarnāmah* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded, and if we compare his works with other historical productions of the East we shall find that, while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with much more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet No native writer has ever accused him of flattery, and if we bear in mind that all Eastern works on Ethics recommend unconditional assent to the opinion of the king, whether correct or absurd, as the duty of man, and that the whole poetry of the East is a rank mass of flattery at the side of which modern encomiums look like withered leaves—we may pardon Abū 'l-Fazl when he praises because he finds a true hero

The issue of the several fasciculi of this translation has extended over a longer time than I at first expected The simultaneous publication of my edition of the Persian Text, from which the translation is made, the geographical difficulties of the Third Book, the unsatisfactory state of the MSS, the notes added to the translation from various Muhammadan historians and works on the history of literature, have rendered the progress of the work unavoidably slow

I am deeply indebted to the Council of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for placing at my disposal a full critical apparatus of the *A'īn*, and entrusting me with the edition of the text, for which the Indian Government had most liberally sanctioned the sum of five thousand Rupees My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and late President of the Asiatic Society, for valuable advice and ever ready assistance in

the execution of the work; and to Col. H. Yule, C.B., and to H. Roberts, Esq., of the Doveton College, for useful hints and corrections.

I have thought it advisable to issue the first volume with a few additional notes, and two indexes, one of persons and things and the other of geographical names, without waiting for the completion of the whole work. I have thus had an opportunity of correcting some of the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names and supplying other deficiencies. That defects will still be found, notwithstanding my endeavours to remove them, none of my readers and critics can be more sensible than I myself am.

H. BLOCHMANN.

CALCUTTA MADRASAH
23rd September, 1873

PREFACE

SECOND EDITION OF BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION

OF THE

A'IN I AKBARI

Some explanation is needed of the present edition. Blochmann's original translation has for some time been out of print The Asiatic Society of Bengal has asked me to undertake the preparation of a reprint, and I lightly accepted the task, not realizing the amount of labour involved Blochmann's translation and notes form a work of infinite detail and thorough scholarship, and though it has seldom been necessary to correct, it has often been necessary to investigate This present edition is, however, in the main a mere reprint This of itself is no small testimony to Blochmann's thoroughness The transliteration, however, has been brought into line with a more modern system, and a few additional notes [in square brackets] have been added, those with a suffixed B are Blochmann's own MS notes from a printed copy in my possession, I have not incorporated all of them, as many I was unable to decipher Notes to which a P is suffixed are my own

D C P

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FELSTED ESSEX
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NOTE

Lieut -Col Phillott, who most generously had undertaken to prepare a revised reprint of Blochmann's translation of the first volume of the Āʾīn i Akbarī, had progressed to the end of the text when illness precluded him from finishing his labours What remained to be done was the revision of the index, the correction of the additional notes as already revised by him on the copy, and the entering of the modifications necessary in the proofs of pages xvii to xxxii and xlix to lix of the preliminary matter, as also of pages 1 to 10 of the work itself

For a long time lingering illness prevented the taking of immediate steps to terminate the volume, but in September, 1930 the regretted death of the learned Editor necessitated consideration of the problem of bringing the reprint to a close The fact that the volume was being printed in England and that no details as to the method of the revision were at the disposal of the office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal caused considerable delay, but ultimately arrangements were made to complete the work in the office of the Society

Mr D K Das was charged with the revision of the index, involving the changing of all page numbers, and the drawing up of a list of errata found in the body of the reprint during the course of his work. Mr Das has performed his work with great care and has rendered valuable service in doing so The new errata are to be found on page 690 of this volume The plan adopted for the reprint has been explained by the Editor on page xi

The circumstances explained above are responsible for the date of the Editor's Preface, as well as for the fact that the date of issue on the title page is given as 1927, whilst the actual publication was not possible till 1939

The Council of the Society wishes to record its great indebtedness to the late Lieut Col Phillott for his self sacrificing labour on the present volume, and to pay its grateful homage to the memory of its late Member and Fellow, a devoted friend, a valued helper, and a distinguished scholar

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
1 PARK STREET CALCUTTA
12th July 1939

B S GUHA,
General Secretary

LIST OF PLATES

IN THE

FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

A'IN I AKBARI

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General Secretary

Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
1 Park Street Calcutta
12th July 1939

LIST OF PLATES

IN THE

FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

Ā'ĪN-I-AKBARĪ

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5 Weighing —6 8 Making of plates

7 Work of the *zarrab*, p 22 —11 Engraving —12 The *Sikkachī*, p 22

PLATE IV THE IMPERIAL CAMP (p 50)

a b c, d, f, g roads and bāzārs. 'The principal bazār is laid out into the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, now on the right, now on the left of the Dīwān i khāss —*Bernier*

1 The Imperial Harem (*shabistan-i iqbāl*) At the right hand side is the *Do-āshiyāna Manzil* vide p 56

2 Open space with a canopy (*shāmyāna*)

3 Private Audience Hall (*Dīwan-i khāss*) p 48

4 The great camp light (*ākas-diya*) p 52

The *aquacy-die* resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces It is fixed towards the king's quarters near the tent called *Nagar kane* and during the night a lighted lantern is suspended from the top This light is very useful for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name 'Aquacy-die may be translated 'Light of Heaven the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star —*Bernier*

5 The *Naqqāra khāna* pp 49 50

AB or distance from the Harem to the camp Light = 1 530 yards,
AC = 360 yards p 49

6 The house where the saddles were kept (*zīn khāna*)

7 The Imperial stables (*istabal*)

8 Tents of the superintendents and overseers of the stables

9 Tents of the clerk of the elephant stables

10 The Imperial Office (*daftar*)

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20 [illegible]

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29 The Imperial kitchen (*ma baKh*)
30 The Imperial bakery (*nānbā khāna*)
31 Store room for spices (*hawej khāna*)
32 The Imperial guard
33 The Arsenal (*qur khāna*)
34 Women s apartments
35 to 41 Guard houses

Round about the whole the nobles and Mansabdars with their contingents pitched their tents

"The king s private tents are surrounded by small *kanāts* (*qanāts*, standing screens), of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds and others with figured satin decorated with deep silken fringes' —*Bernier* Bernier s description of the Imperial camp (second letter, dated Lāhor, 25th February, 1665) agrees with minute detail with the above

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In front of Akbar twelve candles are placed and the singer of sweet melodies sings to the praise of God, as mentioned on p 51, l. 6 ff

The faces of the emperor and the singer are left blank, in accordance with the Muhammadan dislike to paint likenesses of beings on, below or above the earth The emperor sits in the position called *duzānu*

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4 The *Tumantoq* (from the Turkish *toq* or *togh*, a flag, and *tuman* or *tumān*, a division of ten thousand)
5. The *Chatr*, or (red) royal umbrella.
6 A standard or *Ꞩalam*.

7 The *Chatrtoq* As Abū l Faẓl says that this standard [illegible] *smaller* than the preceding it [illegible] possible that the word should be pronounced *chuturtoq*, from the Turkish *chutur*, or *chutūr*, short The flag [illegible] adorned with bunches of hair (*quṭās*) taken from the tails and the sides of the Tibetan Yak

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Below these three tents, [illegible] the *Sara parda* and *Galāl-bār*, pp 47, 57 At the foot of the plate is the *Nam-gira* (*pr* dew catcher), with carpet and pillow (*masnad*), p 48

Plate XI.—On the top, the *bargāh*, p 55 Below it, on the left, is the *Do āshiyāna Manzil*, or two storied house, *vide* [illegible] IV, No 1 At the window of the upper story, the emperor showed himself, *vide* Index, darsan, and jharōka To the right of this two storied tent, is the *Chūbin Rawati* (as the word ought to be spelt, from *chobin*, wooden, and *rawati*, a square tent) p 56 Below it, the common conical tent, tied to pegs stuck in the ground, hence it is called *zamīndōz*, with one tent pole (*yak surugha*, from the Turkish *surugh*, or *surūgh*, a tent pole)

Below is a *Zamindoz* with two poles (*dusurugha*) At the bottom of the plate, to the left is the *Mandal*, p 56, and to the right, the *Ajāʾibi*, p 56

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2 The straight sword, *khāda* (2)
3, 3a The *gupti ʿaṣā* (3)
4 The broad dagger *jamdhar* (4)
5 The bent dagger *khanjar* (5)
6 The *jam khak*, or curved dagger (7)
7 The bent knife *bāk* (8)
8 The *jhanbwa* or hiltless dagger (9)
9 The *katara*, a long and narrow dagger (10)
10 The *narsink moth* (*narsing moth* ?) a short and narrow dagger (11)
11 The bow, *kaman* (12)
12 13 The small bow and arrow, *takhsh kamān* and *tir* (13)
14a. Arrow
14b The *paikānkash*, or arrow drawer (19)
15 The quiver, *tarkash* (16)
16 The lance *neza* (20)
17 [illegible]

22 The axe *tabar*
23 The club, *gurz* (25) On p 117, No 29 the word *piyāzi* has been translated by ‘ club ’, and this seems to be the correct meaning, but the plates in some MSS call ‘ piyazī ’ a long knife, with straight back ending in a point
24 The pointed axe, *zighnol* [1] i e crow bill (30)
[illegible] The *chakar* (wheel) and *basola* (31)
26 The double axe *tabar zighnōl* (32)

[[1] *Zagh* a name largely applied to a chaugh, crow, jackdaw and magpie —P]

27 The *tarangāla* (33)
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33 The bow for clay bullets *kamtha* or *Kamān i guroha* (38)
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36 A lance called *girih kushā* i.e. a knot unraveller (43)
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58 59 The *artak i kajem* the quilt over which the preceding is put (73)
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61 The *Kantha sobha* (70)
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PLATE XVII GAMES p 314

The upper figure shows the board for *Chaupar* p 315 and the lower figure the board for the Chandal Mandal game. Both boards were made of all sizes some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard as in Fathpūr Sīkrī and slave girls were used instead of pieces The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground round the circumference one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii

[[1] *Tufak i dahan*, blowp pe —P]

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAẔL-I ʿALLĀMĪ

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAẔL, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Āgra on the 6th Muharram, 958,[1] during the reign of Islam Shāh

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Mūsā, Abū 'l Faẓl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Rel (ريل) In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Mūsā's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindūstān There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it, and after passing a short time in Hijāz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nāgor, north west of Ajmir, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mir Sayyid Yahyā of Bukhārā

The title of Shaykh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaykh Mubarak, Abū 'l Faẓl's father, was born Mubārak was not Shaykh Khizr's eldest child, several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubārak, i e the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islām holds out to the believers that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life

Shaykh Mubārak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh ʿAṭan (عطن), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodi to Nāgor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Salar, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nāgor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistān His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nagor in great

[1] 14th January, 1551

27. The *tarangâla* (33)
28 The knife, *kârd* (34)

Plate XIII Weapons (continued), p 118

29 The *gupti kârd*, or knife concealed in a stick (35)
30 The whip, *qamchî kârd* (36)
31 The clasp knife, *châqû* (37)
32. A bow, unstrung
[illegible] The bow for clay bullets, *kamtha*, or *Kamân i garoha* (38)
34 The tube, or pea-shooter, *tufak i dahân*[1] (40)
35 The *pushtkhâr* (41).
36 A lance called *girih kushâ*, i e a knot unraveller (43)
37 The *khâr i mâhî*, i e fish spine (44)
38 The sling, *gobhan* (45)
39 The *gajbâg*, or *ânkus*, for guiding elephants (46)
40 The shield, *sipar* (47)
41 Another kind of shield, *dhâl* (48)
42 The plain cane shield, *pahrî*, or *pharî* (50)
43 The helmet, *dubalgha* (52)
44. The *ghûghuwa*, a mail coat for head and body, in one piece (55)
45 The helmet, with protection for the neck, *zirih kulâh* (54)
46. The mailed coat, *zirih* (57)
47 The mailed coat, with breast plate, *bagtar* (53)
48 An armour for chest and body, *jôshan* (59)
49 The breast and back plates, *châr-â'ina* (60)

Plate XIV Weapons and Armours (continued), p 118

50 The coat with plates and helmet, *kothî* (61)
51. An armour of the kind called *sâdiqî* (62)
52. A long coat worn over the armour, *angirkha* (63)
53. An iron mask, *chihrahzirih i âhanî* (65)
54 A doublet worn over the armour, *chihilqad* (67)
55. The long glove, *dastwâna* (68)
56 The small one is the *moza yi âhanî*, or iron stocking (71) and the large one the *râk* (69)
57 The *kajem*, or *kejam*, a mailed covering for the back of the horse (72)
58, 59 The *artak i kajem*, the quilt over which the preceding is put (73)
60 The *qashqa*, or head protection for the horse (74)
61 The *Kantha sobhâ* (70)
62 The rocket, *bân* (77)

Plate XV Akbar's Machine for Cleaning Guns, p 118, *vide* p 122, Â'in 38, or the 1st Book

Plate XVI Harness for Horses, p 144, Â'in 52, p 143

Plate XVII Games, p 314

The upper figure shows the board for *Chaupar*, p 315 and the lower figure is the board for the Chandal Mandal game Both boards were made of all sizes some were made of inlaid stones on the ground in an open court yard, as in Fathpûr Sîkrî and slave girls were used instead of pieces The players at Chandal Mandal sat on the ground round the circumference, one player at the end of each of the sixteen radii.

[[1] *Tufak i dahan*, blowpipe.—P]

BIOGRAPHY

OF

SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAẒL-I ʿALLĀMĪ

Shaykh Abū 'l-Faẓl, Akbar's minister and friend, was born at Āgra on the 6th Muharram, 958,[1] during the reign of Islam Shāh

The family to which he belonged traced its descent from Shaykh Musā, Abū 'l Faẓl's fifth ancestor, who lived in the ninth century of the Hijra in Siwistān (Sindh), at a place called Rel (ريل) In "this pleasant village", Shaykh Mūsā's children and grandchildren remained till the beginning of the tenth century, when Shaykh Khizr, the then head of the family, following the yearnings of a heart imbued with mystic lore, emigrated to Hindūstān There he travelled about visiting those who, attracted by God, are known to the world for not knowing it; and after passing a short time in Hijāz with the Arabian tribe, to which the family had originally belonged, he returned to India, and settled at Nagor, north west of Ajmīr, where he lived in the company of the pious, enjoying the friendship of Mīr Sayyid Yahyā of Bukhārā

The title of Shaykh, which all the members of the family bore, was to keep up among them the remembrance of the home of the ancestors

Not long afterwards, in 911, Shaykh Mubarak, Abū 'l Faẓl's father, was born Mubārak was not Shaykh Khizr's eldest child, several children had been born before and had died, and Khizr rejoicing at the birth of another son, called him Mubārak, i e the blessed, in allusion, no doubt, to the hope which Islam holds out to the believers that children gone before bless those born after them, and pray to God for the continuance of their earthly life

Shaykh Mubārak, at the early age of four, gave abundant proofs of intellectual strength, and fashioned his character and leanings in the company of one Shaykh ʿAtan (عطن), who was of Turkish extraction and had come during the reign of Sikandar Lodi to Nāgor, where he lived in the service of Shaykh Salar, and died, it is said, at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years Shaykh Khizr had now resolved to settle at Nagor permanently, and with the view of bringing a few relations to his adopted home, he returned once more to Siwistan His sudden death during the journey left the family at Nāgor in great

[1] 14th January 1551

distress, and a famine which broke out at the same time stretched numbers of the inhabitants on the barren sands of the surrounding desert, and of all the members of the family at Nāgor only Mubārak and his mother survived

Mubārak grew up progressing in knowledge and laying the foundation of those encyclopedial attainments for which he afterwards became so famous He soon felt the wish and the necessity to complete his education and visit the great teachers of other parts, but love to his mother kept him in his native town, where he continued his studies, guided by the teachings of the great saint Khwāja Ahrār,[1] to which his attention had been directed However, when his mother died, and when about the same time the Māldeo disturbances broke out, Mubārak carried out his wish, and went to Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, either attracted by the fame of the town itself, or by that of the shrine of his countryman, Ahmad of Khattū[2] In Ahmadābād he found a second father in the learned Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl, a khatib, or preacher, from Kazarun, in Persia, and made the acquaintance of several men of reputation, as Shaykh ʿUmar of Tattah and Shaykh Yūsuf After a stay of several years, he returned to Hindūstān, and settled, on the 6th Muharram, 950, on the left bank of the Jamuna, opposite Āgra, near the Chārbagh Villa,[3] which Bābar had built, and in the neighbourhood of the saintly Mir Rafiʿu 'd Din Safawī of Injū (Shirāz) among whose disciples Mubārak took a distinguished place It was here that Mubarak's two eldest sons, *Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz*[4] *and, four years later, Shaykh Abu 'l Fazl*, were born Mubārak had now reached the age of fifty, and resolved to remain at Āgra, the capital of the empire, nor did the years of extraordinary drought which preceded the first year of Akbar's reign, and the dreadful plague, which in 963 broke out in Āgra and caused a great dispersion among the population incline him to settle elsewhere

The universality of learning which distinguished Mubārak attracted a large number of disciples, and displayed itself in the education he gave his sons, and the filial piety with which Abū 'l Fazl in numerous passages of his works speaks of his father, and the testimony of hostile writers as Badā,oni, leave no doubt that it was Mubārak's comprehensive-

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[1] Died at Samarqand 29th Rabiʿ I 895 or 20th February, 1490

[2] *Vide* p 570 note Ahmad of Khattu is buried at Sarkhich near Ahmadabad He died in 849 (A D 1445)

[3] Later called Hasht Bihisht, or the Nurafshan Gardens It is now called the Rām Bagh

[4] Born A H 954, or A D 1547 *Vide* p 548

of the age" In the opinion of this party, he was born at Surraman raā (near Baghdād) on the 23rd Ramaẓān, 258, and in 265 he came to his Sardāba (prop "a cool place", "a summer villa"), and disappeared whilst in his residence In the book entitled *Shawāhid*, it is said that when he was born, he had on his right arm the words written, "Say, the truth has come and error has vanished, surely error is vanishing" (Qūr'ān, xvii, 83) It is also related that when he was born into the world, he came on his knees, pointed with his fingers to heaven, sneezed, and said, "Praise be to God, the Lord of the world" Some one also has left an account of a visit to Imām Hasan ʿAskarī (the eleventh Imām) whom he asked, "O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalifa and Imām after thee?" ʿAskarī thereupon went into his room, and after some time came back with a child on his shoulders, that had a face like the full moon and might have been three years old, and said to the man, "If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shown you this child, his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic" The sect who believe Mahdi to be alive at present say that he rules over cities in the far west, and he is even said to have children. God alone knows the truth!

The alleged prophecies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdī movement assumed in India[1] a definite form through the teaching of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mīr Sayyid Khān of Jaunpūr This man was a descendant of the Prophet and bore his name, the fall of Jaunpūr was to him a sign that the latter days had come, extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career, and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, "Anta Mahdī," "thou art Mahdi" Some people indeed say that Mīr Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdi, but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age He gained many adherents, chiefly

allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God" Religious meetings, the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdī, were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters, and inspected the bāzārs and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or assisting them, if of their opinion Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Biānah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader, in fact, he soon outdid Miyan ʿAbdu'llāh in earnestness and successful conversions, and the later at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah ʿAla,ī marched with his band over Basāwar to Khawaspūr, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Biānah

Shaykh ʿAlā,ī's fame at last reached the ear of Islam Shāh, who summoned him to Āgra, and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which ʿAlā,ī behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which ʿAlā,ī delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisaism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to ʿAlā,ī's men To the amusement of the Afghan nobles and generals at court ʿAla,ī on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdi, and Islam Shāh was day after day informed that another of his nobles had gone to ʿAla,ī's meetings and had joined the new sect

It was at this time that Shaykh Mubarak also became a " disciple ", and professed Mahdawī ideas It is not clear whether he joined the sect from religious or from political motives, inasmuch as one of the objects of the brethren was to break up the party of the learned at Court, at whose head Makhdūmu'l Mulk stood, but whatever may have been his reason, the result was, that Makhdūm became his inveterate enemy, deprived him of grants of land, made him flee for his life, and persecuted him for more than twenty years, till Mubārak's sons turned the tables on him and procured his banishment [1]

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[1] " Makhdumu'l Mulk" was the title of ʿAbdu'llāh of Sultānpūr, regarding whom the reader may consult the index for references The following biographical notice from the

The learned at Court, however, were not to be baffled by ʿAlā,ī's success, and Makhdūm's influence was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaykh ʿAlā,ī and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Dakhin Whilst at Handiah on the Narbadā, the frontier of Islām Shāh's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahār Khān Aʿẓam Humāyūn and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaykh ʿAlā,ī

About the same time (955) Islam Shāh left Āgra, in order to put down disturbances in the Panjāb caused by certain Niyāzī Afghāns, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Biānah Makhdūm[u]'l Mulk drew the king's attention to Miyān ʿAbd[u] llah Niyāzī, who after Shaykh ʿAlā ī's departure for the Dakhin roamed about the hills of the Bianah district with three or four hundred armed men, and was known to possess great influence over men of his own clan, and consequently over the Niyāzī rebels in the Panjāb Islam Shāh ordered the governor of Biānah, who had become a Mahdawī, to bring Miyān ʿAbd[u]'llāh to him The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself, but Miyān ʿAnd[u]'llāh boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islām Shāh gave orders to beat him to death The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Miyān ʿAbd[u]'llāh lay apparently lifeless on the ground But he was with much care brought back to life He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawī principles and got as late as 993 (A D 1585) from Akbar a freehold, because he,

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Khazīnat[u]'l Aṣfiyā (Lāhor, pp 443, 464) shows the opinion of good Sunnis regarding Makhdum

Mawlana ʿAbd[u] llah Anṣarī of Sultānpūr belongs to the most distinguished learned men and saints of India He was a Chishti in his religious opinions From the time of Sher Shāh till the reign of Akbar he had the title of 'Makhdum[u] l Mulk (prop served

His son Hajī ʿAbd[u] l Karīm went after the death of his father to Lahor, where

allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God Religious meetings the object of which was to prepare people for the advent of the promised Mahdi were daily held after the five prayers which the brethren said together and wherever they went they appeared armed to the teeth They soon felt strong enough to interfere with municipal matters and inspected the bazars and removed by force all articles forbidden in the law defying the magistrates if opposed to them or assisting them if of their opinion Their ranks increased daily and matters in Bianah had come to such a pass that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives Shaykh ʿAlaʾi s former position and the thoroughness of his conversion had given him the rank of second leader in fact he soon outdid Miyan ʿAbdu llah in earnestness and successful conversions and the later at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Makkah ʿAlaʾi marched with his band over Basawar to Khawaspur converting and preaching on the way but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Bianah

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too, had been one of Makhdūmu'l Mulk's victims He died more than 90 years old, in 1000, at Sarhind[1]

Islām Shāh, after quelling the Niyāzī disturbances, returned to Āgra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Panjab, and it was there that Shaykh ʿAlā,I joined the royal camp When Islām Shāh saw the Shaykh he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you" But Shaykh ʿAlā,I would not do so, and Islām Shah, to keep up the appearance of authority ordered a menial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence Shaykh ʿAlā,I had then scarcely recovered from an attack of the plague, which for several years had been raging in India, and had a few badly healed wounds on his neck Whilst he got the cuts, one of the wounds broke open, and ʿAlā,I fainted and died His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once, to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth When the storm abated, ʿĀla,I's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers, and an order was now forthcoming to have the corpse interred This happened in 957 (A D 1550) People prophesied the quick end of Islam Shāh and the downfall of his house[2]

Makhdūmu'l Mulk was never popular after that

The features common to all Mahdawī movements, are (1) that the preachers of the latter days were men of education and of great oratorical powers, which gave them full sway over the multitudes, and (2) that the Mahdawis assumed a hostile position to the learned men who held office at Court. *Islām has no state clergy, but we find a counterpart* to our hierarchical bodies in the ʿUlamās about Court, from whom the Ṣadrs of the provinces, the Mir ʿAdls, Muftis, and Qāzis were appointed At Dihli and Āgra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnis, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight

[1] Badā,onī visited him in Sarhind and it was from ʿAbdu llah that he heard of Mir Sayyid Muhammad's repentance before death Among other things, ʿAbdu llah also told him that after the Mir's death in Farāh a well known man of that town seized on lands belonging to Balochis and proclaimed himself Christ, and he added that he had known no less than thirteen men of respectable parentage who had likewise claimed to be Christ

[2] The circumstances connected with ʿAlā,i's death resemble the end of Sidī Mulāh during the reign of Jalālu d din Firuz Shāh

The place in the Panjab, where the scene took place, is called Ban (Bad I, 408)

The fact that Bada,oni spent his youth at Basawar near Bianah i e in the very centre of the Mahdawi movement, accounts perhaps for his adherence, throughout his life, to Mahdawī principles

How great their influence was, may be seen from the fact that of all Muhammadan emperors only Akbar, and perhaps ʿAlāʾuʾd-Dīn Khilji, succeeded in putting down this haughty set.

The death of Shaykh ʿAlāʾī was a great triumph for the Court ʿUlamās, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawī disciples was the immediate result. The persecutions lasted far into Akbar's reign. They abated only for a short time when the return of Humāyūn and the downfall of the Afghān power brought about a violent political crisis, during which the learned first thought of their own safety, well knowing that Humāyūn was strongly in favour of Shīʿism; but when Akbar was firmly established and the court at Āgra, after the fall of Bayram Khān, who was a Shīʿa, again teemed with Hindūstānī Sunnīs, the persecutions commenced. The hatred of the court party against Shaykh Mubārak especially, rose to such a height that Shaykh ʿAbduʾn Nabī and Makhdūmuʾl Mulk represented to the emperor that inasmuch as Mubārak also belonged to the Mahdawīs and was, therefore, not only himself damned, but led also others into damnation, he deserved to be killed. They even obtained an order to bring him before the emperor. Mubārak wisely fled from Āgra, only leaving behind him some furniture for his enemies to reek their revenge on. Concealing himself for a time, he applied to Shaykh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpūr Sīkrī for intercession; but being advised by him to withdraw to Gujarat, he implored the good offices of Akbar's foster brother, the generous Khān i Aʿzam Mirzā Koka, who succeeded in allaying all doubts in the mind of the emperor by dwelling on the poverty of the Shaykh and on the fact that, different from his covetous accusers, he had not cost the state anything by way of freeholds, and thus obtained at least security for him and his family. Mubārak some time afterwards applied indeed for a grant of land for his son ʿAbū ʾl Fayz, who had already acquired literary fame, though he was only 20 years old, and waited personally with his son on Shaykh ʿAbduʾn Nabī. But the latter, in his theological pride, turned them out of his office as men suspected of Mahdawī leanings and Shīʿa tendencies. Even in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when Fayzī's poems [1] had been noticed at Court—Akbar then lay before Chitor—and a summons had been sent to the young poet to present himself before his sovereign, the enemies at Āgra saw in the invitation a sign of approaching doom, and prevailed on the governor to secure the victim this time. The governor thereupon sent a detachment of Mughul soldiers to surround Mubārak's house. Fayzī

[1] ʿAbduʾl Fayz wrote under the nom de plume of Fayzī.

was accidentally away from home, and the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, subjected Mubārak to various sorts of ill treatment, and when Fayzī at last came, he was carried off by force to Chitor[1] Nor did his fears for his father and his own life banish, till his favourable reception at court convinced him both of Akbar's good will and the blindness of his personal enemies

Abū 'l Fazl had in the meantime grown up zealously studying under the care of his father The persecutions which Shaykh Mubarak had to suffer for his Mahdawī leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind There is no doubt that it was in this school of misfortune that Abū l Fazl learned the lesson of toleration, the practice of which in later years formed the basis of Akbar's friendship for him, while, on the other hand, the same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments the clique of the ʿUlamās whom Akbar hated so much

At the age of fifteen, he showed the mental precocity so often observed in Indian boys, he had read works on all branches of those sciences which go by the name of *hikamī* and *naqlī*, or *maʿqūl* and *manqūl*[2] Following the footsteps of his father, he commenced to teach long before he had reached the age of twenty An incident is related to show how extensive even at that time his reading was A manuscript of the rare work of Isfahani happened to fall into his hands Unfortunately however, one half of each page, vertically downwards from top to bottom, was rendered illegible, or was altogether destroyed, by fire Abū l Fazl determined to restore so rare a book, cut away the burnt portions, pasted new paper to each page and then commenced to restore the missing halves of each line, in which attempt after repeated thoughtful perusals he succeeded Some time afterwards, a complete copy of the same work turned up and on comparison, it was found that in many places there were indeed different words, and in a few passages new proofs even had been adduced, but on the whole the restored portion presented so many points of extraordinary coincidence that his friends were not a little astonished at the thoroughness with which Abū'l Fazl had worked himself into the style and mode of thinking of a difficult author

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[1] 20th Rabīʿ I 975 or 24th September 1567 The ode which Fayzī presented will be found in the *Akbarnāma*

[2] Page 609 note

Abu'l Fazl was so completely taken up with study that he preferred the life of a recluse to the unstable patronage of the great, and to the bondage which attendance at court in those days rendered inevitable But from the time Fayzī had been asked by Akbar to attend the Court hopes of a brighter future dawned, and Abū'l Fazl, who had then completed his seventeenth year, saw in the encouragement held out by the emperor, in spite of Mubārak's numerous enemies at court, a guarantee that patient toil on his part, too, would not remain without fruit The skill with which Fayzī in the meantime acquired and retained Akbar's friendship, prepared the way for Abū'l Fazl, and when the latter, in the very end of 981 (beginning of A D 1574) was presented to Akbar as Fayzī's brother, the reception was so favourable that he gave up all thoughts of leading a life among manuscripts "As fortune did not at first assist me," says Abū'l Fazl in the Akbarnāma, "I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so called learned The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly, my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon, I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the padris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis and the learned of the Zendavesta I was sick of the learned of my own land My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought In vain did I at first resist their admonitions Happy, indeed am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement, in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world, he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns, and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth I was thus presented at Court As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of his Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the *Ayat-'l Kursī*,[1] and presented it when the emperor was at Āgra

[1] Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qur'an

I was favourably received, and his Majesty graciously accepted my offering.[1]

Akbar was at that time busily engaged with his preparations for the conquest of Bihār and Bengal. Fayzī accompanied the expedition, but Abū'l Fazl naturally stayed in Āgra. But as Fayzī wrote to his brother that Akbar had inquired after him, Abū'l Fazl attended Court immediately on the emperor's return to Fathpūr Sīkrī, where Akbar happened to notice him first in the Jamiᶜ Mosque. Abū'l Fazl, as before, presented a commentary written by him on the opening of a chapter in the Qurᵓān entitled "Sūratᵘ 'l Fath", "the Chapter of Victory".[1]

The party of the learned and bigoted Sunnīs at Court, headed by Makhdūmᵘ 'l Mulk and Shaykh ᶜAbdᵘ 'n Nabī, had every cause to feel sorry at Fayzī's and Abū'l Fazl's successes;[2] for it was now, after Akbar's return from Bihār, that the memorable Thursday evening discussions commenced, of which the historian Badā,onī has left us so vivid an account. Akbar at first was merely annoyed at the "Pharaoh-like pride" of the learned at court; stories of the endless squabbles of these pious casuits had reached his ear; religious persecutions and a few sentences of death passed by his Chief Justice on Shīᶜas and "others heretics" affected him most deeply; and he now for the first time realized the idea that the scribes and the pharisees formed a power of their own in his kingdom, at the construction of which he had for twenty years been working. Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindū subjects, he had resolved *when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary* stone at Fathpūr Sīkrī, to rule with even hand men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to "inquire". It is not necessary to repeat here the course which these discussions took.[3] The unity that had existed among the learned disappeared in the very beginning; abuse took the place of argument, and the plainest rules of etiquette were, even in the presence of the emperor, forgotten. Akbar's doubts instead of being cleared up only increased; certain points of the Hanafī law, to which most Sunnīs *cling, were found to be better established by the dicta of lawyers belong*

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[1] The details of Abū'l Fazl's introduction at Court given in Badā,onī differ slightly from Abū'l Fazl's own account.

[2] Badā,onī ascribes to Makhdūmᵘ 'l Mulk an almost prophetic insight into Abū'l Fazl's character. For the first time he saw Abū'l Fazl, he said to his disciples, "What religious mischief is there of which that man is not capable?" Bad., III, 72.

[3] Vide pp. 179 ff.

ing to the other three sects, and the moral character of the Prophet was next scrutinized and was found wanting. Makhdūm[u] 'l Mulk wrote a spiteful pamphlet against Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'n Nabī the Ṣadr of the empire, and the latter retorted by calling Makhdūm a fool and cursing him. Abū 'l Fazl, upon whom Akbar from the beginning had fixed as the leader of his party, fanned the quarrels by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, and at last persuaded the emperor that a subject ought to look upon the king not only as the temporal, but also as the only spiritual guide. The promulgation of this new doctrine was the making of Abū 'l Fazl's fortune. Both he and Akbar held to it to the end of their lives. But the new idea was in opposition to Islām, the law of which stands above every king, rendering what we call a constitution impossible; and though headstrong kings as ʿAlaʾ[u] 'd dīn Khilji had before tried to raise the law of expediency (مصلحت وقت, *maslahat i waqt*) above the law of the Qurʾan, they never fairly succeeded in separating religion from law, or in rendering the administration of the empire independent of the Mulla. Hence when Abū 'l Fazl four years later, in 986, brought up the question at the Thursday evening meetings, he raised a perfect storm; and while the disputations, bitter as they were, had hitherto dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, or with sectarian differences, they henceforth turned on the very principles of Islam. It was only now that the Sunnis at Court saw how wide during the last four years the breach had become; that "the strong embankment of the clearest law and the most excellent faith had been broken through"; and that Akbar believed that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations. Islām, therefore, possessed in his opinion no superiority over other forms of worship.[1] The learned party, seeing their official position endangered, now showed signs of readiness to yield, but it was too late. They even signed the remarkable document which Shaykh Mubarak in conjunction with his sons had drafted, a document which I believe stands unique in the whole Church History of Islam. Bada,onī has happily preserved a complete copy of it.[2] The emperor was certified to be a just ruler, and was as such assigned the rank of a "Mujtahid", i.e., an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islam. The "intellect of the just king" thus became the only source of legislation, and the whole body of the learned and the lawyers bound themselves to abide by Akbar's decrees in religious matters. Shaykh ʿAbd[u] 'n Nabi and Makhdūm[u] 'l Mulk signed indeed the document against

[1] Pages 18[illegible] 1[illegible]. [2] Vide p. 1[illegible].

their will, but sign they did, whilst Shaykh Mubârak added to his signature the words that he had most willingly subscribed his name, and that for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to the realization of the progressive movement "The document," says ʿAbu 'l Fazl in the *Akbarnāma*, "brought about excellent results—(1) The Court became a gathering place of the sages and learned of all creeds, the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features, (2) perfect toleration (*ṣulḥ i kul* or "peace with all") was established, and (3) the perverse and evil minded were covered with shame on seeing the dis interested motives of his Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace" The copy of the draft which was handed to the emperor, was in Shaykh Mubārak's own handwriting and was dated Rajab, 987 (September, 1579)

A few weeks afterwards, Shaykh ʿAbdu 'n Nabi and Makhdūmu 'l Mulk were sent to Makkah and Shaykh Mubārak and his two sons triumphed over their enemies How magnanimous Abū l Fazl was, may be seen from the manner in which he chronicles in the *Akbarnama* the banishment of these men Not a sentence, not a word is added indicative of his personal grievances against either of them, though they had persecuted and all but killed his father and ruined his family, the narrative proceeds as calm and statesmanlike as in every other part of his great work and justifies the high praise which historians have bestowed upon his character that "*neither abuse nor harsh words were ever found in his household*"

The disputations had now come to an end (A D 1579) and Fayzi and Abū'l-Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor Of the confidence which Akbar placed in Fayzi, no better proof can be cited than his appointment, in the same year, as tutor to Prince Murād, and as both brothers had entered the military, then the only, service and had received *manṣabs*, or commissions, their employment in various departments gave them repeated opportunities to gain fresh distinctions Enjoying Akbar's personal friendship both remained at court in Fathpūr Sikri, or accompanied the emperor on his expeditions Two years later, Fayzi was appointed Sadr of Āgra, Kālpi, and Kalinjar, in which capacity he had to inquire into the possibility of resuming free tenures (*sayurghal*), which in consequence of fraudulent practices on the part of government officers and the rapaciousness of the holders themselves had so much increased as seriously to lessen the land revenue, and Abū l Fazl in the very beginning of 1585 [1] was promoted to the *mansab*

[1] *Akbarnāma* iii 463

f Hazārī, or the post of a commander of one thousand horse, and was n the following year appointed Dīwān of the Province of Dihlī. Fayzī's ank was much lower, he was only a commander of Four Hundred. But ie did not care for further promotion. Devoted to the muse, he found n the appointment as Poet Laureate, with which Akbar honoured im in the end of 1588, that satisfaction which no political office, how ·ver high, would have given him. Though the emperor did not pay much ittention to poetry, his appreciation of Fayzī's genius was but just, for after Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Fayzī.[1]

In the end of 1589, Abū'l Fazl lost his mother, to whose memory he has devoted a page in the *Akbarnāma*. The emperor, in order to console him, paid h[illegible] visit, and said to him, "If the people of this world lived for ever an[illegible] not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation."[2]

Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. Akbar had founded a new religion, the Dīn-i Ilahī, or "the Divine Faith", the chief feature of which, in accordance with Shaykh Mubārak's document mentioned above, consisted in belief in one God and in Akbar as His viceregent (*khalīfa*) on earth. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court, and the worship of the "elect" was based on that of the Pārsīs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindūs. The new era (*tārīkh ilāhī*), which was introduced in all government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pārsī. The Muhammadan grandees at court showed but little resistance; they looked with more anxiety on the elevation of Hindu courtiers than on Akbar's religious innovations, which after all, affected but a few. But their feeling against Abū'l Fazl was very marked, and they often advised the emperor to send him to the Dakhin hoping that some mismanagement in war or in administration would lessen his influence at court. Prince Salīm (Jahangīr) also belonged to the dissatisfied, and his dislike to Abū'l Fazl, as we shall see below, became gradually so deep rooted, that he looked upon him as the chief obstacle to the execution of his wild plans. An unexpected visit to Abū'l Fazl gave him an excellent opportunity to charge him with

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[1] For his works, vide p. 161.

[2] اگر جهانیان طراز ماندگی داشتی و جز مرگ راه سپری نسپردی دوستان شناسا دل را بر رضا و تسلیم گزیر نبود ۔ هرگاه درین کاروان سرا هیچکس درنماند سوگ ناشکیبائی را کجا اندازه توان گرفت

duplicity. On entering the house, he found forty writers busy in copying commentaries to the Qur'an. Ordering them to follow him at once, he took them to the emperor, and showing him the copies, he said, "What Abū 'l-Fazl teaches me is very different from what he practises in his house." The incident is said to have produced a temporary estrangement between Akbar and Abū 'l-Fazl. A similar, but less credible, story is told by the author of the *Zakhīrat" 'l-Khawānīn*. He says that Abū 'l-Fazl repented of his apostacy from Islām, and used at night to visit *incognito* the houses of dervishes, and, giving them gold muhurs, requested them to pray for the stability of Abū 'l-Fazl's faith, sighing at the same time and striking his knees and exclaiming, "What shall I do?" And just as writers on the history of literature have tried to save Fayzī from apostacy and consequent damnation, by representing that before his death he had praised the Prophet, so have other authors succeeded in finding for Abū 'l-Fazl a place in Paradise; for it is related in several books that Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Qādirī of Lahor, a man of saintly renown,[1] once expressed his disapproval of Abū 'l-Fazl's words and deeds. But at night, so runs the story, he saw in his dream that Abū 'l-Fazl came to a meeting held by the Prophet in Paradise; and when the Prophet saw him enter, he asked him to sit down, and said, "This man did for some time during his life evil deeds, but one of his books commences with the words, 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their righteousness, and help the wicked for the sake of thy love,' and these words have saved him." The last two stories flatter, in all probability, the consciences of pious Sunnis; but the first, if true, detracts in no way from that consistency of opinion and uniform philosophic conviction which pervades Abū 'l-Fazl's works; and though his heart found in pure deism and religious philosophy more comfort and more elements of harmony than in the casuistry of the Mullas, his mind from early youth had been so accustomed to hard literary work, that it was perfectly natural for him, even after his rejection of Islām, to continue his studies of the Qur'an, because the highest dialectical lore and the deepest philological research of Muhammadan literature have for centuries been concentrated on the explanation of the holy book.

To this period also belong the literary undertakings which were commenced under the auspices of the Emperor himself. Abū 'l-Fazl, Fayzī, and scholars as Badāonī, Naqīb Khān, Shaykh Sulṭān, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, Shaykh Munawwar, and others, were engaged in historical and

[1] Born A.H. 960; died at Lahor, 1024. *Khazīnat" 'l-Aṣfiyā*, p. 111.

scientific compilations and in translations from the Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian.[1] Fayzī took the Līlāwatī, a well known book on mathematics, and Abū 'l Fazl translated the Kalīla Damna under the title of *ʿAyār Dānish* from Arabic into Persian. He also took a part in the translation of the *Mahābhārat*, and in the composition of the *Tārīkh i Alfī*, the "History of the Millennium." The last mentioned work, curious to say, has an intimate connexion with the Mahdawi movement, of which particulars have been given above. Although from the time of Shaykh ʿAlāʾi's death, the disciples of the millennium had to suffer persecution, and movement to all appearances had died out, the idea of a restorer of the millennium was revived during the discussions in Fathpūr Sīkrī and by the teachings of men of Sharīf i Āmulī's stamp,[2] with this important modification, that Akbar himself was pointed to as the "Lord of the Age", through whom faded Islām was to come to an end. This new feature had Akbar's full approval, and exercised the greatest influence on the progress of his religious opinions. The *Tārīkh i Alfī*, therefore, was to represent Islām as a thing of the past; it had existed a thousand (*alf*) years, and had done its work. The early history, to the vexation of the Sunnis, was related from a Shīʿah point of view, and worse still, the chronology had been changed, inasmuch as the death of the Prophet had been made the starting point, not the *hijra*, or flight, of the Prophet from Makka to Madīna.

Towards the middle of A.H. 1000 (beginning of A.D. 1592), Akbar promoted Abū 'l Fazl to the post of Dūhazārī, or commander of two thousand horse. Abū 'l Fazl now belonged to the great Amīrs (*umarā yi kibār*) at court. As before, he remained in immediate attendance on the emperor. In the same year, Fayzī was sent to the Dakhin as Akbar's ambassador to Burhānu 'l Mulk, and to Rāja ʿAlī Khān of Khandesh, who had sent his daughter to Prince Salīm. Fayzī returned after an absence of more than sixteen months.

Shaykh Mubārak, who after the publication of his famous document had all but retired from the world, died in the following year at Lāhor (Sunday, 17th Zi Qaʿda, 1001, or 4th September, 1593). He had reached

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[1] Vide pp. 11? 111.
[2] Page 50? We hear the [illegible]
[illegible] since that time the movement has found no disciples.

the age of 90, and had occupied himself in the last years of his life with the compilation in four volumes of a gigantic commentary to the Qurʾān, to which he had given the title of *Manbaʿu-Nafāʾisi-l ʿUyūn*. He completed it, in spite of failing eyesight, a short time before his death.

The historian Badāʾonī speaks of him as follows:—

Shaykh Mubārak belonged to the most distinguished men of learning of the present age. In practical wisdom, piety, and trust in God, he stood high among the people of his time. In early life he practised rigorous asceticism; in fact, he was so strict in his views regarding what is lawful and unlawful, that if any one, for example, came to a prayer meeting with a gold ring on his finger, or dressed in silk, or with red stockings on his feet, or red or yellow coloured clothes on him, he would order the offending articles to be removed. In legal decisions, he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment. If he accidentally heard music while walking on the street, he ran away, but in course of time he became, from divine zeal, so enamoured of music, that he could not exist without listening to some voice or melody. In short, he passed through rather opposite modes of thought and ways of life. At the time of the Afghān rule, he frequented Shaykh ʿAlāʾī's fraternity; in the beginning of His Majesty's reign, when the Naqshbandis had the upper hand, he settled matters with that sect; afterwards he was attached to the Hamadānī school, and lastly, when the Shīʿahs monopolized the court, he talked according to their fashion. "Men speak according to the measure of their understanding"—to change was his way, and the rest you know. But withal he was constantly engaged in teaching the religious sciences. Prosody also, the art of composing riddles, and other branches, he understood well; and in mystic philosophy he was, unlike the learned of Hindūstān, a perfect master. He knew Shāṭibī[1] by heart, explained him properly, and also knew how to read the Qurʾān in the ten different modes. He did not go to the palaces of the kings, but he was a most agreeable companion and full of anecdote. Towards the end of his life, when his eyesight was impaired, he gave up reading and lived in seclusion. The *commentary to the Qurʾān which he composed, resembles the Tafsīr-i-Kabīr* (the Great Commentary), and consists of four thick volumes, and is entitled *Manbaʿu-Nafāʾisi-l ʿUyūn*. It is rather extraordinary that there is a passage in the preface in which he seems to point to himself

[1] A writer on Tajwīd, the art of reading the Qurʾān correctly.

the renovator of the new century [1] We know what this "renovating" ...ans About the time he finished his work he wisely committed the ...rizi Ode (in t) which consists of seven hundred verses, and the Ode ...irda, the Ode by Ka'b ibn Zubayr, and other Odes to memory, and ...ited them as daily homilies till on the 17th Zi Qa'da 1001, he left this ...orld at Lahor for the judgment seat of God

I have known no man of more comprehensive learning, but alas! ...nder the mantle of a dervish there was such a wicked love of worldly ...eferment that he left no tittle of our religion in peace When I was ...oung, I studied at Āgra for several years in his company He is indeed ...man of merit, but he committed worldly and irreligious deeds plunged ...to lust of possession and rank, was timeserving, practised deceit and ...lsehood and went so far in twisting religious truth, that nothing of ...s former merit remains "Say, either I am in the correct path or in ...ear error, or you" (Qur'an, xxxiv, 23) Further, it is a common saying ...at the son brings the curse on the head of his father, hence people ...ve gone beyond Yazid and say, "Curse on Yazid [2] and on his ...ther, too'

Two years after Shaykh Mubarak's death Abū 'l Fazl also lost his ...rother Fayzi who died at the age of 50, after an illness of six months ...n the 10th Safar, 1004 (5th October, 1595) When in his last moments, ...kbar visited him at midnight, and seeing that he could no longer ...peak, he gently raised his head and said to him, "Shaykh Jio, I have ...rought Hakim 'Ali with me, will you not speak to me?" But getting ...no reply, the emperor in his grief threw his turban to the ground, and ...wept loud, and after trying to console Abū 'l Fazl he went away [3] ...How deeply Abū 'l Fazl loved his elder brother, is evident from the ...numerous passages in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ā'īn* in which he speaks ...of him and nothing is more touching than the lines with which he prefaces ...he selections in the *Ā'īn* made by him from his brother's poems "The ...gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten Should leisure ...permit and my heart turn to worldly occupations I would collect some

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[1] Badāonī says in his *Najāt ur rashīd* that Jalāl ud Dīn Suyūtī in his time the most universal scholar of all Arabia pointed likewise to himself as the renovator of the tenth century

[2] Husayn in whose remembrance the Muharram lamentations are chanted was murdered b... [illegible]
[illegible]

ورحمدہ سے ماند ، خوش مہتابے تا با تو حکایت کنم از هر بابے

Serene is the night and pleasant is the moonlight I wish to talk to thee on many a subject

and promoted him for his excellent management to a command of four thousand The imperial army now marched on Āsir and commenced the siege[1] One day Abu l Fazl inspected some of his trenches when one of the besieged who had deserted to Akbar's camp offered to show him a way by which the Imperialists might get over the wall of the Malai Fort an important fortification below Āsirgarh itself Half way up the mountain to the west and slightly to the north were two renowned outworks called the Malai and Antar Malai which had to be conquered before Āsir itself could be reached and between the north west and north there was another bastion called Chuna Malai A portion of its wall was not finished From east to south west there were hills and in the south was a high mountain called Korhia A hill in the south west called Sapan was occupied by the Imperialists Abu l Fazl determined on availing himself of the information given by the deserter and selected a detachment to follow him Giving orders to the officer commanding the trench to listen for the sound of the trumpets and bugles when he was to hasten to his assistance with ladders he went in the dark of night whilst it was raining with his selected men on Mount Sapan and sent a few of his men under Qara Beg along the road that had been pointed out to him They advanced broke open a gate of Malai Fort and sounded the bugle The besieged rose up to oppose them and Abu l Fazl hastened to his men and joined them at break of day when the besieged withdrew in confusion to Āsir On the same

day, other detachments of the army occupied Chūna Mālai and Mount Korhia, and Bahādur Khān, unable to resist longer, sued for pardon (1009). Prince Dānyāl, who had in the meantime conquered Ahmadnagar,[1] now joined his father at Āsīr.

About this time disturbances broke out in the Dakhin, caused by Rajū Mannā, and a party set up the son of ʿAlī Shāh as king. As the latter found numerous adherents, the Khān Khānān was ordered to march against him and Abū 'l Fazl was sent to Nāsik, but a short time afterwards, he was told to join the Khān Khānān. Akbar returned, in the 46th year, to Āgra, leaving Prince Dānyāl in Burhānpūr. Abū 'l Fazl had no easy life in the Dakhin. The Khān Khānān stood idle at Ahmadnagar, because he was disinclined to fight, and left the operations to Abū 'l Fazl, who looked upon him as a traitor. Abū 'l Fazl vigorously pushed on operations, ably assisted by his son ʿAbdu 'r Rahmān. After coming to terms with the son of ʿAlī Shāh he attacked Rājū Mannā, recovered Jālnapūr and the surrounding district, and inflicted several defeats on him. Mannā found a temporary asylum in Dawlatābād, and in a subsequent engagement he was nearly captured.

As early as during the siege of Āsīr, Prince Salīm, who had been sent against the Rānā of Udaipūr, had rebelled against his father, and had moved to Ilahābād, where he had assumed the title of king. Though on Akbar's return from Burhānpūr a reconciliation had been effected, the prince, in the forty seventh year, showed again signs of rebellion, and as many of Akbar's best officers appeared to favour Salīm, the emperor recalled Abū 'l Fazl, the only trustworthy servant he had. As his presence at Court was urgently required, Akbar sent him orders to leave the troops of his contingent in the Dakhin. Putting his son ʿAbdu 'r Rahmān in charge of his corps, Abū 'l Fazl set out for Āgra, accompanied by a few men only. Salīm, who looked upon him with little concealed hatred, thought Abū 'l Fazl's journey unprotected, as he was, an excellent opportunity to get rid of him. He, therefore, persuaded Raja Bir Singh, a Bundela chief of Urcha (Ūdchhā),[2] through whose territory Abū 'l Fazl was likely to pass, to lie in wait for him and kill him. Bir Singh, who was in disgrace at Court, eagerly seized the opportunity of pleasing the Prince, who no doubt would substantially reward him on his accession, and posted a large body of horse and foot near Narwar. When arrived at Ujjain, Abū 'l Fazl was warned of Salīm's

[1] Among the plunder taken at Ahmadnagar was a splendid library. Fayzī's library, having on his death lapsed to the state, had been incorporated with the Imperial Library.

[2] Vide p. 546.

intention and his men tried to persuade him to go via Ghaṭī Chāndā, but Abū 'l Fazl said that thieves and robbers had no power to stop him on his way to Court. He, therefore, continued his journey towards Narwar. On Friday, the 4th Rabīʿ I, 1011 (12th August, 1602), at a distance of about half a *kos* from Sarāy Bīr, which lies six *kos* from Narwar, Bīr Singh's men came in sight. The few men that Abū 'l Fazl had with him strongly advised him to avoid a fight, and an old servant, Gadā'ī Khān Afghān, told him quickly to retreat to Antrī, which was three *kos* distant, as Rāy Rayān and Suraj Singh were stationed there with three thousand Imperial horse; he might first join them, and then punish Bīr Singh. But Abū 'l Fazl thought it a disgrace to fly. He defended himself bravely; but in a short time he was surrounded and, pierced by the lance of a trooper, he fell dead to the ground. Bīr Singh cut off Abū 'l Fazl's head and sent it to Salīm in Ilāhābād, who, it is said, had it thrown "into an unworthy place", where it lay for a long time.

The Dutch traveller De Laet gives the following account of Abū 'l Fazl's death:—[1]

Salim returned to Halebassa (Ilahbās, the old form of Ilāhābād), and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened to Abū 'l Fazl, who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa (Dānyal Shah), he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa Selim, to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Fazl had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against him, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bertzingh Bondela, who lived in his province of Osseen (Ujjain), to lie in wait for Fazl near Soor (Narwar ²) and Gualer (Gwaliyar) and to send his head to him, promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented, and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring

[1] From Professor E. Lethbridge's "Fragment of Indian History", *Calcutta Review*, 1873.

[2] The place near which Abū 'l Fazl was killed is called in the MSS سرای بر *Sarāi Bar*. De Laet's Soor appears to be a bad reading for Narwar.

villages, to give him early warning of the approach of Fazl Accordingly when the latter, ignorant of the ambuscade, had come as far as Collebaga (Kalābāgh), and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bertzingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides Fazl and his horsemen fought bravely, but being overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out Fazl himself having received twelve wounds in the fight, was pointed out by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree, and was taken and beheaded His head was sent to the prince, who was greatly pleased"

Prince Salīm, with that selfish nonchalance and utter indifference that distinguished him throughout life, openly confesses in his "Memoirs" that he brought about Abū 'l Fazl's murder, because he was his enemy, and with a naiveté exclusively his own, represents himself as a dutiful son who through the wickedness of others had been deprived of his father's love He says —

"On my accession I promoted Raja Bīr Singh a Bundela Rājpūt, to a command of three thousand He is one of my favourites, and he is certainly distinguished among his equals for his bravery, good character and straightforwardness My reason for promoting him was this Towards the end of my father's reign, Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl, a Hindūstānī Shaykh by birth, who was well known for his learning and wisdom, and who had externally ornamented himself with the jewel of loyalty, though he sold himself at a high price to my father, had been called from the Dakhin He was no friend of mine and damaged openly and secretly my reputation Now about that time evil minded and mischievous men had made my father very angry with me, and I knew that if Abū 'l Fazl were to come back to Court, I would have been deprived of every chance to effect a reconciliation As he had to pass on his way through the territory of Bīr Singh Bundelā, who at that time had rebelled against the emperor, I sent a message to the latter to say that, if he would waylay Abū 'l Fazl and kill him, I would richly reward him Heaven favoured him, and when Abū 'l Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Ilāhābād Although my father was at first much vexed, Abū 'l Fazl's death produced one good result I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away"

At another place in his "Memoirs" when alluding to the murder, he says as if an afterthought had occurred to him, that he ordered Bīr Singh to kill Abū 'l Fazl because "he had been the enemy of the Prophet"

When the news of Abū 'l-Fazl's death reached court, no one had the courage to break it to the emperor. According to an old custom observed by Tīmūr's descendants, the death of a prince was not in plain words mentioned to the reigning emperor, but the prince's vakīl presented himself before the throne with a blue handkerchief round his wrist; and as no one else would come forward to inform Akbar of the death of his friend, Abū 'l-Fazl's vakīl presented himself with a blue handkerchief before the throne. Akbar bewailed Abū 'l-Fazl's death even more than that of his son; for several days he would see no one, and after inquiring into the circumstances he exclaimed, "If Salīm wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abū 'l-Fazl," and then recited the following verse:—

شیخ ما از شوق بی حد چون سوی ما آمده ٭ زاشتیاق پای بوسی بی سر و پا آمده

My Shaykh in his zeal hastened to meet me,
He wished to kiss my feet, and gave up his life.

Akbar, in order to punish Bīr Singh, sent a detachment under Patr Dās and Rāj Singh[1] to Ūḍcha. They defeated the Bundela chief in several engagements, drove him from Bhānder, and shut him up in Īrich. When the siege had progressed and a breach was made in the wall, Bīr Singh escaped by one of Rāj Singh's trenches, and withdrew to the jungles closely pursued by Patr Dās. As it seemed hopeless to catch him, Akbar called Patr Dās to Court, but ordered the officers stationed about Ūḍcha to kill the rebel wherever he showed himself. In the beginning of the last year of Akbar's reign, Bīr Singh was once surprised by Rāja Rāj Singh, who cut down a good number of his followers. Bīr Singh himself was wounded and had a narrow escape. But the emperor's death, which not long afterwards took place, relieved Bīr Singh of all fears. He boldly presented himself at Jahāngīr's Court, and received Ūḍcha and a command of three thousand horse as his reward.

"It has often been asserted," says the author of the *Maʾāsir ul-Umarā*, "that Abū 'l-Fazl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindu, or a fire-worshipper, or a free thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a pantheist, and that, like other Sūfīs, he claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet. There is no doubt that he was a man of lofty character,[2] and desired to live at peace with all men. He never

[1] Pages 523 and 509.
[2] I may remark here that Abū 'l-Fazl never accepted a t…

said anything improper. Abuse, stoppages of wages, fines, absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household. If he appointed a man, whom he afterwards found to be useless, he did not remove him, but kept him on as long as he could; for he used to say that, if he dismissed him, people would accuse him of want of penetration in having appointed an unsuitable agent. On the day when the sun entered Aries, he inspected his whole household and took stock, keeping the inventory with himself, and burning last year's books. He also gave his whole wardrobe to his servants, with the exception of his trousers, which were burnt in his presence.

"He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said, that exclusive of water and fuel, he consumed daily twenty two sers of food. His son ʿAbdu r-Rahmān used to sit at table as *safarchī* [1] (head butler); the superintendent of the kitchen, who was a Muhammadan, was also in attendance and both watched to see whether Abū 'l Fazl would eat twice of one and the same dish. If he did, the dish was sent up again the next day. If anything appeared tasteless, Abū 'l Fazl gave it to his son to taste, and he to the superintendent, but no word was said about it. When Abū 'l Fazl was in the Dakhin, his table luxury exceeded all belief. In an immense tent (*chihilrāwatī*) one thousand rich dishes were daily served up and distributed among the Amīrs; and near it another large tent was pitched for all comers to dine, whether rich or poor, and *khichrī* was cooked all day and was served out to any one that applied for it."

"As a writer, Abū 'l Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy prettiness of other Munshīs [2]; and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods, are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them."

It is almost useless to add to this encomium bestowed on Abū 'l Fazl's style. ʿAbdu 'llāh, king of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abū 'l Fazl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Everywhere in India he is known as "*the great Munshī*." *His letters* are studied in all Madrasas, and though a beginner may find them difficult and perplexing, they are perfect models. But a great familiarity, not only with the Persian language, but also with Abū 'l Fazl's style, is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure. His composition stands unique, and though everywhere studied, he cannot be, and has not been, imitated. The writers

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[[1] *sufra-chī*.—P.]

[2] This is also the opinion of the author of the *Haft Iqlīm*.

after him write in the style of the Padishahnama, the ʿAlamara Sikandar or in the still more turgid manner of the ʿAlamgirnama, the Ruqʿat Bedil and other standard works on Insha.

A praiseworthy feature of Abu l Fazl's works lies in the purity of their contents. Those who are acquainted with Eastern literature will know what this means. I have come across no passage where woman is lightly spoken of or where immorality is passed over with indifference. Of his love of truth and the nobility of his sentiments [1] I have spoken in the Preface.

Abu l Fazl's influence on his age was immense. It may be that he and Fayzi led Akbar's mind away from Islam and the Prophet—this charge is brought against them by every Muhammadan writer; but Abu l Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islam in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abu l Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khan Khanans gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostasy from Islam is all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughul dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he. The reversion, on the other hand, in later times to the policy of religious intoleration, whilst it has surrounded in the eyes of the Moslems the memory of Awrangzib with the halo of sanctity, and still inclines the pious to utter a *rahimahu llah* (May God have mercy on him!) when his name is mentioned, was also the beginning of the breaking up of the empire.

Having elsewhere given numerous extracts from Badaoni to show that Akbar's courtiers ascribed his apostasy from Islam to Fayzi and Abu l Fazl, I need not quote other works, and will merely allude to a couplet by ʿUrfi [2] from one of his Odes in which he praises the Prophet—

[illegible]

[illegible]

O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (i.e. my soul) from the harm of the brothers, for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil sprites and lead me wolf like to the well (of unbelief).

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[1] Let the reader consult Gladwin's rendering of Abu l Fazl's introduction to the fourth book of the Aʾin. (Gladwin's Aʾin, ii, pp 285–91. The passage is anti-Islamic.)

[2] For ʿUrfi vide p 639. The metre of the couplet is Long *Ramal*.

The commentators unanimously explain this passage as an allusion to the brothers Fayzi and Abū 'l Fazl. I may also cite the Tārīkh of Abū 'l Fazl's death, which the Khān i Aʿzam Mirzā Koka is said to have made —

تیغ اعجاز نبی الله سر باغی برید

The wonderful sword of God's prophet cut off the head of the rebel.[1]

But Abū 'l Fazl appeared to him in a dream and said, "The date of my death lies in the words بنده ابو الفضل, "The slave Abū 'l Fazl' — which likewise gives A. H. 1011.

Abū 'l Fazl's works are the following: —

(1) The *Akbarnāma* with the *Āʾīn i Akbarī*, its third volume. The *Āʾīn i Akbarī* was completed in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign; only a slight addition to it was made in the 43rd year on account of the conquest of Barār (A. D. 1596–7). The contents of the *Akbarnāma* have been detailed in the Preface. The second volume contains an account of the first forty six years of Akbar's reign.[2] There exists a continuation up to the end of Akbar's reign by ʿInāyatᵘ 'llah Muhibb ʿAli. Thus at least the continuator is called in two MSS. that I have seen. Elphinstone says that the name of the continuator is Muhammad Salih, which seems to be a corruption of Muhammad Salih.

(2) The *Maktūbāt i ʿAllāmī*, also called *Inshā yi Abū 'l Fazl*. This book contains letters written by Abu 'l Fazl to kings and chiefs. Among them are the interesting letters written to the Portuguese priests, and to ʿAbdᵘ 'llah of Bukhara, in reply to his question whether Akbar had renounced Islam. Besides there are prefaces and reviews, a valuable essay on the progress of the art of writing, portions of which are given in the *Āʾīn*, etc. The collection was made after Abū 'l Fazl's death by ʿAbdᵘ 's Samad, son of Afzal Muhammad, who says that he was a son of Abū 'l Fazl's sister and also his son in law. The book, as above remarked, is frequently read in Madrasas, and there exist many lithographed editions. In all of them, the contents constitute three books, but Amir Haydar Husaynī of Bilgram says in the preface to his *Sawānih i Akbarī*[3] that he had a collection of four books, remarking at the same

[1] Th [illegible]

time that MSS of the fourth are very rare It looks, indeed, as if Amir Haydar's copy was unique

(3) The *ʿAyār Dānish*,[1] which is mentioned on p 112

Besides, I have seen in different books that Abū 'l Fazl also wrote a *Risālayi Munājāt*, or "Treatise of Prayers", a *Jāmiʿu 'l lughāt*, a lexicographical work, and a *Koshkol* The last word means a "beggar's cup", or rather the small basket or bowl in which beggars in the East collect rice, dates, etc, given as alms, and hence the term is often applied to collections of anecdotes or short stories But I have seen no copies of these works It was also mentioned above that Abū 'l Fazl presented, on his introduction at Court two commentaries, of which no MSS seem to exist at present Nor need I again refer to the part which he took in the translations from Sanskrit and the compilation of the *Tārīkh i Alfī*

The *Durar^u 'l Manshūr*, a modern Tazkira by Muhammad ʿAskari Husaynī of Bilgram, selects the following inscription written by Abu 'l Fazl for a temple in Kashmir[2] as a specimen both of Abu 'l Fazl's writing and of his religious belief It is certainly very characteristic, and is easily recognized as Abu 'l Fazl's composition

الهی بهر خانه که می نگرم جویای تو اند و بهر زبان که می شنوم گویای تو

شعر

کفر و اسلام در رهت پویان — وحده لا شریک له گویان

اگر مسجد است بیاد تو نعرهٔ قدوس میزنند و اگر کلیساست بشوق تو ناقوس می جنبانند

بیت

ای تیر غمت رادل عشاق نشانه — خلقی بتو مشغول و تو غایب از میانه

گه معتکف دیرم وگه ساکن مسجد — یعنی که ترا می طلبم خانه بخانه

گه معتکف دیرم وگه ساکن مسجد — یعنی که ترا می طلبم خانه بخانه

اگر خاصان ترا بکفر و اسلام کاری نیست این هردو را در پردهٔ اسرار تو باری نه

کفر کافر را و دین دیندار را — ذرهٔ دردی دل عطار را

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

این خانه بست ایتلاف قلوب موحدان هندوستان وخصوصا معبود پرستان عرصهٔ کشمیر تعمیر یافته *

بفرمان خدیو تخت و افسر چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن کمال امتزاج چار عنصر

هر که بنظر صدق نه بدحه این خانه را خراب سازد باید که نخست معبد خود را بیندازد چه اگر نظر بر دل است با همه ساختنی است واگر چشم بر آب و گل است همه برانداختنی *بیت*

خداوندا چو داد کار دادی مدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توئی بر بارگاه نیت آگاه به پیش شاه داری نیت شاه

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islām feel after Thee,
Each religion says "Thou art one, without equal"

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rose petal[1] belongs to the heart of the perfume seller

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustān and especially those of His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation, Shāh Akbar,
In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture[2]

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship, for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed

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[1] This line is Sūfistic The longing of the heart after God is compared to the perfume which rises from the rose petals The perfume seller i e the Unitarian is truly religious, and is equally removed from heresy and orthodoxy

[2] I.e Akbar is the insān i kāmil or perfect man

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive,
Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have

I have a few notes on Abū 'l-Fazl's family, which may form the conclusion of this biographical noticed The *A*ᵉ*īn* gives the following list of Shaykh Mubārak's sons

1 Shaykh Abū 'l Fayz, better known under his poetical name of Fayẓī He was born in A H 954 (A D 1547) and seems to have died childless

2 Shaykh Abū l-Fazl, born 14th January, 1551, murdered 12th August, 1602

3 Shaykh Abū 'l Barakāt, born 17th Shawwāl, 960 (1552) "Though he has not reached a high degree of learning, he knows much, is a practical man, and well versed in fencing He is good natured and fond of dervishes" He served under Abū 'l Fazl in Khandesh

4 Shaykh Abū 'l Khayr, born 22nd Jumādā I, 967 "He is a well informed young man, of a regulated mind" He, too, must have entered the Imperial service, for he is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* as having been sent by the emperor to the Dakhin to fetch Prince Danyāl

5 Shaykh Abū 'l Makārim, born 23rd Shawwal, 976 He was wild at first, but guided by his father he learned a good deal He also studied under Shah Abū 'l Fath Shirazī

The above five sons were all by the same mother, who, as remarked above, died in 998

6 Shaykh Abū Turāb, born 23rd Zil Hijjah, 988 "Though his mother is another one, he is admitted at Court, and is engaged in self improvement"

Besides the above, Abū 'l Fazl mentions two posthumous sons by *qummā*, or concubines, viz Shaykh Abū 'l Hamid, born 3rd Rabī II, 1002, and Shaykh Abū Rashid, born 1st Jumādā I, 1002 'They resemble their father"

Of Mubārak s daughters, I find four mentioned in the histories —

1 One married to Khudawand Khan Dakhini, vide p 490 Badā,oni calls her husband a *Rafizī*, i e a Shiah, and says he died in Karī in *Gujarāt*

2 One married to Husamᵘ 'd Din, vide p 488

3 One married to a son of Rāja ᶜAlī Khan of Khandesh Their son Safdar Khan [1] was made, in the 45th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of one thousand

[1] The Lakhnau edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III 830) calls him Sundar Khān

4 Lāḍlī Begam, married to Islām Khān, vide p 552, note 1 Mr T W. Beale of Agra, the learned author of the *Miftāḥ-ut-tawārīkh*, informs me that Lāḍlī Begam died in 1017, or five years before the death of her husband Her mausoleum, called the "Rawzayi Lāḍlī Begam" is about two miles to the east of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, near Āgra The interior was built of marble, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of red Fathpūr sandstone It was completed in 1004 In 1843, Mr Beale saw in the Rawza several tombs without inscriptions, and a few years ago the place was sold by government to a wealthy Hindū The new owner dug up the marble stones, sold them, and destroyed the tombs, so that of the old Rawza nothing exists nowadays but the surrounding wall Mr Beale thinks that the bodies of Shaykh Mubārak, Fayzi, and Abū 'l Fazl were likewise buried there, because over the entrance the following inscription in Tughrā characters may still be seen —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به ثقتی * هذه الروضة للعالم الربانی و العارف الصمدانی جامع العلوم شیخ مبارک الله قدس سره قد وقف بنائه بحر العلوم شیخ ابوالفضل سلمه الله تعالی فی ظل دولة الملک العادل یطلبه المجد و الاقبال و الکرم جلال الدنیا و الدین اکبر پادشاه غازی خلد الله تعالی ظلال سلطنته باهتمام حضرت ابی البرکات فی سنة اربع و الف !!

In the name of God the merciful, the clement, in whom I trust! This mausoleum was erected for the divine scholar, the sage of the eternal, the gatherer of knowledge Shaykh Mubarakullah (may his secret be sanctified!), in filial piety by the ocean of sciences, Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl —may God Almighty preserve him!—in the shadow of the majesty of the just king, whom power, auspiciousness, and generosity follow, Jalaluddunyā waddin Akbar, Padishāh i Ghazi—may God Almighty perpetuate the foundations of his kingdom!—under the superintendence of Abū 'l Barakat, in 1004 (A D 1595-96)

Thus it will appear that the Rawza was built in the year in which Fayzi died. Shaykh Mubārak, as mentioned above, died in A D 1593 It seems, however, as if Shaykh Mubarak and Fayzi had been buried at a place opposite to Āgra, on the left bank of the Jamuna, where he first settled in 1551, for Abū 'l Fazl says in his description of Āgra in the *A'in*[1] "On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh Villa, built by Firdaws Makani (the emperor Babar) There the author was born, and

[1] My text edition p 441 Vide also p 539 Keene's *Agra Guide* p 47 and regarding Lādlī Begum p 45 Lāḍlī means in Hindustani 'a pet'

there are resting places of his father and his elder brother Shaykh ʿAlāʾu 'd Dīn Majzūb and Mīr Rafīʿu'd dīn Safawī and other worthies are also buried there " We have no information regarding a removal of the bodies to the other side of the Jamuna, though Abū 'l Fazl s inscription no doubt shows that such a removal was intended It is a pity, however, that the Rawza was sold and destroyed

Abū 'l Fazl's son is the well known

SHAYKH ʿABDᵘ 'R RAHMĀN AFZAL KHAN

He was born on the 12th Shaʿbān, 979, and received from his grandfather the Sunnī name of ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān In the 35th year of Akbar's reign, when twenty years of age, Akbar married him to the daughter of Saʿādat Yār Koka's brother By her ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān had a son, to whom Akbar gave the name of Bishotan [1]

When Abū 'l Fazl was in command of the army in the Dakhin, ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān was, what the Persians call, the *tīr i rū yi tarkash i ū*, "the arrow at hand at the top of the quiver", ever ready to perform duties from which others shrank, and wisely and courageously settling matters of importance He especially distinguished himself in Talingāna When Malik ʿAmbar, in the 46th year, had caught ʿAlī Marda i Bahadur (p 556) and had taken possession of the country, Abu 'l Fazl dispatched ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahman and Sher Khwaja (p 510) to oppose the enemy They crossed the Godawari near Nander, and defeated ʿAmbar at the Mānjarā

Jahangir did not transfer to the son the hatred which he had felt for the father, made him a commander of two thousand horse, gave him the title of Afzal Khān, and appointed him in the third year of his reign, governor of Bihar, *vice* Islam Khan (the husband of Abu 'l Fazl s sister) who was sent to Bengal ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahman also received Gorākhpūr as jāgir As governor of Bihār, he had his headquarters at Patna Once during his absence from Patna a darvish of the name of Qutbᵘ 'd din appeared in the district of Bhojpūr, which belonged to the then very troublesome Ujjainiya Rajas (p 577, note) and gave out that he was Prince Khusra, whom his unsuccessful rebellion and imprisonment by Jahāngir had made the favourite of the people Collecting a large number of men, he marched on Patna occupied the fort which Shaykh Banārasi and Ghiyas ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahman s officers, cowardly gave up, and plundered Afzal Khan's property and the Imperial treasury ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān returned from Gorakhpur as soon as he heard of the

[1] Which name was borne by the brother of Isfandiyār who is so often mentioned in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*

rebellion The pretender fortified Patna and drew up his army at the Pun Pun River ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahman charged at once, and after a short fight dispersed the enemy Qutb now retreated to the fort, followed by ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān, who succeeded in capturing him He executed the man at once, and sent his head to Court, together with the two cowardly officers Jahāngir, who was always minute in his punishments, had their heads shaved and women's veils put over the faces, they were then tied to donkeys, with their heads to the tails, and paraded through the towns (*tashhir*) as a warning to others

Not long after this affair, ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān fell ill and went to Court, where he was well received He lingered for a time, and died of an abscess, in the 8th year of Jahāngir's reign (A H 1022) or eleven years after his father's murder

BISHOTAN, SON OF ʿABDᵘ 'R RAHMĀN SON OF SHAYKH ABŪ 'L-FAZL

He was born on the 3rd Zi Qaʿda, 999 In the 14th year of Jahāngir's reign, he was a commander of seven hundred, with three hundred horse In the 10th year of Shah Jahān's reign, he is mentioned as a commander of five hundred horse, which rank he held when he died in the 15th year of the same reign

BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Áín 1

THE HOUSEHOLD

He is a man of high understanding and noble aspirations who, without the help of others recognizes a ray of the Divine power in the smallest things of the world, who shapes his inward and outward character accordingly, and shows due respect to himself and to others He who does not possess these qualifications, ought not to engage in the struggle of the world, but observe a peaceable conduct If the former be given to retirement, he will cultivate noble virtues, and if his position be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distressing cares

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiae of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship [1]

If he cannot perform everything himself, he ought to select, guided by insight and practical wisdom, one or two men of sagacity and understanding of liberal views in religious matters, possessing diligence and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by their advice

The wise esteem him not a king who confines his attention to great matters only, although some impartial judges excuse a king that does so, because avaricious sycophants who endeavour by cunning to obtain the position of the virtuous, often remind him of the difference of ranks, and succeed in lulling asleep such kings as are fond of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the revenues of the country, and to promote their own interests But good princes make no difference between great and small matters, they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to come, on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of our time In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs

[1] A phrase which Akbar often used.

BOOK FIRST

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

ABŪ 'L-FAẒL'S PREFACE

ALLAHᵘ AKBAR

O Lord whose secrets are for ever veiled
And whose perfection knows not a beginning
End and beginning both are lost in Thee
No trace of them is found in Thy eternal realm
My words are lame, my tongue a stony tract,
Slow wings my foot and wide is the expanse
Confused are my thoughts, but this is Thy best praise
In ecstasy alone I see Thee face to face!

It is proper for a man of true knowledge to praise God not only in words, but also in deeds and to endeavour to obtain everlasting happiness, by putting the window of his heart opposite the slit of his pen, and describing some of the wondrous works of the Creator Perhaps the lustre of royalty may shine upon him, and its light enable him to gather a few drops from the ocean, and a few atoms from the endless field of God's works He will thus obtain everlasting felicity and render fertile the dreary expanse of words and deeds

I, Abū 'l Fazl, son of Mubārak, return thanksgiving to God by singing the praises of royalty, and by stringing its kingly pearls upon the thread of description, but it is not my intention to make mankind, for the first time, acquainted with the glorious deeds and excellent virtues of that remarkable man,[1] who clothes our wonderful world in new colours, and is an ornament to God's noble creation It would be absurd on my part to speak about that which is known, I should make myself the butt of the learned It is only my personal knowledge of him, a priceless jewel, which I send to the market place of the world, and my heart feels proud of being engaged in such an undertaking But it could not have been from self laudation that I have taken upon myself to carry out so great a task—a work which even heavenly beings would find beset with difficulties, for such a motive would expose my inability and shortsightedness My sole object in writing this work was, first, to impart to all that take an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does

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[1] Akbar

over the field of knowledge, and, secondly to leave future generations a noble legacy The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of wisdom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom In doing so, I have, of course, to speak of the exalted position of a king, and also to describe the condition of those who are assistants in this great office

No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty, and those who are wise, drink from its auspicious fountain A sufficient proof of this, for those who require one, is the fact that royalty is a remedy for the spirit of rebellion, and the reason why subjects obey Even the meaning of the word Pādishāh shows this, for *pād* signifies stability and possession, and *shāh* means origin, lord A king is, therefore, the origin of stability and possession If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste But by the light of imperial justice, some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment, and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude *Shāh* is also a name given to one who surpasses his fellows, as you may see from words like *shāh suwār*, *shāh rah*, it is also a term applied to a bridegroom—the world as the bride, betrothes herself to the King and becomes his worshipper

Silly and shortsighted men cannot distinguish a *true* king from a *selfish* ruler Nor is this remarkable, as both have in common a large treasury, a numerous army, clever servants, obedient subjects an abundance of wise men, a multitude of skilful workmen and a superfluity of means of enjoyment But men of deeper insight remark a difference In the case of the former, the things just now enumerated are lasting, but in that of the latter, of short duration The former does not attach himself to these things, as his object is to remove oppression and provide for everything which is good Security, health, chastity, justice polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity, etc, are the result The latter is kept in bonds by the external forms of royal power, by

vanity, the slavishness of men, and the desire of enjoyment, hence, everywhere there is insecurity, unsettledness, strife, oppression, faithlessness, robbery

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe,[1] the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues Modern language calls this light *farr i īzidī* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyān khura* (the sublime halo) It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission Again, many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light 1 *A paternal love towards the subjects* Thousands find rest in the love of the King, and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife In his wisdom, the King will understand the spirit of the age, and shape his plans accordingly 2 *A large heart* The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him, nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment His courage steps in His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it The wishes of great and small are attended to, and their claims meet with no delay at his hands 3 *A daily increasing trust in God* When he performs an action, he considers God as the real doer of it (and himself as the medium), so that a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance 4 *Prayer and devotion* The success of his plans will not lead him to neglect, nor will adversity cause him to forget God, and madly trust in man He puts the reins of desire into the hands of reason, in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden down by restlessness, nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper He makes wrath, the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand, and inconsider ateness overstep the proper limits He sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return without exposing their bad deeds to the public gaze When he sits in judgment, the petitioner seems to be the judge, and he himself, on account of his mildness, the suitor for justice He does not permit petitioners to be delayed on the path of hope, he endeavours to promote the happiness of the creatures in obedience to the will of the Creator, and never seeks to please the people in contradiction to reason He is for ever searching

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[1] Akbar worshipped the sun as the visible representative of God and the immediate source of life Regarding his form of worship *vide* below

after those who speak the truth, and is not displeased with words that seem bitter, but are in reality sweet He considers the nature of the words and the rank of the speaker He is not content with not committing violence, but he must see that no injustice is done within his realm

He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof And in the same manner that the equilibrium of the animal constitution depends upon an equal mixture of the elements,[1] so also does the political constitution become well tempered by a proper division of ranks, and by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body

The people of the world may be divided into four classes[2]—1 *Warriors*, who in the political body have the nature of fire Their flames, directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances 2 *Artificers and merchants*, who hold the place of air From their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and the breeze of contentment nourishes the rose tree of life 3 *The learned*, such as the philosopher, the physician, the arithmetician, the geometrician, the astronomer, who resemble water From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the drought of the world, and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness 4 *Husbandmen* and *labourers*, who may be compared to earth By their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection and strength and happiness flow from their work

It is therefore obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish

And as the grand political body maintains its equilibrium by the above four ranks of men, so does royalty receive its final tint from a similar fourfold division

1 *The nobles of the state*, who in reliance on their position lead every thing to a happy issue Illuminating the battle field with the halo of devotedness, they make no account of their lives These fortunate

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[1] Thus according to the medical theories of the middle ages

[2] This passage resembles one in Firdausi's Shahnama in the chapter entitled *dar dāstān i Jamshid* vide also Vuller's *Persian Dictionary* ii 756 s *kātūzi* It is also found in the *Akhlāq i Muhsini* chapter xv *dar adl* in the *Akhlāq i Jalāli* and the *Akhlāq i Nāsiri* the oldest of the three Akhlāqs mentioned

courtiers resemble fire, being ardent in devotion, and consuming in dealing with foes At the head of this class is the *Vakīl*, who from his having attained by his wisdom the four degrees of perfection,[1] is the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household He graces the Council by his wisdom, and settles with penetration the great affairs of the realm Promotion and degradation, appointment and dismissal, depend on his insight It requires therefore an experienced man who possesses wisdom, nobility of mind, affability, firmness, magnanimity, a man able to be at peace with any one, who is frank, single minded towards relations and strangers, impartial to friends and enemies, who weighs his words, is skilful in business, well bred, esteemed, known to be trustworthy, sharp and farsighted, acquainted with the ceremonies of the court, cognizant of the State secrets, prompt in transacting business, unaffected by the multiplicity of his duties He should consider it his duty to promote the wishes of others, and base his actions on a due regard to the different ranks of men, treating even his inferiors with respect, from the desire of attaching to himself the hearts of all He takes care not to commit improprieties in conversation, and guards himself from bad actions Although the financial offices are not under his immediate superintendence, yet he received the returns from the heads of all financial offices, and wisely keeps abstracts of their returns

The Mir māl,[2] the Keeper of the seal, the Mīr bakhshī,[3] the Bār begī,[4] the Qurbegī,[5] the Mir tozak,[6] the Mir bahrī,[7] the Mīr barr,[8] the Mir Manzil,[9] the Khwānsālār,[10] the Munshi,[11] the Qūsh begī,[12] the Akhta begī,[13] belong to this class Every one of them ought to be sufficiently acquainted with the work of the others

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[1] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the read[illegible] [illegible]

[3] Paymaster of the Court

[4] An officer who presents people at Court, their petitions, etc He is also called *Mir 'Arz*

[5] [illegible]

[illegible] Akbar's court was frequently travelling

[illegible] pigeons) [Head of the Mews.—P]

2 *The assistants of victory*, the collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure, who in the administration resemble wind, at times a heart-rejoicing breeze, at other times a hot, pestilential blast The head of this division is the *Vizier*, also called *Dīwān* He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the imperial treasuries, and checks all accounts He is the banker of the cash of the revenue, the cultivator of the wilderness of the world He must be a member of the *Divine Faith*, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, circumspect, warm hearted, abstinent, active in business, pleasing in his style, clear in his writings, truthful, a man of integrity, condescending, zealous in his work *He is in reality a book keeper He explains all* matters which appear too intricate for the *Mustawfī*[1], and whatever is beyond his own abil ty he refers to the *Vakīl* The Mustawfī, the Sāhib i Tawjī,[2] the Awārja Nawīs,[3] the Mīr Samān,[4] the Nāẓir i Buyūtāt,[5] the Dīwān i Buyūtāt,[6] the Mushrif,[7] of the Treasury, the Waqiʿa Nawīs,[8] the ʿĀmil[9] of the domains, are under his orders, and act by the force of his wisdom

Some princes consider the office of the Vizier as a part of that of the *Vakīl*, and are anxious to find in their realm a man who possesses the excellent qualities of these two pillars of the edifice of the State But as they are not always able to find a person qualified for the office of a Vakīl, they make choice of a man who has some of his qualities, and appoint him as *Mushrif-i Dīwān*, which office is higher in rank than that of the Dīwān, but lower than that of the Vakīl

3 *The companions of the king*, who are the ornaments of the court by the light of their wisdom, the ray of their sharpsightedness, their know ledge of the times, their intimate acquaintance with human nature, their frankness and polite address Through the excellence of their religious faith and good will, thousands open in the market place of the world the stores of virtue Wisely fettering ambition on the battle-field of the world, they extinguish the sparks of wrath by the rain of their

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[1] Deputy Dīwān
[2] The Accountant [illegible] the Army
[3] The Accountant of the daily expenditure at Court
[4] The officer in charge of the Court furniture stores etc
[5] Superintendent of the Imperial workshops
[6] The Accountant of the Imperial workshops
[7] Clerk.
[8] The Recorder
[9] Collector

wisdom, whence they resemble water in the affairs of the body political When they are of a mild temperament, they remove the dust of affliction from the hearts of men, and bestow freshness upon the meadow of the nation, but if they depart from moderation, they inundate the world with a deluge of calamity, so that numbers are driven by the flood of misfortunes into the current of utter extinction

At the head of this class stands the philosopher, who with the assistance of his wisdom and example purifies the morals of the nation, and girds himself with the noble aim of putting the welfare of mankind upon a sound basis The Ṣadr,[1] the Mir ʿAdl, the Qazi,[2] the physician the astronomer, the poet, the soothsayer belong to this class

4 *The servants* who at court perform the duties about the king They occupy in the system of the State the position of earth As such, they lie on the high road of submission, and in dust before the majesty of the king If free from chaff and dross, they are like an elixir for the body, otherwise they are dust and dirt upon the face of success The table servant, the armour bearer, the servants in charge of the *sharbat* and the water, the servant in charge of the mattresses and the wardrobe, belong to this class

If the king be waited on by servants to whom good fortune has given excellent qualities there arises sometimes a harmony, which is like a nosegay from the flower bed of auspiciousness

Just as the welfare of the whole world depends upon the successful working of the above mentioned four classes, as settled by kings, so does the body politic depend upon the proper formation of the latter four divisions

The sages of antiquity mention the following four persons as the chief supports of the State —1 *An upright collector*, who protects the husbandman, watches over the subjects develops the country, and improves the revenues 2 *A conscientious commander* of the army, active and strict 3 *A chief justice*, free from avarice and selfishness who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his ends by putting various questions without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths 4 *An intelligencer*, who transmits the events of the time without addition or diminution, always keeping to the thread of truth and penetration

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[1] Also called *Sadr i Jahān* the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the empire

[2] The Qāẓi hears the case the Mir ʿAdl passes the sentence

It is moreover incumbent on a just king to make himself acquainted with the characters of the following five kinds[1] of men of whom the world is composed, and act accordingly 1 The most commendable person is *the sagacious man* who prudently does that which is proper and absolutely necessary The fountain of his virtues does not only run along his channel, but renders verdant the fields of other men Such a one is the fittest person for a king to consult in State affairs After him comes, secondly, *the man of good intentions* The river of his virtues does not flow over its bed, and does not therefore become an irrigating source for others Although it may be proper to show him kindness and respect, yet he does not merit so high a degree of confidence Inferior to him is, thirdly, *the simple man*, who does not wear the badge of excellence upon the sleeve of his action, yet keeps the hem of his garment free from the dust of wicked deeds He does not deserve any distinction, but ought to be allowed to live at his ease Worse than he is, fourthly, *the inconsiderate man*, who fills his house with furniture for his own mischief, without, however, doing harm to others Him the king should keep in the hot place of disappointment, and bring him into the road of virtue by good advice and severe reprehension The last of all is *the vicious man*, whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief If the remedies employed in the case of men of the preceding class, do not amend him, the king should consider him as a leper, and confine him separate from mankind, and provided this harsh treatment does not awaken him from his sleep of error, he should feel the torture of grief, and be banished from his dwelling, and if this remedy produce no effect either, he should be driven out of the kingdom to wander in the wilderness of disappointment, and if even this should not improve his vicious nature, he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose his sight, or his hand, or his foot But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence, for inquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God and do not permit its destruction

It is therefore necessary for just kings, to make themselves first acquainted with the rank and character of men, by the light of insight and penetration, and then to regulate business accordingly And hence it is that the sages of ancient times have said that princes who wear the

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[1] The following is a free paraphrase of a passage in the *Akhlaq i Muhsini*, Chapter XXXII, entitled *dar siyasat*

jewel of wisdom do not appoint every low man to their service, that they do not consider every one who has been appointed, to be deserving of daily admittance, that those who are thus favoured, are not therefore deemed worthy to sit with them on the carpet of intercourse, that those who are worthy of this station are not necessarily admitted to the pavilion of familiar address that those who have this privilege, are not therefore allowed to sit in the august assembly, that those upon whom this ray of good fortune falls, are not therefore let into their secrets, and that those who enjoy the happiness of this station, are not therefore fit for admission into the Cabinet Council

Praise be to God, the Giver of every good gift! The exalted monarch of our time is so endowed with these laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to call him their *exordium* From the light of his wisdom, he discerns the worth of men and kindles the lamp of their energy, whilst ever clear to himself, and without an effort, he adorns his wisdom with the beauty of practice Who can measure, by the rules of speech, his power as a spiritual leader, and his works in the wide field of holiness[1], and even if it were possible to give a description of it, who would be able to hear and comprehend it? The best thing I can do is to abstain from such an attempt, and to confine myself to the description of such of his wonderful doings as illustrate the worldly side of his nature, and his greatness as a king I shall speak —

First, of his regulations concerning *the household*, *secondly*, of the regulations concerning *the army*, *thirdly*, of the regulations concerning *the empire*, as these three contain the whole duty of a king In doing so, I shall leave practical inquirers a present, which may seem difficult to understand but which is easy, or rather, which may seem easy, but is in reality difficult

Experienced men who are acquainted with the art of governing, and versed in the history of the past, cannot comprehend how monarchs have hitherto governed, without these wise regulations and how the garden of royalty could have been fresh and verdant, without being irrigated by this fountain of wisdom

This sublime volume then, is arranged under three heads, it enables me, in some measure, to express my feelings of gratitude for favours received

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[1] Akbar as the spiritual leader of the members belonging to the Divine Faith wrought many miracles, of which some are related in the seventy seventh Áʼín of this book.

Remark by the Author.—As I had occasion to use Hindi words, I have carefully described the consonants and vowels. Engravers will therefore have no difficulty in reading; but [illegible] I have [illegible] from mistakes in copying. Letters like [illegible] and a few more, are sufficiently clear from their names. Some letters I have distinguished as [illegible], and letters [illegible] in form, without such a [illegible]. Letters which are purely Persian, have been distinguished as such; thus [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible], the [illegible] in [illegible], the [illegible] in [illegible]. Sometimes I have added to the names of these letters, the [illegible] having three points. Letters peculiar to the Hindi language I have distinguished as *Hindi*. The letter [illegible] as in [illegible], I have called [illegible], and the [illegible], as in [illegible], [illegible]. The [illegible] I have merely [illegible]. [illegible], the letters [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], when clearly sounded, have been merely described as [illegible], [illegible], etc. The nasal [illegible] I have called [illegible] or [illegible]. The final and mute h, as in [illegible], I have called [illegible], i.e. written, but not pronounced. The [illegible] and [illegible] when [illegible] I have called [illegible]. As consonants followed by [illegible] have the vowels, it was not necessary to specify their vowels.

BOOK FIRST.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

A'īn 1

THE HOUSEHOLD

He is a man of high understanding and noble aspirations who, without the help of others recognizes a ray of the Divine power in the smallest things of the world, who shapes his inward and outward character accordingly, and shows due respect to himself and to others He who does not possess these qualifications ought not to engage in the struggle of the world, but observe a peaceable conduct If the former be given to retirement, he will cultivate noble virtues, and if his position be a dependent one, he will put his whole heart in the management of his affairs, and lead a life free from distressing cares

True greatness, in spiritual and in worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiæ of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship [1]

If he cannot perform everything himself, he ought to select, guided by insight, and practical wisdom one or two men of sagacity and under standing, of liberal views in religious matters, possessing diligence and a knowledge of the human heart, and be guided by their advice

The wise esteem him not a king who confines his attention to great matters only, although some impartial judges excuse a king that does so, because avaricious sycophants who endeavour by cunning to obtain the position of the virtuous, often remind him of the difference of ranks, and succeed in lulling asleep such kings as are fond of external greatness, their only object being to make a trade of the revenues of the country, and to promote their own interests But good princes make no difference between great and small matters, they take, with the assistance of God, the burden of this world and the responsibility of the world to come, on the shoulder of resolution, and are yet free and independent, as is the case with the king of our time In his wisdom, he makes himself acquainted with the successful working of every department, which, although former monarchs

[1] A phrase which Akbar often used.

have thought it derogatory to their greatness, is yet the first step towards the establishment of a good government. For every branch he has made proper regulations, and he sees in the performance of his duty a means of obtaining God's favour.

The success of this vast undertaking depends upon two things: *first*, wisdom and insight, to call into existence suitable regulations; *secondly*, a watchful eye, to see them carried out by men of integrity and diligence.

Although many servants of the household receive their salaries on the list of the army, there was paid for the household in the thirty ninth year of the Divine era, the sum of 309,186,795 *dāms*.[1] The expenses of this account, as also the revenues, are daily increasing. There are more than one hundred offices and workshops each resembling a city, or rather a little kingdom; and by the unremitting attention of his Majesty, they are all conducted with regularity, and are constantly increasing their improvement being accompanied by additional care and supervision on the part of his Majesty.

Some of the regulations I shall transmit as a present, to future enquirers, and thus kindle in others the lamp of wisdom and energy.

As regards those regulations which are of a general nature and which from their subject matter belong to each of the three divisions of the work, I have put them among the regulations of the Household.

Ā'īn 2

THE IMPERIAL TREASURIES

Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God, consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends, however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the king's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this is again connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity. Hence it is incumbent on just kings, to care for the former, and to protect the latter class of men. If some say that to collect wealth, and to ask for more

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[1] Or 7,729,669¾ Rupees. One rupee (of Akbar) = 40 *dams*. The Divine era or *Tārīkh i Ilāhī* is Akbar's solar era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th February, 1556; hence the thirty ninth year corresponds to A D 1595.

than is absolutely necessary, is looked upon as contemptible by people given to retirement and seclusion, whilst the opposite is the case with the inhabitants of the towns, who live in a dependent position, I would answer that it is after all only shortsighted men who make this assertion, for in reality both classes of men try to obtain that which they think necessary. Poor, but abstemious people take a sufficient quantity of food and raiment, so as to keep up the strength necessary for the pursuit of their enquiries, and to protect them against the influence of the weather, whilst the other class think to have just sufficient, when they fill their treasuries, gather armies, and reflect on other means of increasing their power.

It was from such views, when lifting the veil and beginning to pay attention to these weighty concerns, that his Majesty entrusted his inmost secrets to the *Khwāja sarā Iʿtimād Khān*,[1] a name which his Majesty had bestowed upon him as a fitting title. On account of the experience of the *Khwaja*, the reflections of his Majesty took a practical turn, widened by degrees, and shone at last forth in excellent regulations. An enquiry regarding the income of the different kinds of land was set on foot, and successfully concluded by the wisdom of upright and experienced men. With a comprehensiveness which knew no difference between friends and strangers, the lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer were separated from the Jāgīr lands, and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *karor* of *dams*. Incorruptible *bitakchīs*[2] were selected to assist them, and intelligent treasurers were appointed, one for each. And from kindness and care for the agricultural classes, it was commanded that the collectors should not insist upon the husbandman paying coin in full weight, but to give him a receipt for whatever species of money he might bring. This laudable regulation removed the rust of uncertainty from the minds of the collectors, and

[1] *Iʿtimād* means *trustworthiness*. [illegible]
real [illegible]
upon [illegible]
death [illegible]
into [illegible]
Iʿtim[illegible]
[illegible]

[2] [illegible] writers

relieved the subjects from a variety of oppressions, whilst the income became larger, and the state flourished The fountain of the revenues having thus been purified, a zealous and honest man was selected for the general treasurership, and a *dārogha* and a clerk were appointed to assist him Vigilance was established, and a standard laid down for this department

Whenever a (provincial) treasurer had collected the sum of two lakhs of *dāms*, he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum

A separate treasurer was appointed for the *peshkash* [1] receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for *nazr* receipts,[2] and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person,[3] and for charitable donations Proper regulations were also made for the disbursements , and honest superintendents, *dāroghas* and clerks were appointed The sums required for the annual expenditure, are paid at the General Treasury to each cashkeeper of the disbursements, and correct receipts granted for them A proper system of accounts having thus been inaugurated, the empire began to flourish In a short time the treasuries were full, the army was augmented, and refractory rebels led to the path of obedience

In *Irān* and *Tūrān*, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state , but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasurers are necessary for storing the money, nine for the different kinds of cash payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery The extent of the treasuries is too great to admit of my giving a proper description with other matters before me From his knowledge of the work, and as a reward for labour, his Majesty very often expresses his satisfaction, or conveys reprimands , hence everything is in a flourishing condition

Separate treasurers were also appointed for each of the Imperial workshops the number of which is nearly one hundred Daily, monthly, quarterly, and yearly accounts are kept of the receipts and disbursements, so that in this branch also the market place of the world is in a flourishing condition

Again by the order of his Majesty a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall, some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay Moreover, a *karor* of *dāms* is kept in readiness within the palace, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material Such a bag is called in Hindi *sahsah*,[4]

[1] Tributes
[2] Presents vows etc
[3] *Vide* the eighteenth *Āʾīn* of the second book
[[4] *Sahasra* S —P]

and many of them, when put up in a heap, *ganj* Besides, his Majesty entrusts to one of the nobility a large sum of money, part of which is carried in a *purse* [1] This is the reason, why such disbursements are called in the language of the country *kharj i bahlah*

All these benefits flow from the wonderful liberality of his Majesty, and from his unremitting care for the subjects of the empire Would to God that he might live a thousand years !

Āʾīn 3

THE TREASURE FOR PRECIOUS STONES

If I were to speak about the quantity and quality of the stones it would take me an age I shall therefore give a few particulars, "gathering an ear from every sheaf"

His Majesty appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous *dārogha*, and also skilful jewellers The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion

Rubies —1st class rubies, not less than 1000 muhrs in value, 2nd class from 999 to 500 muhrs, 3rd class, from 499 to 300, 4th class, from 299 to 200, 5th class, from 199 to 100, 6th class, from 99 to 60, 7th class, from 59 to 40, 8th class, from 39 to 30, 9th class, from 29 to 10, 10th class, from 9¾ to 5, 11th class, from 4¾ to 1 muhr, 12th class, from ¾ muhr to ¼ rupee They made no account of rubies of less value

Diamonds, *emeralds*, and the *red* and *blue yāqūts*, were classified as follows 1st class, from 30 muhrs upwards, 2nd class, from 29¾ to 15 muhrs, 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12, 4th class, from 11¾ to 10, 5th class, from 9¾ to 7, 6th class, from 6¾ to 5, 7th class, from 4¾ to 3, 8th class, from 2¾ to 2, 9th class, from 1¾ to 1 muhr, 10th class, from 8¾ rupees to 5 rupees, 11th class, from 4¾ to 2 rupees, 12th class, from 1¾ to ¼ rupee

The *Pearls* were divided into 16 classes, and strong by scores The first string contained twenty pearls, each of a value of 30 muhrs and upwards, 2nd class pearls varied from 29¾ to 15 muhrs; 3rd class, from 14¾ to 12, 4th class, from 11¾ to 10, 5th class, from 9¾ to 7, 6th class, from 6¾ to 5, 7th class, from 4¾ to 3, 8th class, from 2¾ to 2, 9th class,

[1] A *purse* in Hindi is called *bahla* [*Bahla*, P a purse a falconer's glove —P]

from 1¾ to 1, 10th class, less than a muhr, down to 5 rupees, 11th class, less than 5, to [illegible] rupees, 12th class, less than 2 rupees, to 1½ rupees, 13th class, less than 1½ rupees, to 30 *dāms*, 14th class, less than 30 *dāms*, to 20 *dāms*, 15th class, less than 20 *dāms*, to 10 *dāms*, 16th class, less than 10 *dāms*, to [illegible] *dāms* The pearls are strung upon a number of strings indicating their class, so that those of the 16th class are strung upon 16 strings At the end of each bundle of strings the imperial seal [illegible] affixed, to avoid losses arising from unsorting, whilst a description [illegible] attached to each pearl, to prevent disorder

The following are the charges for boring pearls, independent of the daily and monthly wages of the workmen For a pearl of the 1st class, ½ rupee, 2nd class, ⅓, 3rd class, 1/10 rupee, 4th class, 3 *dāms*, 5th class, 1 *sūkī*[1] 6th class, 1 *dām*, 7th class, ¾ *dām* 8th class, ½ *dam*, 9th class, ⅓ *dām*, 10th class, ¼ *dam*, 11th class, ⅕ *dam*, 12th class, ⅙ *dam*, 13th class ⅛ *dam*, 14th class, ⅛ *dam*, 15th class, 1/16 *dam*, 16th class, 1/17 *dām*, and less

The value of jewels is so well known that it [illegible] useless to say anything about it, but those which are at present in the treasury of his Majesty may be detailed as follows —

Rubies weighing 11 *tānks*,[2] 20 *surkhs*,[3] and diamonds of 5½ *tānks*,[4] 4 *surkhs*, each one lakh of rupees, emeralds weighing 17½ *tanks*, 3 *surkhs*, [illegible] 000 rupees, *yaqūts* of 4 *tānks*, 7¾ *surkhs*, and pearls of 5 *tānks*, each 50,000 rupees

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 4

THE IMPERIAL MINT

As the successful working of the mint increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details

The inhabitants of the towns and the country perform their transactions by means of money Every man uses it according to the extent of his necessities, the man whose heart is free from worldly desires

[1 *Sūkī* s m and *sukī* f H, a four anna bit]
[2 *Tāk* H = 4 *masha* —P]
3
Abru
often
rati
1 ser
tenth
7 su
4

sustains by it his life, and the worldly man considers it the final stage of his objects—the wants of all are satisfied by it. The wise man looks upon it as the foundation from which the fulfilment of his worldly and religious wishes flows. It is absolutely necessary for the continuance of the human race, as men obtain by money their food and clothing. You may indeed gain these two things by undergoing some labour, as sowing, watering, reaping, cleaning, kneading, cooking, twisting, spinning, weaving, etc., but these actions cannot well be performed without several helpers; for the strength of a single man is not sufficient, and to do so day after day would be difficult, if not impossible. Again, man requires a dwelling for keeping his provisions. This he calls his *home*, whether it be a tent, or a cave. Man's existence, and the continuance of his life, depend on five things: a father, a mother, children, servants, food, the last of which is required by all. Moreover, money is required, as our furniture and utensils break; they last in no case very long. But money does last long, on account of the strength and compactness of its material, and even a little of it may produce much. It also enables men to travel. How difficult would it be to carry provisions for several days, let alone for several months or years!

By the help of God's goodness this excellent precious metal (gold) has come to the shore of existence, and filled the store of life without much labour on the part of man. By means of gold, man carries out noble plans, and even performs Divine worship in a proper manner. Gold has many valuable qualities: it possesses softness, a good taste, and smell. Its component parts are nearly equal[1] in weight; and the marks of the four elements are visible in its properties. Its colour reminds us of fire, its purity of air, its softness of water, its heaviness of earth; hence gold possesses many life-giving rays. Nor can any of the four elements injure it; for it does not burn in the fire; it remains unaffected by air; retains for ages its appearance although kept in water; and does not get altered when buried in the ground, whereby gold is distinguished from the other metals. It is for this reason that in old books on philosophy in which man's intellect is termed *the greater principle*, gold is called *the lesser principle*,[2] as the things required for human life depend upon it. Among its epithets I may mention "the guardian of justice", "the universal adjuster"—and, indeed, the adjustment of things depends on gold,

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[1] According to the chemists of the middle ages, gold consists of quicksilver and sulphur taken in equal proportions; the latter must, however, possess colouring properties. *Vide* the thirteenth *Āʼīn*.

[2] "Were it not for piety, I would bow down to gold and say 'Hallowed be thy name!'"—*Harīrī*.

and the basis of justice rests upon it To render it service, God has allowed silver and brass to come into use, thus creating additional means for the welfare of man Hence just kings and energetic rulers have paid much attention to these metals, and erected mints, where their properties may be thoroughly studied The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous, and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness

Āʾīn 5

THE WORKMEN OF THE MINT

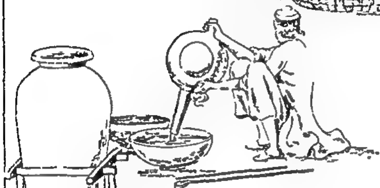
1 The *Dārogha* He must be a circumspect and intelligent man of broad principles, who takes the cumbrous burden of his colleagues upon the shoulder of despatch He must keep every one to his work, and show zeal and integrity

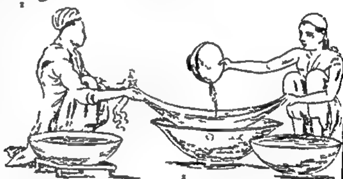
2 The *Sayrafī*[1] The success of this important department depends upon his experience as he determines the degrees of purity of the coins On account of the prosperity of the present age there are now numbers of skilful *sarrāfs*,[1] and by the attention of his Majesty gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity The highest degree of purity is called in Persian *dahdahī* but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness whilst in India it it called *bārahbānī*, as they have twelve degrees Formerly the old *hun* which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees, but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½ and the round small gold *dīnār* of ʿAlāʾ d Dīn,[2] which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½

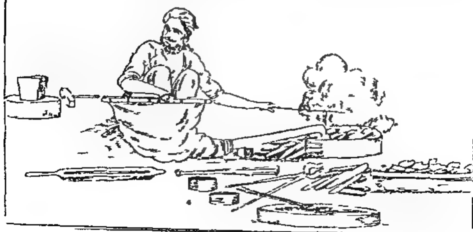
Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time and referred it to witchcraft and alchemy, for they maintain, that gold ore does not come up to this fineness But by the attention of his Majesty, it has come up to this degree, hence the astonishment of people acquainted with this branch It is, however, certain, that gold cannot be made finer and of a higher degree Honest describers and truthful travellers have indeed never mentioned this degree, but when gold is put into fusion, small particles separate from it, and mix with the ashes which ignorant men look upon as useless dross, whilst the skilful recover the metal from it Although malleable gold ore be calcined and reduced to ashes, yet by a

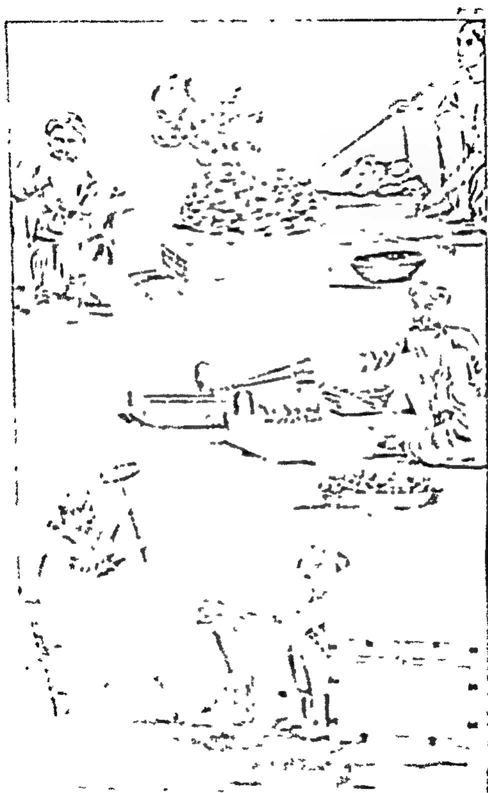
[1] The same as *Sayrāf* or *Sarrāf*, hence a *shroff* a money lender
[[2] P—IIا ي دینار گرد خورد علائی]











certain operation, it is brought back to its original state, but a part of it is lost Through the wisdom of his Majesty, the real circumstances connected with this loss, were brought to light, and the fraudulent practices of the workmen thus put to the test

Āʼīn 11

BANWĀRĪ[1]

An abbreviation for bānwārī Although in this country clever sayrafīs are able from experience to tell the degree of fineness by the colour and the brightness of the metal, the following admirable rule has been introduced for the satisfaction of others

To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written on them When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the needles By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of fineness of the gold It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception

To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of fineness This is obtained as follows They melt together one *māsha* of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper, and let it get solid This mixture they again melt with 6 *māshas* of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness Of this composition one *māsha*[2] is taken, and divided into sixteen parts of half a *surkh* each If now 7½ *surkhs* of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of the new mixture will only be 10¼ *bān*[3] Similarly, 7 *surkhs* pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 *bān*, 6½ *s* pure gold and three parts composition, 9¾ *bān*, 6 *s* gold and four parts composition, 9½ *bān*, 5½ *s* gold and five parts composition, 9¼ *bān*, 5*s* gold and six parts composition, 9 *bān*, 4½ *s* gold and seven parts composition, 8¾ *bān*, 4 *s* gold and eight parts composition, 8½ *bān*, 3½ *s*. gold and nine parts composition, 8¼ *bān*, 3 *s* gold and ten parts composition, 8 *bān*, 2½ *s* gold and eleven parts composition, 7¾ *bān*, 2 *s* gold and twelve parts composition, 7½ *bān*, 1½ *s* gold and thirteen parts composition, 7¼ *bān*, 1 *s* gold and fourteen parts composition, 7 *bān*, and

[1] This Hind word which is not given in the dictionaries, means the *testing of gold*
[2] This *masha* contains 6 parts gold, 1 part silver, and 1 part copper, i e, ¾ gold and ¼ alloy
[3] The Hind term *ban* means 'temper, degree'

lastly, $\frac{1}{2}$ *s* gold and fifteen parts composition, 6$\frac{3}{4}$ *bān* Or *generally*, every additional half *surkh* (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness of the gold by a quarter *bān*, the touch of the composition itself being 6$\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*

If it be required to have a degree less than 6$\frac{1}{2}$ *bān*, they mix together $\frac{1}{2}$ *surkh* of the first mixture which consisted, as I said, of silver and copper, with 7$\frac{1}{2}$ *surkhs* of the second composition (consisting of gold, copper, and silver), which, when melted together, gives gold of 6$\frac{1}{4}$ *bān* and if 1 *surkh* of the first mixture be melted together with 7 *surkhs* of the second composition, the result will be 6 *bān*, and if they require still baser compositions, they increase the mixtures by half *surkhs* But in the *Banwarī*, they reckon to 6 *bāns* only, rejecting all baser compositions

All this is performed by a man who understands the tests

3 *The Amīn* He must possess impartiality and integrity, so that friends and enemies can be sure of him Should there be any differences, he assists the *darogha* and the other workmen, maintains that which is right, and prevents quarrels

4 The *Mushrif* He writes down the daily expenditure in an upright and practical manner, and keeps a systematic day book

5 *The Merchant* He buys up gold, silver, and copper, by which he gains a profit for himself, assists the department, and benefits the revenues of the State Trade will flourish, when justice is everywhere to be had, and when rulers are not avaricious

6 *The Treasurer* He watches over the profits, and is upright in all his dealings

The salaries of the first four and the sixth officers differ from each other, the lowest of them holding the rank of an *Ahadī* [1]

7 *The Weighman* He weighs the coins For weighing 100 *jalālī* gold muhrs he gets 1$\frac{3}{4}$ *dāms*, for weighing 1000 rupees, 6$\frac{2}{5}$ *dāms*, and for weighing 1000 copper *dāms*, $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{5}$ of a *dām*, and, after this rate, according to the quantity

8 *The Melter of the Ore* He makes small and large trenches in a tablet of clay, which he besmears with grease, and pours into them the melted gold and silver, to cast them into ingots In the case of copper, instead of using grease, it is sufficient to sprinkle ashes For the above

[1] The *Ahadis* corresponds to our *warrant officers* Most clerks of the Imperial offices
this cor
immedi
returns
everyth

mentioned quantity of gold, he gets $2\frac{3}{4}$ *dāms*, for the same quantity of silver, 5 *dāms* and $13\frac{1}{4}$ *jetals*,[1] for the same quantity of copper, 4 *dāms* and $21\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals*.

9. *The Platemaker.* He makes the adulterated gold into plates of six or seven *māshas* each, six fingers in length and breadth; these he carries to the assay master, who measures them in a mould made of copper, and stamps such as are suitable in order to prevent alterations and to show the work done. He receives as wages for the above mentioned quantity of gold $12\frac{1}{2}$ *dāms*.

Āīn 7.

THE MANNER OF REFINING GOLD.

When the above mentioned plates have been stamped, the owner of the gold, for the weight of every 100 *jalālī* gold muhrs, must furnish[2] four sers of saltpetre, and four sers of brickdust of raw bricks. The plates, after having been washed in clean water, are stratified with the above mixture (of the saltpetre and brickdust), and put one above the other, the whole being covered with cowdung which in Hindi is called *upla*. It is the dry dung of the *Wild*[3] *Cow*. Then they set fire to it, and let it gently burn, till the dung is reduced to ashes, when they leave it to cool; then, these ashes being removed from the sides, are preserved. They are called in Persian *Ḵhāk i Ḵhālis*, and in Hindi *salonī*. By a process, to be mentioned hereafter, they recover silver from it. The plates, and the ashes below them, are left as they are. This process of setting fire to the dung, and removing the ashes at the sides, is twice repeated. When three fires have been applied, they call the plates *sitāī*. They are then again washed in clean water and stratified three times with the above mixture, the ashes of the sides being removed.

This operation must be repeated till six mixtures and eighteen fires have been applied, when the plates are again washed. Then the assay master breaks one of them; and if there comes out a soft and mild sound, it is a sign of its being sufficiently pure; but if the sound is harsh, the plates must undergo three more fires. Then from each of the plates one *māsha* is taken away, of which aggregate a plate is made. This is tried on the touchstone; if it is not sufficiently fine, the gold has again to pass through one or two fires. In most cases, however, the desired effect is obtained by three or four fires.

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[1] Twenty five *jetals* make one *dam*. Vide the 10th Āīn.

[[2] Use.—P.]

[[3] *Sahrāī*, This probably means *jangli*, i.e., 'not stalled or stall fed.'—P.]

The following method of assaying is also used. They take two *tolās* of pure gold, and two *tolas* of the gold which passed through the fire, and make twenty plates of each, of equal weight. They then spread the above mixture, apply the fire, wash them, and weigh them with an exact balance. If both kinds are found to be equal in weight, it is a proof of pureness.

10. *The Melter of the refined metal.* He melts the refined plates of gold, and casts them, as described above, into ingots. His fee for 100 gold *muhrs* is three *dāms*.

11. The *Zarrāb*. He cuts off the gold, silver and copper ingots, as exactly as he can, round pieces of the size of coined money. His fees are, for 100 gold *muhrs*, 21 *dāms*, 1¼ *jetals*; for the weight of 1000 rupees, 53 *dāms*, 8¾ *jetals*, if he cuts rupees; and 28 *dāms* in addition if he cuts the same weight of silver into quarter rupees. For 1000 copper *dāms* his fee is 20 *dāms*; for the same weight of half and quarter *dāms*, 25 *dāms*; and for half quarter *dāms*, which are called *damrīs*, 69 *dāms*.

In Irān and Tūrān they cannot cut these pieces without a proper anvil; but Hindustani workmen cut them without such an instrument, so exactly, that there is not the difference of a single hair, which is remarkable enough.

12. *The Engraver.* He engraves the dies of the coins on steel, and such like metal. Coins are then stamped with these dies. At this day, Mawla nā ʿAlī Ahmad of Delhi, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel, in such a manner as to equal the copyslips of the most skilful caligraphers. He holds the rank of a *yūzbāshī*,[1] and two of his men serve in the mint. Both have a monthly salary of 600 *dāms*.

13. The *Sikkachī*. He places the round pieces of metal between two dies, and by the strength of the hammerer (*putk-chi*) both sides are stamped. His fees are for 100 gold *muhrs*, 1¾ *dāms*; for 1000 rupees, 5 *dāms*, 9½ *jetals*; and for the weight of 1000 rupees of small silver pieces, 1 *dām*, 3 *jetals* in addition; for 1000 copper *dāms*, [illegible] *dams*; for 2000 half-*dāms*, and 4000 quarter-*dāms*, 3 *dāms* 18¾ *jetals*; and for 8000 half quarter *dāms*, 10½ *dāms*. Out of these fees the *sikkachi* has to give one sixth to the hammerer, for whom there is no separate allowance.

14. The *Sabbāk* makes the refined silver into round plates. For every 1000 rupees weight, he receives 51 *dāms*.

[1] This Turkish word signifies a *commander of one hundred men*, a captain. *Ahadis* of distinction were promoted to this military rank. The salary of a Yuzbāshi varied from five to seven hundred rupees *per mensem*; *vide* the third *Āʾīn* of the second book.

The discovery of an alloy in silver Silver may be alloyed with lead, tin and copper In Irān and Turān, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dahdahī*, in Hindustan, the *sayrafīs* use for it the term *bīst biswa* According to the quantity of the alloy, it descends in degree, but it is not made less than five, and no one would care for silver baser than ten degrees Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound, which of the alloys is prevailing, whilst by filing and boring it, the quality of the inside is ascertained They also try it by beating it when hot, and then throwing it into water, when blackness denotes lead, redness copper, a white greyish colour tin, and whiteness a large proportion of silver

THE METHOD OF REFINING SILVER

They dig a hole, and having sprinkled into it a small quantity of wild [1] cow dung, they fill it with the ashes of *mug͟hīlān* [2] wood, then they moisten it, and work it up into the shape of a dish, into this they put the adulterated silver, together with a proportionate quantity of lead First, they put a fourth part of the lead on the top of the silver, and having surrounded the whole with coals, blow the fire with a pair of bellows, till the metals are melted, which operation is generally repeated four times The proofs of the metal being pure are a lightning like brightness, and its beginning to harden at the sides As soon as it is hardened in the middle, they sprinkle it with water, when flames resembling in shape the horns of wild goats, issue from it It then forms itself into a disc, and is perfectly refined If this disc be melted again, half a *surk͟h* in every *tola* will burn away, *i e*, 6 *māshas* and 2 *surk͟hs* in 100 *tolas* The ashes of the disc, which are mixed with silver and lead, form a kind of litharge, called in Hindi *kharal*, and in Persian *kuhna* [3], the use of which will be hereafter explained. Before this refined silver is given over to the *Zarrāb*, 5 *māshas* and 5 *surk͟hs* are taken away for the Imperial exchequer out of every hundred *tolās* of it, after which the assay master marks the mass with the usual stamp, that it may not be altered or exchanged

In former times silver also was assayed by the *banwarī* system, now it is calculated as follows —if by refining 100 *tolas*, of *shāhī* silver, which is current in ʿIrāq and K͟hurāsān, and of the *lārī* and *misqālī*, which are

[[1] See note 1 p. 21 —P]
[2] Called in Hind *babul*, a kind of acacia. Its bark is used in tanning [The *kikar* of the Panjab.—P]
[3] Some MSS have *katah*

current in Tūrān, there are lost three *tolas* and one *surkh*, and of the same quantity of the European and Turkish *narjil* and the *muzaffarī* of Gujrāt and Mālwa, 13 *tolas* and 6½ *māshas* are lost, they become then of Imperial standard

15 The *Qurs Kub* having heated the refined silver hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead His fee for the weight of 1000 rupees, is 4½ *dāms*

16 The *Chāshnigīr* examines the refined gold and silver and fixes its purity as follows —Having made two tolas of the mixture as above described and sets fire to it, keeping out however, all draught he then washes the plates, and melts them If they have not lost anything by this process the gold is pure The assay master then tries it upon the touchstone to satisfy himself and others For assaying that quantity, he gets 1½ *dams* In the case of silver, he takes one tola with a like quantity of lead, which he puts together into a bone crucible, and keeps it on the fire till the lead is all burnt Having then sprinkled the silver with water, he hammers it till it has lost all smell of the lead and having melted it in a new crucible he weighs it, and if it has lost in weight three *biring* (rice grains) it is sufficiently pure, otherwise he melts it again, till it comes to that degree For assaying that quantity his fee is 3 *dams* 4½ *jetals*

17 The *Niyāriya* collects the *khak i khālis* and washes it taking two sers at the time whatever gold there may be amongst it will settle, from its weight, to the bottom The *khak*, when thus washed, is called in Hindi *kukrah*,[2] and still contains some gold for the recovery of which, directions shall hereafter be given The above mentioned adulterated sediment is rubbed together with quicksilver, at the rate of six *mashas* quicksilver per ser The quicksilver from its predilective affinity, draws the gold to itself, and forms an amalgam which is kept over the fire in a retort, till the gold is separated from the quicksilver

For extracting the gold from this quantity of *khak*, the *Niyāriya* receives 20 *dāms*, 2 *jetals*

The process of Kukrah

They mix with the *kukrah* an equal quantity of *punhar*, and form a paste of *rasī* (aqua fortis), and cowdung They then pound the first composition and mixing it with the paste, work it up into balls of two sers weight which they dry on a cloth

[1] One MS has six

[[2] Word not traced]

Punhar is obtained as follows —

They make a hole in the earth and fill it with the ashes of *Babul* wood, at the rate of six fingers height of ashes for every maund of lead The lead itself is put at the bottom of the hole, which has been smoothed, then they cover it with charcoals, and melt the lead After that having removed the coals, they place over it two plates of clay, fixed by means of thorns, and close up the bellows hole but not the vent This they keep covered with bricks till the ashes have thoroughly soaked up the lead The bricks they frequently remove to learn the state of the lead For the above mentioned quantity of lead there are 4 *mashas* of silver mixed up with the ashes These ashes they cool in water when they are called *punhar* Out of every *man* of lead two *sers* are burnt but the mass is increased by four *sers* of ashes, so that the weight of the whole mass will be one *man* and two *sers*

Rasī is a kind of acid, made of *ashkhār*[1] and saltpetre

Having thus explained what *punhar* and *rasī* are I return to the description of the process of *Kukrah* They make an oven like vessel, narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle one and a half yards in height with a hole at the bottom Then having filled the vessel with coals within four fingers of the top they place it over a pit dug in the earth and blow the fire with two bellows After that, the afore mentioned balls being broken into pieces they throw them into the fire and melt them, when the gold, silver, copper and lead fall through the hole in the bottom of the vessel into the pit below Whatever remains in the vessel, is softened and washed and the lead separated from it They likewise collect the ashes, from whence also by a certain process profit may be derived The metal is then taken out of the pit and melted according to the *punhar* system The lead will mix with the ashes, from which thirty sers will be recovered, and ten sers will be burnt The gold, silver and copper remain together in a mass and this they call *bugrāwatī*, or according to some, *gubrāwatī*

The process of Bugrāwatī

They make a hole, and fill it with the ashes of *babul* wood half a ser for every 100 tolas of *bugrawatī* These ashes they then make up in form of a dish, and mix them up with the *bugrāwatī* adding one tola of copper, and twenty five tolas of lead They now fill the dish with coals and cover it with bricks When the whole has melted, they remove the coals and the

[1] The margins of some of the MSS explain this word by the Hind *sajjī*, impure carbonate of soda

bricks, and make a fire of *babūl* wood, till the lead and copper unite with the ashes, leaving the gold and silver together These ashes are also called *khāral*, and the lead and copper can be recovered from them by a process, which will be hereafter explained

Ā'īn 8

THE METHODS OF SEPARATING THE SILVER FROM THE GOLD

They melt this composition six times, three times with copper, and three times with sulphur, called in Hind *chhāchhiyā* For every tola of the alloy, they take a *māsha* of copper, and two *māshas* two *surkhs* of sulphur *First they melt it with copper and then with sulphur* If the alloy be of 100 *tolas* weight, the 100 *māshas* of copper are employed as follows — they first melt fifty *māshas* with it, and then twice again twenty five *māshas* The sulphur is used in similar proportions After reducing the mixture of gold and silver to small bits, they mix with it fifty *māshas* of copper, and melt it in a crucible They have near at hand a vessel full of cold water, on the surface of which is laid a broom like bundle of hay *Upon it they pour the melted metal, and prevent* it, by stirring it with a stick, from forming into a mass Then having again melted these bits, after mixing them with the remaining copper in a crucible, they set it to cool in the shade, and for every tola of this mixture two *māshas* and two *surkhs* of sulphur are used, i e, at the rate of one and one half quarter *ser* (1⅜ ser) *per* 100 *tolas* When it has been three times melted in this manner, there appears on the surface a whitish kind of ash, which is silver This is taken off, and kept separate, and its process shall hereafter be explained When the mixture of gold and silver has thus been subjected to three fires for the copper, and three for the sulphur, the solid part left is the gold In the language of the Panjāb, this gold is called *kail*, whilst about Dihli, it is termed *pinjar* If the mixture contains much gold, it generally turns out to be of 6½ *bān*, but it is often only five, and even four

In order to refine this gold, one of the following methods must be used Either they mix fifty tolas of this with 100 tolas of purer gold, and refine it by the *Salonī* process, or else they use the *Alonī* process For the latter they make a mixture of two parts of wild cow dung and one part of saltpetre Having then cast the aforesaid *pinjar* into ingots, they make it into plates none of which ought to be lighter than 1½ tolas, but a little broader than those which they make in the *salonī* process Then having

besmeared them with sesame oil, they strew the above mixture over them, giving them for every strewing two gentle fires This operation they repeat three or four times, and if they want the metal very pure, they repeat the process till it comes up to nine *bān* The ashes are also collected, being a kind of *kharal*

A'īn

THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING THE SILVER FROM ASHES

Whatever ashes and dross have been collected, both before and after the process of *alonī*, they mix with double the quantity of pure lead, put them into a crucible, and keep them for one watch over the fire When the metal is cold, they refine it as described under the article *Sabbāk*, p 22 The ashes of it are also *kharal* The *salonī* process is also performed in other ways well known to those conversant with the business

18 The *Panīwar* having melted the *kharal*, separates the silver from the copper His fee for every tola of silver is 1¼ *dāms* As a return for the profit he makes, he pays monthly 300 *dāms* to the *dīwān* Having reduced the *kharal* to small bits he adds to every *man* of it 1½ sers of *tangar* (borax), and three sers of pounded natron,[1] and kneads them together He then puts this mass, ser by ser, into the vessel above described and melts it, when lead mixed with silver collects in the pit This is afterwards refined by the process of the *sabbāk*, and the lead which separates from this and mixes with the ashes, turns *pinhar*

19 The *Paikar* buys the *salonī* and *kharal* from the goldsmiths of the city, and carries them to the mint to be melted, and makes a profit on the gold and silver For every *man* of *salonī* he gives 17 *dams*, and for the same quantity of *kharal* 14 *dāms*, to the exchequer

20 The *Nichoī wala* brings old copper coins, which are mixed with silver, to be melted, and from 100 tolas of silver, 3½ rupees go to the *dīwān*, and when he wishes to coin the silver, he pays a fixed quantity for it as duty

21 The *Khāk shoy* When the owners of the metals get their gold and silver in the various ways which have now been described the *Khāk shoy* sweeps the mint takes the sweepings to his own house, washes them, and gains a profit Some of the sweepers carry on a very flourishing trade The state receives from this man a monthly gift of 12½ rupees

And in like manner all the officers of the mint pay a monthly duty to the state, at the rate of three *dams* for every 100 *dāms*

[[1] In the Persian *ashkhar i kufta* —P]

Āʾīn 10

THE COINS OF THIS GLORIOUS EMPIRE

As through the attention of his Majesty, gold and silver have been brought to the greatest degree of purity, in like manner the form of the coins has also been improved. The coins are now an ornament to the treasury, and much liked by the people. I shall give a few particulars.

A. *Gold Coins*

1. The *sahansah* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolas*, 9 *mashas*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *laʿl-i jalālī* muhrs. On the field of one side is engraved the name of his Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, *As sulṭānᵘ 'l aʿẓamᵘ 'l khāqānᵘ 'l muʿazzᵘ khalladᵃ Allāhᵘ mulkahᵘ waᵃ sulṭānahᵘ ẓarbᵘ dārⁱ 'l khilāfatⁱ Āgra*, "the great sultan, the distinguished emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Agra." On the field of the reverse is the *beautiful formula*,[1] and the following verse of the Qurʾan:[2] *Allāhᵘ yarzuqᵘ man yashāʾᵘ bi ghayrⁱ ḥisābⁱⁿ*, "God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth without measure," and roundabout are the names of the first four Khalīfas. This is what was first cut by Maulānā Maqṣūd, the engraver, after which Mullā ʿAlī Aḥmad made with great skill the following additions. On one side *Afẓalᵘ dīnārⁱⁿ yunfiquhᵘ ar rajulᵘ dīnārᵘⁿ yunfiquhᵘ ʿala aṣḥābihⁱ fī sabīlⁱ 'llāh*, "the best coin which a man expends is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

And on the other side he wrote,

As sulṭānᵘ 'l ʿālī al khalīfatᵘ al mutaʿālī khalladᵃ allāhᵘ taʿāla mulkahᵘ waᵃ sulṭānahᵘ waᵃ abbadᵃ ʿadlahᵘ waᵃ iḥsānahᵘ, "the sublime sultan, the exalted khalīfa, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and given eternity to his justice and bounty!"

Afterwards all this was removed, and the following two *Rubāʿīs*[3] of the court poet and philosopher *Shaykh Fayẓī* were engraved by him. On one side,

> *Khurshīd ki haft baḥr azu gauhar yāft*
> *Sang-i siyah az partav-i ān jauhar yāft*
> *Kān az nazar-i tarbiyat-i u zar yāft*
> *W'ān zar sharaf az sikka-i Shāh Akbar yāft*

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[1] Also called *Kalimah* or the Confession of Faith: *lā ilaha ill allāh Muhammadun rasūl ullah*.

[2] Qur. Sur. II. 208.

[[3] Quatrains.—J.]

"It is the Sun[1] from which the seven oceans get their pearls,
The black rocks get their jewels from his lustre
The mines get their gold from his fostering glance,
And their gold is ennobled by Akbar's stamp"

and, *Allāhᵘ akbar jallᵃ jallāla hᵘ*, "God is great, may His glory shine forth!" in the middle And on the other side,

In sikka ki pīrāya yi ummīd buvad
Bā naqsh i daiām u nām i jāvīd buvad
Sīmā yi saʿādat-ash hamīn bas ki bi dahr
Yak zarra nazar karda yi khurshīd buvad

"This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp, and an immortal name
As a sign of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That, once, for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it"

and the date, according to the *Divine era*, in the middle

2 There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolas and 8 *māshas*, in value equal to 100 round muhrs, at 11 *mashas* each It has the same impression as the preceding

3 The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins It is sometimes made square On one side it has the same impression as the *sahansa*[2] and on the other side the following *Rubāʿī*[3] by *Fayzī* —

In naqd i ravān i ganj i shāhinshāhī
Bā kawkab-i iqbāl kunad hamrāhī
Khurshīd bi parvar-ash az ān rū ki bi-dahr
Yābad sharaf az sikka yi Akbarshāhī

"This current coin of the Imperial treasure
Accompanies the star of good fortune.
O sun foster it, because for all ages
It is ennobled by Akbar's stamp!"

4 The *Ātma* is the fourth part of the *sahansa* round and square Some have the same impression as the *sahansa*[4], and some have on one side the following *Rubāʿī* by Fayzī[5] —

In sikka ki dast i bakht rā zewar bād
Pīraya yi nuh sipihr u haft akhtar bad

[1] According to the Natural Philosophers of the Middle Ages the influence of the sun calls the metals the pearls, and precious stones into existence *vide* the thirteenth Aʿīn The allusion to the sun is explained by the note to page III

[[2] In the Persian [illegible] —P]

[[3] Quatrains.—P]

[[4] *Sad muhr* in the Persian text.—P]

[[5] Malikᵘ 'sh Shuʿaraʾ in the Persian text —P]

Zarrīn naqdīst kār az u chūn zar bād
Dar dahr ravān bi nām i shāh akbar bād

"This coin—May it adorn the hand of the fortunate,
And may it be an ornament of the nine heavens and the seven stars—
Is a gold coin,—May golden be its work!
Let it be current for all ages to the glory of Shāh Akbar."

And on the other side the preceding *Rubaʿī*

5 The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *ālma*, in value equal to one fifth of the first coin

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression, in value equal to one eighth, one tenth, one twentieth, one twenty fifth, of the *sahansa*.

6 The *Chugul*,[1] of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *sahansa*, in value equal to two muhrs[2]

7 The *round Laʿl i Jalālī*,[3] in weight and value equal to two round muhrs, having on one side *Allāhu akbar*, and on the other *Yā muʿīnu*, "O helper"

8 The *Āftābī* is round, weighs 1 *tola*, 2 *māshas* and 4¾ *surkhs*, in value equal to 12 rupees. On one side, "*Allāhu akbar, jalla jalālahu*", and on the other the date according to the Divine era, and the place where it is struck

9 The *Ilāhī* is round, weighs 12 *māshas*, 1¾ *surkhs*, bears the same stamp as the *Āftābī*, and has a value of 10 rupees

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[1] Or *Jugul*. Abu 'l Fazl's spelling in the text is ambiguous.

[2] The MSS differ. Most of them place the *Chugul* as the sixth coin *after* the *Binsat* and read:—

The *Chugul*, of a square form, weighing 3 *tolas* 5¼ *surkhs*; its value is thirty rupees. Also of a *round* form, weighing 2 *tolas* 9 *māshas*, having a value of three *round muhrs* of 11 *māshas* each (i.e., 27 rupees). But the impression of both is the same. They are the *fiftieth* part of the *Sahansa*.

The last sentence does not agree with the value and weight of the *Sahansa*; for the two *Chuguls* as given by Abū 'l Fazl would each be the hundred and third part of the two kinds of *Sahansa*, not the *fiftieth* part.

Mr Thomas in his excellent edition of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp 5, 6, gives an *extract* from a MS of the *Āʾīn* in his possession, which appears to agree with the above reading; but he only mentions the *square* form of the *Chugul* weighing 3 *tolas* 5¼ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees, and then passes on to the *eighth* coin, the *Āftābī*.

Two other MSS—among them Col Hamilton's—read *after* the *Binsat* (i.e. after the twenty fifth line of p. 24 of my text edition)—

6 The *Chahārgosha* (or *square*), weighing 3 *tolas* 5¼ *surkhs*, worth 30 rupees.

7 The *Gird* (or *round*), weighing 2 *tolas*, 9 *māshas*, in value equal to the 3 *round muhrs* of 11 *māshas* each.

Both have the same impression.

8 The *Chugul*, of a square form, the fiftieth part of a *Sahansa*, in value equal to two *Laʿl i Jalālī muhrs*.

This reading obviates all difficulties. But the real question is whether the *Chahārgosha*, the *Gird* and the *Chugul* are *three* distinct coins.

[3] For *the round Laʿl i Jalālī* some MSS only read, *The Gird*, i.e., round, taking the words *Laʿl i Jalālī* to the preceding. Vide the tenth coin.

10 The *square Laʕl ī Jalālī* is of the same weight and value, on one side "*Allāhu akbar*," and on the other "*jallu jalālu hu*"

11 The *ʕAdl gutka* is round, weighs 11 *mashas*, and has a value of nine rupees On one side "*Allāhu akbar*", and on the other, "*Yā muʕīnu*"

12 The *Round muhr*, in weight and value equal to the *ʕAdl-gutka*, but of a different[1] stamp

13 *Mihrābī*[2] is in weight, value and stamp, the same as the *round muhr*

14 The *Muʕīnī* is both square and round In weight and value it is equal to the *Laʕl i jalālī*, and the *round muhr* It bears the stamp "*yā muʕīnu*"

15 The *Chahārgosha*, in stamp and weight the same as the *Āftābī*

16 The *Gird* is the half of the *Ilāhī*, and has the same stamp

17 The *Dhan*[3] is half a *Laʕl i Jalalī*[4]

18 The *Salīmī* is the half of the *ʕAdl gutka*

19 The *Rabī*[5] is a quarter of the *Aftabi*

20 The *Man*, is a quarter of the *Ilāhī*, and *Jalālī*

21 The *Half Salīmī* is a quarter of the *ʕAdl gutka*

22 The *Panj* is the fifth part of the *Ilāhī*

23 The *Pandau* is the fifth part of the *Laʕl i Jalālī*, on one side is a lily,[6] and on the other a wild rose

24 The *Sumnī*, or *Ashtsidd*, is one eighth of the *Ilāhī*, on one side "*Allahu akbar*," and on the other "*jallu jalala hu*."

25 The *Kalā* is the sixteenth part of the *Ilāhī* It has on both sides a wild rose

26 The *Zara* is the thirty second part of an *Ilāhī* and has the same stamp as the *kalā*

As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the imperial mint is to coin *Laʕl i jalalīs*, *Dhans*, and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders

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[1] It has the *Kalima* (Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Aʾīn*)

[2] The figure called *mihrabi* is ⬡

[3] In Forbes's Dictionary *dahan*

[4] Several MSS. read—'*Half a quarter* Ilahi and Laʕl i Jalâli' Forbes gives six rupees (?)

[5] Several MSS have *Rabi* Perhaps we should write *Rabbi*

[[6] *Lâla* in Persian text This is the common red poppy in Afghānistān and the Panjāb and in Persia is also applied to the wild tulip —P]

B Silver Coins

1 The *Rupiya* is round and weighs eleven and one half *mashas* It was first introduced in the time of *Sher Khān* It was perfected during this reign and received a new stamp on one side *Allah^u akbar jall^a jalalu h^u* and on the other the date Although the market price is some times more or less than forty *dams* yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries

2 The *Jalala* is of a square form which was introduced during the present reign In value and stamp it is the same as No 1

3 The *Darb* is half a *Jalala*

4 The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalala*

5 The *Pandau* is a fifth of the *Jalala*

6 The *Asht* is the eighth part of the *Jalala*

7 The *Dasā* is one tenth of the *Jalala*

8 The *Kala* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalala*

9 The *Suki* is one twentieth of the *Jalala*

The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupiya* which are however different in form

C Copper Coins

1 The *Dam* weighs 5 *tāks* i e 1 *tola* 8 *mashas* and 7 *surkhs* it is the fortieth part of the *rupiya* At first this coin was called *Paisa* and also *Buhlolī* now it is known under this name (*dam*) On one side the place is given where it was struck and on the other the date

For the purpose of calculation the *dam* is divided into twenty five parts each of which is called a *jetal*[1] This imaginary division is only used by accountants

2 The *Adhela* is half of a *dam*

3 The *Pa'ola* is a quarter *dam*

4 The *Damri* is one eighth of a *dam*

In the beginning of this reign gold was coined to the glory of his Majesty in many parts of the empire now gold coins are struck at four places only viz at the seat of the government Bengal Ahmadabad (Gujrat) and Kabul Silver and copper are likewise coined in these four places and besides in the following ten places Ilahabas Agra Ujain Surat Dihli Patna Kashmir Lahor Multan Tanda In twenty eight towns copper coins only are struck viz Ajmir Avadh Atak Alwar Bada'on Banaras Bhakkar Bahirah Patan Jaunpur Jalandhar Harlwar Hisar Firuza Kalpi Gwaliyar Gorakhpur Kalanur

[1] Often misspelt *chetal* The text gives the correct spelling

Lakhnau, Mandū, Nagor, Sarhind Siyālkot, Saronj, Sahāranpūr, Sarangpur, Sambal, Qanawj Rantanbhūr

Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhrs*, *rupiyas*, and *dāms*

Unprincipled men cause a great deal of mischief by rubbing down the coins or by employing similar methods, and, in consequence of the damage done to the nation at large his Majesty continually consults experienced men and from his knowledge of the spirit of the age, issues new regulations in order to prevent such detrimental practices

The currency underwent several changes *First*, when (in the 27th year) the reins of the government were in the hands of Rāja Todarmal,[1] *four* kinds of muhrs were allowed to be current, *A* There was a *Laʿl i Jalālī* which had the name of his Majesty stamped on it, and weighed 1 *tola*, 1¾ *surkhs* It was quite pure and had a value of 400 *dāms* Again, there existed from the beginning of this glorious reign, a muhr with the imperial stamp, of which *three* degrees passed as current, viz *B* This muhr, when perfectly pure and having the full weight of 11 *māshas* Its value was 360 *dāms* If from wear and tear it had lost in weight within three grains of rice it was still allowed to be of the same degree, and no difference was made *C* The same muhr when it had lost in weight from four to six rice grains, its value was 355 *dāms* *D* The same muhr, when it had lost in weight from six to nine rice grains, its value was 350 *dāms*

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[1] Raja Todarmal, a Khatri by caste was born at Lahor He appears to have entered Akbar's service during the 18th year of the emperor's reign when he was employed to settle the affairs of Gujrat In the 19th year we find him in Bengal [illegible]

Abu [illegible] and abil[illegible] said he [illegible] *vanity* a[illegible] [illegible] Abul Fazl openly complained of him [illegible] Akbar but the emperor [illegible] not drive away an old ser[illegible] trasted with Bir Bar whc[illegible] *Divine Faith* Once whe[illegible] [illegible] Akbar to the Panjab in the hurry of the departure Todarmal's idols were lost and as he transacted no business before his daily worship he remained for several days without food and drink and was at last with difficulty cheered up by the emperor

Muhrs of less weight than this were considered as bullion

Of *Rūpiyas* three kinds were then current, viz *A* one of a square form, of pure silver, and weighing 11½ *māshas*, it went under the name of *Jalāla*, and had a value of 40 *dāms* *B* The round, old *Akbarshāhī rūpiya*, which, when of full weight, or even at a *surkh* less, was valued at 39 *dāms* *C* The same rupees, when in weight two *surkhs* less, at 38 *dāms*

Rupees of less weight than this were considered as bullion

Secondly, on the 18th Mihr of the 29th year of the Divine era, ʿAzudᵘ 'd Daulah Amīr Fathᵘ 'llah[1] of Shiraz coming at the head of affairs, a royal order was issued that on the *muhrs*, as far as *three* grains, and on the *rūpiyas*, as far as *six* grains short weight, no account should be taken, but that they should be reckoned of full weight If muhrs were still less, they should make a deduction for the deficiency, whatever their deficiency might be, but it was not ordered that only muhrs down to nine grains less should be regarded as muhrs Again, according to the same regulation, the value of a muhr that was one *surkh* deficient was put down as 355 *dāms* and a fraction and hence they valued the price of one *surkh* of *coined* gold at the low rate of *four dāms* and a fraction According to Todarmal's regulation, a deduction of *five dāms* was made for a deficiency of one *surkh*, and if the muhr had lost something more than the three grains, for which he had made no account, even if it were only ½ *surkh*, full five

[1] Amīr Fath llah of Shiraz was the pupil of Khwaja Jamalᵘ d Din Mahmud,

death

Next to Abu Fazl Fayzi and Bir Bar the Amir was perhaps most loved by Akbar Several of his mechanical inventions mentioned below, are ascribed by Abu l Fazl to Akbar himself (!) The Amir was however on the best terms with

on his death is very fine

dāms were subtracted, and for a deficiency of 1½ *surkhs* he deducted ten *dams*, even if the deficiency should not be quite 1½ *surkhs* By the new law of ʿAzudᵘ d Dawlah, the value of a muhr was lessened by six *dāms* and a fraction, as its gold was worth 353 *dāms* and a fraction only [1]

ʿAzudᵘ 'd Dawlah abolished also the regulation according to which the value of a round *rūpiya* had been fixed at one *dām* less than the square one notwithstanding its perfection in weight and purity, and fixed the value of the round *rūpiya*, when of full weight or not less than one *surkh*, at forty *dams*, and whilst formerly a deduction of two *dāms* was made for a deficiency of two *surkhs* they now deduct for the same deficiency only one *dam* and a fraction

Thirdly, when ʿAzudᵘ 'd Dawlah went to Khāndesh the Rāja estimated the value of muhrs that had been expressed in Jalala rupees in round rupees, and from his obstinate and wrangling disposition, fixed again the deficiencies on muhrs and rupees according to the old rates

Fourthly, when Qulij Khan [2] received the charge of the government he adopted the Raja s manner of estimating the muhrs, but he deducted ten *dams* for a deficiency in the weight of a muhr for which the Rāja had deducted five *dāms*, and twenty *dams* for the former deduction of ten *dams*, whilst he considered every muhr as bullion if the deficiency was 1½ *surkhs* Similarly, every *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which was one *surkh*, was considered as bullion

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[1] For ʿA udᵘ d Dawlah having fixed the value of 1 *surkh* of coined gold at 4 *dāms* … = 11 × 8 *surkhs*) … 1 Fasl 353 *dāms*

… ears reign when he was made governor of the Fort of Surat which Akbar after a siege of forty seven days had conquered In the 23rd year he was sent to Gujrat and after the death of Shāh Mansur he was two years later, appointed as *Dīwān* In the 28th year he accompanied the army during the conquest of Gujrat In the 34th year he rece ved Sambh …

Lastly, his Majesty, trusting to his advisers and being occupied by various important affairs paid at first but little attention to this subject, till after having received some intimation of the unsatisfactory state of this matter, he issued another regulation, which saved the nation further losses, and was approved of by every one, far and near On the 26th of Bahman, of the year 36, *according to the Divine era (A.D 1592), he adopted* the second [i e ʿAẓud" 'd Dawlah] method, with one exception namely, he did not approve of the provision that a muhr the deficiency of which did not exceed *three*, and a *rūpiya*, the deficiency of which did not exceed *six*, *surkhs*, should still be regarded as of full weight And this regulation was the only effectual method for preventing the fraudulent practices of unprincipled men; for the former regulations contained no remedy in cases when the officers of the mint coined money of the above deficiency in weight, or when treasurers reduced full coins to the same deficiency Besides, shameless thievish people made light grain weights, and used to reduce muhrs, deficient by three grains, to six grains deficiency, whilst they accepted muhrs six grains deficient as muhrs deficient by nine grains This reduction of coins being continued, large quantities of gold were stolen, *and the losses seemed never to end By the command of his* Majesty grain weights of *babūghūrī* were made, which were to be used in weighing On the same date other stringent regulations were issued, that the treasurers and revenue collectors should not demand from the tax payers any particular species of coins and that the exact deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be, should be taken according to the present rate and no more This order of his Majesty disappointed the wicked, taught covetous men moderation, and freed the nation from the cruelty of oppressors

Āʾīn 11

THE *DIRHAM* AND THE *DĪNAR*

Having given some account of the currency of the empire, I shall add a few particulars regarding these two ancient coins, and remark on the value of ancient coinage

The *Dirham* or *Dirhām* as the word is sometimes given is a silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date-stone During the *Khilafat* of *ʿUmar*,[1] it was changed to a circular form and in the time of *Zubayr* it was impressed with the words *Allāh*" (God) *barakat* (blessing) *Hajj* ij

[1 *Fāruq*.—P]

stamped upon it the chapter of the Qur'ān called *Ikhlāṣ*, and others say that he imprinted it with his own name Others assert, that ʿUmar was the first who stamped an impression on *dirhams*, whilst, according to some, Greek, Khusravite, and Himyarite *dirhams* were in circulation at the time of ʿAbd' 'l Malik, the son Marwan by whose order Hajjaj the son of Yūsuf, had struck *dirhams* Some say that Hajjāj refined the base *dirhams*, and coined them with the words *Allāh' ahad* (God is one), and *Allāh' aṣ ṣamad* (God is eternal), and these *dirhams* were called *makrūha* (abominable), because God's holy name was thereby dishonoured, unless this term be a corruption of some other name After Hajjāj, at the time of the reign of Yazid bin ʿAbd' 'l Malik, ʿUmar bin Hubayrah coined in the kingdom of ʿIrāq better *dirhams* than Hajjāj had made, and afterwards Khalid bin ʿAbd' 'llah Qasrī, when governor of ʿIrāq, made them still finer, but they were brought to the highest degree of purity by Yūsuf son of ʿUmar Again, it has been said that Musʿab bin Zubayr was the first who struck *dirhams* Various accounts are given of their weights, some saying that they were of ten or nine, or six or five *misqāls*, whilst others give the weights of twenty, twelve, and ten *qīrāts*, asserting at the same time that ʿUmar had taken a *dirham* of each kind, and formed a coin of fourteen *qīrāts*, being the third part of the aggregate sum It is likewise said that at the time of ʿUmar there were current several kinds of *dirhams* *first*, some of eight *dāngs*, which were called *baghlī*, after *Rās baghl*, who was an assay master, and who struck *dirhams* by the command of ʿUmar,[1] but others call them *baghallī*, from *baghal*, which is the name of a village,[2] *secondly*, some of four *dāngs*, which were called *tabrī*, *thirdly*, some of three *dāngs*, which were known as *maghribī*, and *lastly*, some of one *dāng*, named *yamanī*, the half of which four kinds ʿUmar is said to have taken as a uniform average weight Fazl of Khujand says that in former days *dirhams* had been of two kinds *first*, full ones of [illegible] *ssūj* =
Some

The *Dīnār* is a gold coin, weighing *one misqāl*, i e $1\frac{3}{7}$ *dirhams* as they put 1 *misqāl* — 6 *dāngs*, 1 *dāng* = 4 *tassuj*, 1 *tassūj* = 2 *habbas*, 1 *habba* = 2 *javs* (barley grains), 1 *jav* = 6 *khardals* (mustard grain), 1 *khardal* = 12 *fals*, 1 *fals* = 6 *fatīls*, 1 *fatīl* = 6 *naqīrs*, 1 *naqīr* = 6 *qitmīrs*, and 1 *qitmīr* = 12 *zaras* One *misqāl*, by this calculation, would be equal to 96 barley grains *Misqal* is a weight used in weighing gold, and it is

[[1] عمر عتاب in the Persian.—P]

[2] According to some inferior MSS, the name of a kind of gold

also the name of the coin[1] From some ancient writings it appears that the Greek *misqāl* is out of use, and weighs two *qīrats* less than this, and that the Greek *dirham* differs likewise from others, being less in weight by $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *misqāl*

Āʾīn 12

THE PROFIT OF THE DEALERS IN GOLD AND SILVER

One round muhr of 11 *mashas* buys one tola of gold of 10 *bān*, or one tola 2 *surkhs* of $9\frac{3}{4}$ *bān*, or 1 tola, 4 *s* of $8\frac{1}{2}$ *ban* or 1 tola 6 *s* of $9\frac{1}{4}$ *bān*, or 1 tola, 1 *māsha* of 9 *bān*, and similarly, according to the same proportion, the decrease of one *ban* increases the quantity of gold which a muhr can buy by one *masha*

The merchant buys for 100 *Laʿl i Jalālī* muhrs 130 *t* 2 *m* $0\frac{3}{8}$ *s* of *Hun* gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ *bāns* Of this quantity 22 *t* 9 *m* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *s* burn away in melting and mix with the *khāk i khalas*, so that 107 *t* 4 *m* $1\frac{1}{8}$ *s* of pure gold remain which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a tola of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees From the *khāk i khalas* are recovered 2 *t* 11 *m* 4 *s* of gold, and 11 *t* 11 *m* $4\frac{1}{2}$ *s* of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees $12\frac{1}{2}$ *tangas*[2] so that altogether the above mentioned quantity of *Hun* gold yields 105 muhrs 39 Rs and 25 *dams*

This sum is accounted for as follows *First*, 2 *Rs* 18 *d* $12\frac{1}{2}$ *j*, due to the workmen according to the rates which have been explained above, *secondly*, 5 *Rs* 8 *d* 8 *j* for ingredients, which sum is made up of 1 *R* 4 *d* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *j* on account of articles used in refining the metal, viz 26 *d* $16\frac{1}{2}$ *j* dung[3], 4 *d* 20 *j saloni*, 1 *d* 10 *j* water, 11 *d* 5 *j* quicksilver, and 4 *Rs* 4 *d* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *j* on account of the *khāk i khalās* (viz 21 *d* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *j* charcoal, and 3 *Rs* 22 *d* 21 *j* lead), *thirdly*, ■ *Rs* $37\frac{1}{2}$ *d*, which the owners of the gold take from the merchant, as a consideration for lending him the gold, this item goes to the *Diwan* if the gold belongs to the exchequer, *fourthly*, 100 *Laʿl i Jalālī* muhrs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the gold which he brought, *fifthly* 12 *Rs* 37 *d* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *j* which the merchant takes as his profit, *sixthly*, 5 muhrs 12 *Rs* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d*, which go to the exchequer[4] According to this proportion merchants make their profits

Although gold is imported into Hindustan, it is to be found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country, as also in Tibet

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[1] In text a gold coin —B]

[2] One *tanga* = 2 *dāms*, now a days one *tanga* = 2 *pais*

[3] سرگین نسبی —P]

[4] There is a slight mistake of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *jetals*, as the several items added up give 105 *m* 39 *Rs* 24 *d* $23\frac{3}{4}$ *j*, but not 105 *m* 39 *Rs* 25 *d*

Gold may also be obtained by the *Salonī* process from the sands of the Ganges and Indus and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold, however, the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit

One Rupee buys 1 *t* 0 *m* 2 *s* of pure silver, hence for 950 Rs the merchant gets 969 *t* 9 *m* 4 *s* of silver Out of this quantity, 5 *t* 0 *m* 4¾ *s* burn away in casting ingots The remainder yields 1006 rupees and a surplus of silver worth 27½ *dāms* The several items are—*first*, 2 *Rs* 22 *d* 12 *j*, as wages for the workmen (viz The *Weighman* 5 *d* 7¾ *j* the *Chāshnīgīr* 3 *d* 4½, the Melter 6 *d* 12½ *j*, the *Zarrāb* 2 *Rs* 1 *d* 0 *j*, the *Silkachī* 6 *d* 12½ *j*), *secondly*, 10 *d* 15 *j*, on account of requisites (viz 10 *d* charcoal and 15 *j* water), *thirdly* 50 *Rs* 13 *d* 0 *j*, payable to the *Diwan*, *fourthly*, 950 Rs, which the merchant gets in exchange for the silver he brought, and *fifthly*, 3 *Rs* 21 *d* 10½ *j*, being the profit of the merchant If he refines the base silver at his own house, his profit will be much greater, but when he brings it to be coined, his profit cannot be so great

Of the silver called *lārī* and *shāhī* and the other above mentioned baser coins one rupee buys 1 *t* 0 *m* 4 *s* so that 950 rupees will buy 989 *t* 7 *m* In the *Sabbākī* process 14 *t* 10 *m* 1 *s* burn away, being at the rate of 1½ *t* per cent, and in making the ingots 4 *t* 11 *m* 3 *s* are lost in the fire The remainder yields 1012 rupees, and from the *khāk i kharal* 3½ *Rs* are recoverable The several items are—*first* 4 *Rs* 27 *d* 24¾ *j* on account of the wages of the workmen (viz the Weighman 5 *d* 7¾ *j*, the *Sabbāk* 2 *Rs* 0 *d* 19 *j*, the *Qurskob* 4 *d* 19 *j* the *Chāshnīgīr* 3 *d* 4 *j*, the Melter 6 *d* 12½ *j*, the *Zarrāb* 2 *Rs* 1 *d*, the *Sikkachī* 8 *d* 12½ *j*), *secondly*, 5 *Rs* 24 *d* 15 *j* for necessaries (viz 5 *Rs* 14 *d* lead, 10 *d* charcoal and 15 *j* water), *thirdly*, 50 *Rs* 24 *d* payable to the State, *fourthly*, 950 *Rs* which the merchant receives for his silver, *fifthly*, 4 *Rs* 29 *d* his profit[1] Sometimes the merchant gets the silver cheap, when his profit is much larger

1044 *dāms* buy one *man* of copper, i e at the rate of 26 *d* 2½ *j* per *ser* Out of this quantity, one ser is burnt away in melting, and as each *ser* yields 30 *dāms*, there are coined altogether 1170 *dams* from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18 *d* 19½ *j* as profit, 33 *d* 10 *j* go to the workmen, and 15 *d* 8 *j* for necessaries (viz 13 *d* 8 *j* for charcoal, 1 *d* for water, and 1 *d* for clay), 58½ *d* go to the state

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[1] These items added give *Rs* 1015 25 *d* 14¾ *j*, i e, a little more than the sum mentioned by Abu l Fazl (1015 *Rs* 20 *d*)

Āʾīn 13

THE ORIGIN OF METALS

The Creator by calling into existence the four elements, has raised up wonderful forms *Fire* is absolutely warm, dry, light, *air* is relatively warm moist, light, water is relatively cold, moist, heavy, earth is absolutely cold, dry, heavy Heat is the cause of lightness, and cold of heaviness, moistness easily separates particles, whilst dryness prevents their separation This wonderful arrangement calls four compounds into existence, *first*, the *āsār i ʿulawī* [1], *secondly*, *stones*, *thirdly*, plants; *fourthly*, animals From the heat of the sun watery particles become lighter, mix with the air, and rise up Such a mixture is called *bukhār* (gas) From the same cause, earthy particles mix with the air, and rise up This mixture is called *dukhān* (vapour) Sometimes, however, airy particles mix with the earth Several philosophers call both of the above mixtures *bukhār*, but distinguish the mixture of watery particles and air by the name of moist, or watery *bukhār*, whilst they call the mixture of earthy particles and air dry *bukhār*, or *dukhānī bukhār* (vapour like gas) Both mixtures, they say, produce above the surface of the earth, clouds, wind, rain, snow, etc, and, below the surface of our earth, earthquakes, springs, and minerals They also look upon the *bukhār* as the body, and upon the *dukhān* as the soul of things From a difference in their quality and quantity, various bodies are called into existence as described in books on philosophy.

Minerals are of five kinds *first*, those which do not melt on account of their dryness, as the *yāqūt*, *secondly*, those which do not melt, on account of their liquidity, as quicksilver, *thirdly*, those which can be melted, being at the same time neither malleable, nor inflammable, as blue stone *fourthly*, those which can be melted, being however, not malleable, but inflammable, as sulphur, *fifthly*, those which can be melted, and are malleable, but not inflammable, as gold A body is said to melt when from the union of the inherent principles of dryness and moisture its particles are movable, and a body is called malleable when we can make it extend in such a manner as to yield a longer and wider surface without, however, *either separating a part from it or adding a part to it*

When in a mixture of *bukhār* with *dukhān*, the former is greater in quantity and when, after their mixture and complete union, the heat of the sun causes the whole to contract quicksilver will be produced

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[1] Or *doings from on high*, as rain, snow, etc

Since no part of it is destitute of *dukhān*, the dryness is perceptible, hence, on touching it, it does not affect the hand, but flees from it, and since its contraction was produced by heat, no warmth can dissolve it. Again, when in a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān*, both are nearly in equal proportion a tenacious greasy moisture is produced. At the time of fermentation, airy particles enter, when cold causes the whole to contract. This mass is inflammable. If the *dukhān* and the greasiness are a little in excess sulphur will be produced in colour either red or yellow, or grey or white. If the proportion of the *dukhān* is large, and that of the grease less, arsenic will result, which is red and yellow. And if the quantity of the *bukhār* is greater, pure, black and yellow naphtha will arise, after the mixture gets solid. Since in all, cold was the cause of the contraction they can be melted, and on account of the prevalence of greasiness and tenacious moistness, they are also inflammable, though, on account of the moistness, not malleable.

Although quicksilver and sulphur are the only component parts of "the seven bodies", there arise various forms from a difference in purity, or from peculiar circumstances of the mixture, or from a variety of the action of the component parts on each other. Thus *silver* will result, when neither of the two components mixes with earthy particles, when they are pure and become perfectly united, and when the sulphur is white, and less than the quicksilver. Or, when both are in equal proportions and the sulphur red and capable of colouring, gold will originate. Again under similar circumstances, if both contract after the mixture, but before a complete union has been effected *Khārchīnī* will be produced. This body is also called *Āhanchīnī* and seems really to be raw gold, some say it is a kind of copper. Again if only the sulphur be impure and the quicksilver the larger component with an additional power of burning copper will result. And if the mixture be not thorough and the quicksilver larger, tin will be produced, some say that purity of the components is essential. If both compounds be of an inferior kind closely mixed and if the earthy particles of the quicksilver have a tendency of separating and the power of burning be inherent in the sulphur, iron will result. And if under similar conditions the intermixture be not perfect, and the quicksilver quantitatively larger lead will come into existence. These seven metals are called the *seven bodies*, and quicksilver has the name of *the mother of the bodies*, and sulphur *the father of the bodies*. Quicksilver is also denominated *the spirit* and arsenic and sulphur the *pivots of life*.

Jast (pewter)[1] which according to the opinions of some is *Ruh i*

[[1] Or zinc?—P.]

tūtiyā, and resembles lead, is nowhere mentioned in philosophical books, but there is a mine of it in Hindustan, in the territory of *Jālor*, which is a dependency of the Sūba of Ajmīr Some practical mechanics[1] are of opinion that the metal called *ruāș* is a silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver is silver in the state of apoplexy that lead is gold apoplectic and burnt and bronze crude gold, and that the chemist, like the doctor can restore these diseased metals by the principles of similarity and opposition

Practical men form of the above seven bodies several compounds, used for ornaments vessels, etc Among them I may mention 1 *Safīdru*, which the people of Hindustan call *Kāsī* It is a mixture of 4 sers of copper to 1 ser of tin melted together 2 *Rūy* 4 sers of copper to 1½ sers of lead It is called in this country *bhangār* 3 *Brass* which the Hindus call *pītal*, is made in three ways *first* 2½ sers copper to 1 ser *rūh i tūtiyā* which is malleable when cold *secondly* 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūh i tutiyā* which is malleable when heated, *thirdly* 2 sers of copper to 1 ser of *rūh i tūtiya* not worked with the hammer but by casting 4 *Sīm i sūkhta* composed of lead silver and bronze, it has a black lustre and is used in painting 5 *Haft josh* which like the *Khārchīnī* is nowhere to be found it is said to consist of six metals Some call it *tāliqūn* whilst others give this name to common copper 6 *Ashtdhāt* a compound of eight metals viz the six of the *haftjosh ruh i tutiyā* and *Kāsī* It is also made of seven compounds 7 *Kaulpatr*, 2 sers of *safīdrū* and 1 ser of copper It is coloured and looks well and belongs to the inventions of his Majesty[2]

Āīn 14

ON SPECIFIC GRAVITY

It has been said above that various compounds result from a mixture of *bukhār* and *dukhān* which themselves consist of light and heavy elements Besides *bukhār* is *wet* or *dry* and a complete union of the two sets is sometimes before and after the mixture and sometimes in either of these conditions It is on this account that a compound whose fiery and airy particles are more numerous than its watery and earthy particles is lighter than a mineral in which there are more watery and earthy particles, and likewise every mineral in which the *bukhār* predominates

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[1] According to some MSS the Hindus

[2] This phrase seems to mean that the invention was made at the time of Akbar

over the *dukhān* is lighter than a mineral, in which the opposite is the case Again a mineral in which the complete union of the *bukhār* and *dukhān* has set in, is heavier than one which has not reached this degree, because the interstices between the particles, and the entering of air, make a body large and light Bearing this in mind, we have a means of discovering the weight and lightness of every body Some one,[1] now long ago dead, has expressed the weight of several bodies in verses (metre *Mujtass*) —

Z rū yi jussa yi haftād u yak diram sīmab,
Chil o shash ast, u z' arzīz sny u hasht shumār,
Zahab sad ast surb panjah u nuh, āhan chil
Birinj o mis chihil o panj, nuqra panjah u chār

"Quicksilver[2] is 71, Rūy is 46, Tin is 38; Gold 100, Lead 59, Iron 40, Brass and Copper 45, Silver 54" Others have expressed the numbers by mnemo-technical words in rhyme (metre *Ramal*) —

Nuh filizz i mustawiyy' 'l hajm rā chūn bar kashī,
Ikhtilāf i wazn dārad har yak ī bī ishtibāh
Zar lakan, zībaq alam, usrub dahan, arzīz hal
Fizza nad, āhan yak ī, miss u shabah mah, rūy māh

"If you weigh equal volumes of the following *nine* metals, you will doubtlessly find their different weights as follows gold *lakan*[3] quicksilver *alam* lead *dahan*, tin *hal*, silver *nad*, iron *yakī*, copper and brass *mah* ruy *māh*" If of th[illegible]

their weights [illegible]

to the [illegible]

it t[illegible]

we[illegible] by common and hydrostatic balances Several deep-sighted philosophers compute the weight of bodies with a reference to water They fill a suitable vessel with water, and throw into it 100 *misqals* of each metal, and from the quantities of water thrown out upon the introduction of the metals are found the differences between them in volume and weight The greater the quantity of the water which 100 *misqals* of a body displace, the greater is its volume and the less its weight,

[1] *Abu Nasr i Farahi* of Farah a town in Sijistan His real name is Muhammad Badr d Din He has written a Vocabulary in rhyme [illegible] which for cent[illegible] ibyan Jo[illegible] tide [illegible] Sil[illegible] 325, Ab[illegible] inity gra[illegible] pecific 77[illegible] copper 801, Iron [illegible]

[2] The Arabic consonants of the mnemo technical words *lakan* *alam* etc, represent numbers thus $l + k + n = 30 + 20 + 50$ $a + l + m = 1 + 30 + 40$, etc

and reversely. Thus 100 *m.* of silver displace 9¾ *m.* of water, and the same quantity of gold, 5¼ *m.* If the weight of the water displaced by a body be subtracted from its weight in air, its weight in water will be found The scales of the air balance are both suspended in air; those of the hydrostatic balance are both on the surface of the water. As the heavier body possesses the greater power for sinking, it will, in any case, move in the direction of the perpendicular; but, if either of the two scales be on the surface of the water, and the other in the air, the latter scale, although perhaps the lighter, will necessarily sink, as air, being a finer substance than water, does not offer so much resistance. A body will sink in water if the quantity of water displaced by it be less than the weight of the body, and a body will float if that quantity be greater, and if the water displaced be equal to the weight of the body, its upper side will coincide with the surface of the water *Abū Rayḥān*[1] has drawn up a table which I shall insert here

Quantity of water displaced by 100 misqāls of	Misqál	Dang	Tassúj	*Apparent weight (weight in water) of 100 misqāls of*	Misqal	Dang	Tassūj
Gold,[2]	5	1	2	Gold,	95	4	2
Quicksilver,	7	2	1	Quicksilver,	92	3	3
Lead,	8	5	3	Lead,	91	1	3
Silver,	9	4	1	Silver,	90	1	3
Rūy,	11	2	3	*Rūy*,	88	4	3
Copper,	11	3	3	Copper,	88	3	3
Brass,	11	4	3	Brass,	88	2	3
Iron,	12	5	2	Iron,	87	3	2
Tin,	13	4	3	Tin	86	2	3
Yāqūt (light blue),	25	1	2	*Yāqūt* (light blue),	74	4	2
Yāqūt (red),	26	3	3	*Yāqūt* (red),	74	3	[illegible]
Ruby (*la'l*),	27	5	2	Ruby (*la'l*),	72	[illegible]	2
Zumurrud,	36	2	3	*Zumurrud*,	63	4	3
Pearl,	37	1	3	Pearl,	62	5	3
Lapis lazuli,	38	3	3	Lapis lazuli	61	[illegible]	3
Cornelian,	38	3	3	Cornelian,	61	3	3
Amber	39	3	3	Amber,	60	[illegible]	3
Bullūr,	40	3	3	*Bullūr*,	60	3	3

[1 ابو ریحان سروي —P]

[2] [illegible]

The weight (in air) of the under mentioned metals the volume of 100 misqāls of gold being taken as the unit of volume	Misqāl	Dāng	Tassūj	*The weight (in air) of the under mentioned precious stones the volume of 100 misqāls of the blue yāqut being taken as the unit of volume*	Misqāl	Dāng	Tassūj
Gold	100	0	0	*Yaqut* (light blue)	91	3	3
Quicksilver,	71	1	1	*Yāqūt* (red)	94	3	[illegible]
Lead	59	2	2	Ruby,	80	2	3
Silver,	54	3	3	*Zumurrud,*	69	3	3
Ruy	46	2	3	Pearls	67	5	2
Copper	45	3	3	Lapis lazuli	65	3	2
Brass	45	3	5	(?)Cornelian	64	4	2
Iron	10	0	0	Amber	64	3	1
Tin	38	2	2	*Bullūr*	63	3	3

Ā'īn 15

THE IMPERIAL HAREM

His Majesty is a great friend of good order and propriety in business Through order the world becomes a meadow of truth and reality, and that which is but external receives through it a spiritual meaning For this reason the large number of women [1]—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom and to rise from the low level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom The imperial palace and household are therefore in the best order

His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan, and of other countries and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world

As the sovereign by the light of his wisdom has raised fit persons from the dust of obscurity and appointed them to various offices, so does he also elevate faithful persons to the several ranks in the service of the seraglio Short sighted men think of impure gold which will gradually turn into pure gold, [2] but the far sighted know that his Majesty understands how to use elixirs [3] and chemical processes Any kind of growth

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[[1] ردکان, —P]

[2] So according to the opinion of the philosophers of the Middle Ages

[3] Elixirs change *quickly* that which is worthless into pure gold

will alter the constitution of a body, copper and iron will turn to gold, and tin and lead to silver, hence it is no matter of astonishment if an excellent being changes the worthless into men "The saying of the wise is true that the eye of the exalted is the elixir for producing goodness" Such also are the results flowing from the love of order of his Majesty, from his wisdom insight, regard to rank, his respect for others his activity, his patience Even when he is angry, he does not deviate from the right path, he looks at everything with kindly feelings weighs rumours well, and is free from all prejudice, he considers it a great blessing to have the good wishes of the people and does not allow the intoxicating pleasures of this world to overpower his calm judgment

His Majesty has made a large enclosure with fine buildings inside where he reposes Though there are more than five thousand women he has given to each a separate apartment He has also divided them into sections and keeps them attentive to their duties Several chaste women have been appointed as *dāroghas* and superintendents over each section, and one has been selected for the duties of writer Thus as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order The salaries are sufficiently liberal Not counting the presents which his Majesty most generously bestows the women of the highest rank receive from 1610 to 1028 Rs *per mensem* Some of the servants have from 51 to 20 others from 40 to 2 Rs Attached to the private audience hall of the palace is a clever and zealous writer, who superintends the expenditure of the Harem and keeps an account of the cash and the stores If a woman wants anything, within the limit of her salary, she applies to one of the *Tahwīldārs* (cash keepers) of the seraglio The *Tahwīldār* then sends a memorandum to the writer who checks it when the General Treasurer makes the payment in cash as for claims of this nature no cheques are given

The writer also makes out an estimate of the annual expenditure writes out summarily a receipt which is countersigned by the ministers of the state It is then stamped with a peculiar imperial seal, which is only used in grants connected with the Harem when the receipt becomes payable The money itself is paid by the cash keeper of the General Treasury to the General *Tahwīldār*, who on the order of the writer of the Harem hands it over to the several Sub *Tahwīldārs* for distribution among the servants of the seraglio All moneys are reckoned in their salaries at the current rate [1]

The inside of the Harem is guarded by sober and active women, the

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[1] At 40 *dāms per rupee*

most trustworthy of them are placed about the apartments of his Majesty Outside the enclosure the eunuchs are placed, and at a proper distance, there is a guard of faithful *Rājpūts*, beyond whom are the porters of the gates Besides, on all four sides, there are guards of Nobles, *Ahadīs*, and other troops, according to their ranks

Whenever *Begams*, or the wives of nobles, or other women of chaste character, desire to be presented, they first notify their wish to the servants of the seraglio, and wait for a reply From thence they send their request to the officers of the palace, after which those who are eligible are permitted to enter the Harem Some women of rank obtain permission to remain there for a whole month

Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, his Majesty does not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order

Āʼīn 16

THE ENCAMPMENT ON JOURNEYS[1]

It would be difficult to describe a large encampment, but I shall say something on the equipage used for hunting parties and short journeys

1 The *Gulāl bār* is a grand enclosure, the invention of his Majesty, the doors of which are made very strong, and secured with locks and keys. It is never less than one hundred yards square[2] At its eastern end a pavilion of two entrances is erected, containing 54 divisions, 24 yards long and 14 broad, and in the middle there stands a large *chūbīn rā,oṭī*,[3] and round about it a *sarā parda*[3] Adjoining to the *chūbīn*, they built up a two storied pavilion, in which his Majesty performs divine worship, and from the top of which, in the morning, he receives the compliments of the nobility No one connected with the seraglio enters this building without special leave Outside of it twenty four *chūbīn rā,oṭīs* are erected, 10 yards long and 6 yards wide, each separated by a canvas, where the favourite women reside There are also other pavilions and tents for the servants, with *sāyabāns*[4] of gold embroidery, brocade, and velvet. Adjoining to this is a *sarā parda* of carpet, 60 yards square, within which a few tents are erected, the place for the *Urdū begīs*,[5] and other female

[1 In text يورش *Yurish* T properly means 'attack, assault'. *Yūrish hā* seems to mean here 'military expeditions —P]

[2 گز در گز —P]

3 Described in the twenty first *Āʼīn*

4 Awnings

5 Armed women

servant Farther on up to the private audience hall, there is a fine open space, 150 yards long and 100 yards broad, called the *Mahtābī*, and on both sides of it, a screen is set up as before described, which is supported by poles 6 yards long, fixed in the ground at distances of two yards The poles are one yard in the ground, and are ornamented with brass knobs on the top, and kept firm by two ropes, one passing inside and the other outside of the enclosure The guards watch here, as has been described

In the midst of the plain is a *raised platform*,[1] *which is protected by an* awning, or *Nam-gīra*, supported by *four poles* This is the place where his Majesty sits in the evening, and none but those who are particularly favoured are here admitted Adjoining to the *Gulāl bār*, there is a circular enclosure, consisting of twelve divisions each of thirty yards, the door of the enclosure opening into the *Mahtābī*, and in the midst of it is a *Chūbīn rā,oṭī*, ten yards long, and a tent containing forty divisions, over which twelve awnings are spread, each of twelve yards and separated by canvases[2] This place, in every division of which a convenient closet is constructed, is called *Ibachkī*,[3] which is the (*Chaghatāʼī*) name used by his Majesty Adjoining to this a *Sarā parda* is being put up, 150 yards in length and breadth, containing sixteen divisions, of thirty six square yards, the *Sarā-parda* being as before, sustained by poles with knobs In the midst of it, the state hall is erected, by means of a thousand carpets, it contains seventy two rooms, and has an opening fifteen yards wide A tent like covering or *Qalandarī* made of wax-cloth, or any other lighter material, is spread over it, which affords protection against the rain and the sun, and round about it are fifty awnings, of twelve yards each The pavilion, which serves as *Dīwān i khāṣṣ* or private audience hall, has proper doors and locks Here the nobles and the officers of the army, after having obtained leave through the *Bakhshīs*,[4] pass before the Emperor, the list of officers eligible for admission being changed on the first of every month The place is decorated, both inside and outside with carpets of various colours, and resembles a beautiful flower bed Outside of it, to a distance of 350 yards, ropes are drawn, fastened to poles, which are set up at a distance of three yards from each other Watchmen are stationed about them This is the *Dīwān i ʻĀmm*, or public audience hall, round which, as above described,

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[1] As may be still seen in the ruins of Fathpur Sikri

[[2] ڈالی "tent wall" —P]

[[3] In text *ibachki khāna* —P]

[4] Paymasters The Commanding Officers were at the same time paymasters as they collected the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents

the various guards are placed At the end of this place, at a distance of twelve *tanābs* [1] is the *Naqqāra Khāna*,[2] and in the midst of the area the *Akās diya* [3] is lighted up

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the *Farrāshes* on a piece of ground which the *Mīr Manzils* [4] have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers It is escorted by 500 troopers, *Mansabdars*,[5] *Ahadīs* Besides, there are employed a thousand *Farrāshes*, natives of Īran, Tūran and Hindustan, 500 pioneers, 100 water carriers, 50 carpenters, tent makers, and torch bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers

The monthly pay of the foot varies from 240 to 130 *dāms*

A'īn 17

THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE ARMY

Although his Majesty but rarely collects his armies a large number of troops accompany him in whatever direction an expedition may go, but a considerable number, in every province, are employed on various services and are not allowed to follow him On account of the crowding of camp followers, and the number of the troops themselves, it would take a soldier days to find his tent, and how much worse would it be for a stranger? His Majesty has invented an admirable method of encamping his troops, which is a source of much comfort to them On an open ground they pitch the imperial seraglio the audience hall, and the *Naqāra Khāna*, all occupying a space the length of which is 1530 yards To the right and left, and behind, is an open space of 360 yards, which no one but the guards is allowed to enter Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to the left [6] and centre are the tents of Maryam Makan,[7] and Gulbadan Begum and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Danyal, to the

[[1] طناب شصت گزی —P]

[2] A turret on the top of which the band plays Regarding the *tanab*, *vide* the tenth A'īn of the third book

[3] A high pole to the top of which an immense lamp is fixed *Vide* p 50

[4] Quartermasters

[5] Grandees

[[6] *Qol*, M is said to be the *centre* of an army in battle array —P]

[7] *Maryam Makānī* (i e, dwelling with the Virgin Mary, who together with Asiyah, the wife of Pharaoh Khadija Muhammad's first wife and
the four *perfect* w
BānūBegum, *vide*
appears to be the

right, those of Prince Sultān Salīm, and to the left, those of Prince Shāh Murād Behind their tents, at some distance, the offices and workshops are placed, and at a further distance of 30 yards behind them, at the four corners of the camp, the bāzārs The nobles are encamped without on all sides, according to their rank

The guards for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday encamp in the centre, those for Sunday and Monday, on the right, and those for Tuesday and Wednesday, on the left

Āʼīn 18

ON ILLUMINATIONS

His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light, surly, ignorant men consider this forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire worship But the deep sighted know better As the external form of the worship of "the select",[1] is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element which is the source of man's existence, and of the duration of his life, nor should base thoughts enter such a matter

How beautifully has Shaykh Sharfu 'd Din[2] said "What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp when the sun is down?" Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines, the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty

At noon of the day, when the sun enters the 19th degree of Aries, the whole world being then surrounded by his light they expose a round piece of a white and shining stone, called in Hindi *Surajkrānt*, to the rays of the sun A piece of cotton is then held near it, which catches fire from the heat of the stone This celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons The lamp lighters, torch bearers, and cooks of the household, use it for their offices, and when the year has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire The vessel in which this fire is preserved, is called *Agingir*, i e fire pot

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[1] The members of the *Divine Faith*

[2] This famous saint died in the beginning of the fifteenth century Munair is a town in Bahār, *vide Journal As Soc Bengal*, 1868 p 7 l 3 from below and the biographies of Indian Saints in the fourth book His works are to be found among the *Persian MSS of the Society's Library*

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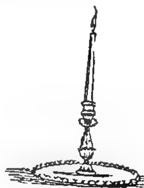
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There is also a shining white stone, called *Chandrkrānt*, which, upon being exposed to the beams of the moon, drips water.

Every afternoon, one *gharī*[1] before sunset, his Majesty, if riding, alights or, if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve candles,[2] on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before his Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candlesticks and shades, and to give an account of the offices of the workmen. Some of the candlesticks weigh ten *mans* and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more; they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux,[3] both inside and outside, which increase the light very much. The first, second, and third nights of every lunar month, when there is moonlight but for a short time, eight wicks are used;[4] from the fourth to the tenth, they decrease one in number every night, so that on the tenth night, when the moon is very bright, one is sufficient; and they continue in this state till the fifteenth, and increase one wick every day from the sixteenth to the nineteenth. For the twentieth night the number is the same as on the nineteenth; on the twenty first and twenty second they increase one daily; the twenty-third is the same as the twenty second; and from the twenty fourth to the last eight wicks are lighted up. They allow for every wick one ser of oil and half a ser of cotton. In some places there are fat burners, where grease is burnt instead of oil. The allowance varies according to the size of the wick.

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from far his Majesty has caused to be erected, in front of the Durbār, a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes;

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[1] One *gharī* = 24 minutes.

[[2] شمع کافوری, i e wax candles.—P.]

[3] Oil burners with several wicks are very common in India.

[4] For each flambeau.

and on the top of the pole is a large lantern which they call *Ākās diya*[1] Its light, seen from great distance guides the soldiers to the imperial camp and helps them to find their tent In former times before the lamp was erected the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road

In this department Mansabdars Ahadis and other troops are employed The allowance of a foot soldier never exceeds 2100 and is never less than 80 *dams*

Āin 19

THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALTY

The *Shamsa*[2] of the arch of royalty is a divine light which God directly transfers to kings without the assistance of men and kings are fond of external splendour because they consider it an image of the Divine glory I shall mention some of the insignia used at present

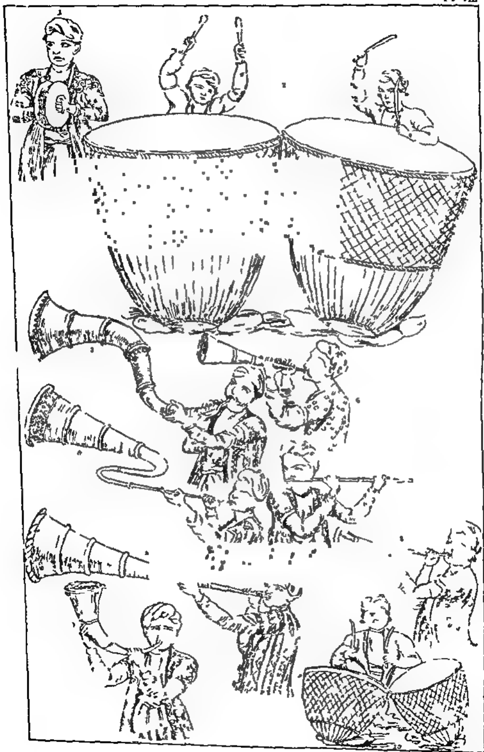
1 The *Aurang* or throne is made of several forms some are inlaid with precious stones and others are made of gold silver etc 2 The *Chatr* or umbrella is adorned with the most precious jewels of which there are never less than seven 3 The *Saya ban* is of an oval form a yard in length and its handle like that of the umbrella is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones One of the attendants holds it to keep off the rays of the sun It is also called *Aftābgīr* 4 The *Kaukaba*[3] of which several are hung up before the assembly hall

These four insignia are used by kings only

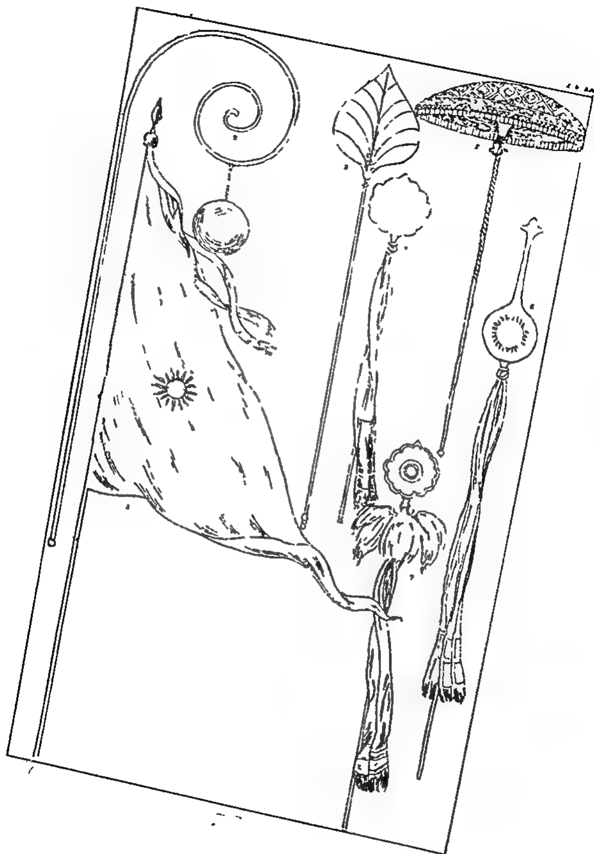
5 The *ʿAlam* or standard When the king rides out not less than five of these are carried along with the *Qur*[4] wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags On days of festivity and in battle they are unfurled 6 The *Chatrtoq* a kind of *ʿAlam* but smaller than it is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks 7 The *Tumantoq* is like the *Chatrtoq* but longer Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only 8 The *Jhanda* is an Indian flag The *Qur* necessarily contains a flag of each kind but on great occasions many are displayed

Of musical instruments used in the *Naqārahkhana* I may mention 1 *the Kuwarga* commonly called *damama* there are eighteen pair of

[1] From *Ākās* ... [illegible]



Pl. VIII



them more or less, and they give a deep sound 2 *The naqāra*, twenty pair, more or less 3 *The duhul*, of which four are used 4 The *Karnā*[1] is made of gold, silver, brass, and other metals and they never blow fewer than four 5 *The surnā* of the Persian and Indian kinds, they blow nine together 6 The *nafīr*, of the Persian, European, and Indian kinds, they blow some of each kind 7 The *sing* is of brass and made in the form of a cow's horn, they blow two together 8 The *sanj*, or cymbal of which three pair are used

Formerly the band played four *gharīs* before the commencement of the night, and likewise four *gharīs* before daybreak, now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn One *gharī* before sunrise the musicians commence to blow the *surnā*, and wake up those that are asleep, and one *gharī* after sunrise, they play a short prelude, when they beat the *kuwarga* a little, whereupon they blow the *karnā*, the *nafīr*, and the other instruments, without, however, making use of the *naqāra*, after a little pause the *surnās* are blown again, the time of the music being indicated by the *nafīrs* One hour later the *naqāras* commence, when all musicians raise "the auspicious strain"[2] After this they go through the following seven performances 1 The *Mursalī* which is the name of a tune played by the *mursil*, and afterwards the *bardasht*, which consists likewise of certain tunes, played by the whole band This is followed by a pianissimo, and a crescendo passing over into a diminuendo, 2 The playing of the four tunes, called *ikhlātī*, *ibtidā'ī*, *shīrāzī*, *qalandarī nigar qatra*,[3] or *nukhūd qatra*, which occupies an hour 3 The playing of the old[4] Khwarizmite tunes Of these his Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes *Jalālshāhī*, *Mahāmīr karkat* (?), and the *Nawro-ī* 4 The swelling play of the cymbals 5 The playing of *Bā miyān dawr* 6 The passing into the tunes *azfar*, also called *rah i bālā*, after which comes a pianissimo 7 The Khwarizmite tunes, played by the *Mursil*, after which he passes into the *mursalī*, he then pauses, and commences the blessings on his Majesty, when the whole band strikes up a pianissimo Then follows the reading of beautiful sentences and poems This also lasts for an hour Afterwards the *surnā*

[1] Or Karrana [In text *karna* —P]
[2] Probably blessings on his Majesty
[3] Several of these names of melodies are unclear and will in all probability remain so Perhaps the words *shirāzi qalandari* a hermit of Shiraz, belong to each other *Nigar qatra* means, *behold the tear* [*Qalandar* is a kind of *wandering* dervish of wild appearance —P]
[4 In text old and new' —P]

players perform for another hour, when the whole comes to a proper conclusion.

His Majesty has such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess, and he is likewise an excellent hand in performing, especially on the *naqāra*

Mansabdārs, *Ahadīs*, and other troops are employed in this department The monthly pay of a foot soldier does not exceed 340 and is not less than 74 *dāms*

Āʾīn 20

THE ROYAL SEALS

Seals are used in the three [1] branches of the Government, in fact every man requires them in his transactions [2] In the beginning of the present reign, Mawlanā Maqsūd, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqāʿ* character, the name of his Majesty, and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timūrlang, and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nastaʿlīq* character, only with his Majesty's name For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, *mihrābī* in form,[3] which had the following verse round the name of his Majesty :—

Rāstī mūjib i rizā yi Khudāst kas nadīdam ki gum shud az rāh i rāst

" Uprightness is the means of pleasing God, I never saw any one lost in the straight road "

Tamkīn made a new seal of the second kind, and afterwards Mawlānā ʿAlī Ahmad of Dihlī improved both The round small seal goes by the (*chaghatāʾī*) name of *Uzuk*, and is used for *farmān i sabtīs*, [4] and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of his Majesty, was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but nowadays for both For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words *Allāhu Akbar jallᵃ jalālahū*, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the seraglio For the seals attached to *farmāns*, another stamp is used of various forms

Of seal engravers I shall mention

1 *Maulānā Maqṣūd of Hirāt*, one of the servants of Humāyūn, who writes well the *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* characters The astrolabe, globes, and

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[1] Corresponding to the threefold division of the *Āʾīn i Akbarī*

[2] The word *muhr*, a seal, means also a *stamp*, and generally, the *signature of a man*, [illegible]

various *mistars*[1] which he made, were much admired by people of experience The patronage of his Majesty perfected his art

2 *Tamkīn of Kābul* He was educated in his native country, and brought his art to such a perfection as to excite the jealousy of the preceding engraver, whom he surpassed in the *nastaʿlīq*

3 *Mīr Dost of Kābul* He cuts both the *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* characters in cornelian He does not come up to the preceding artists His *riqāʿ* is better than his *nastaʿlīq* He also understands assaying

4 *Maulānā Ibrāhīm* In the art of cutting cornelians he is the pupil of his brother Sharaf of Yazd He surpasses the ancient engravers and it is impossible to distinguish his *riqāʿ* and *nastaʿlīq* from the master pieces of the best calligraphers He engraved the words *laʿl jalālī*, or the glorious ruby, upon all imperial rubies of value

5 *Maulānā ʿAlī Aḥmad*[2] of Dihli who according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel engraver so much so that his engravings are used as copies His *nastaʿlīq* is charming, but he writes also other characters as well He learned the trade from his father Shaykh Husayn studied the manner of Mawlānā Maqṣūd and eventually surpassed all

Āʾīn 21

THE FARRĀSH KHĀNA

His Majesty considers this department[3] as an excellent dwelling place, a shelter from heat and cold, a protector against the rain as the ornament of royalty. He looks upon its efficiency as one of the insignia of a ruler, and therefore considers the care bestowed upon it as a part of Divine worship The department has been much improved, both in the quality and the quantity of the stores, and also by the introduction of new fashions I shall mention a few particulars as specimens for future enquirers

1 The *Bārgāh* when large, is able to contain more than ten thousand

[illegible]

intervals, and draw a string from the first hole at the left hand to the first hole of the right of the pasteboard Similarly the two second holes are joined, and so on, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel This contrivance is called *mistar*, from *satar* a line The copyist then puts the blank sheets on the top of the *mistar* and presses on them with the hands when the strings will leave marks on the paper sufficiently clear to prevent the writer from writing crookedly

[2] *Nizām* of Hirāt in his Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī, mentions him among the contemporaneous Persian poets and gives a few of his verses.

[[3] فراش خانہ —P]

people It takes a thousand *farrāshes*, a week to erect with the help of machines There are generally two door poles, fastened with hinges If plain (i e without brocade, velvet, or gold ornaments) a *bārgāh* costs 10,000 rupees and upwards, whilst the price of one full of ornaments is unlimited The price of others may be estimated from the price of a plain one 2 The *Chūbīn rāwatī* is raised on ten pillars They go a little into the ground, and are of equal height, with the exception of two, which are a little higher, as the crossbeam rests upon them The pillars have above and below, a *dāsa*,[1] to keep them firm, and several rafters pass over the *dāsas* and the crossbeam, the whole being kept tightly together by clamps and bolts and nuts The walls and the roof consist of mats There is one door or two, and at the height of the lower *dasas* there is a raised platform The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet sackcloth,[2] tied to the walls with silk tape 3 The *Do-āshiyāna manzil* or house of two storeys, is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform, and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper storey The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding On the march it is used by his Majesty as a sleeping apartment, and also as a place of divine worship where he prays to the Sun, and hence the building resembles a man who strives after God without forgetting his worldly duties whose one eye is directed to the solitude of pure devotion, and the other eye to the motley *sarā* of the world After the devotions are over, the women are allowed to enter to pay their compliments, and after them outsiders On journeys his Majesty inspects in this building the rations (of the elephants, camels, etc), which is called *jharōka*,[3] or window 4 The *Zamīndoz* is a tent made of various forms, sometimes with one, sometimes with two door poles, screens are also hung up within it so as to form divisions 5 The *ʿAjāʾibī* consists of nine awnings on four pillars Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering, sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only and four tapering, sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole 6 The *Mandal* is composed of five awnings joined together, and is supported by four poles Four of the awnings are let down so as to form a private room, sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open 7 The *Ath khamba* consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes

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[1] A triangular piece of wood fixed into the angle formed by the vertical beam and the cross beam, a *support*

[[2] *Saqirlāt*, perhaps a scarlet broad cloth —P]

[[3] *Jharokā*, a small window in an upper storey, especially one in a palace, to obtain a view —P]

separate, sometimes joined together, they are supported by eight poles 8 The *Khargāh* is a folding tent made in various ways, some with one, others with two doors 9 The *Shāmyāna* awning is made of various sizes, but never more than of twelve yards square 10 The *Qalandarī* has been described[1] 11 The *Sarāparda* was made in former times of coarse canvas, but his Majesty has now caused it to be made of carpeting, and thereby improved its appearance and usefulness 12 The *Gulābār* is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the *Khargāh*, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together when the camp breaks up The *gulābār* is covered with red cloth, tied with tape

Carpets [2]

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures, he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many masterpieces The *gilīms* of Īrān and Tūrān are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goshkān,[3] Khūzistan, Kirman, and Sabzwār All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade These are found in every town, especially in Āgra, Fathpūr and Lāhor In the imperial workshops single *gilīms* are made 20 *gaz* 7 *tassūjes* long, and 6 *gaz* 11½ *tassūjes* broad, at a cost of 1810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2715 rupees

Takya-namads, or woollen coverlets, are brought from Kābul and Persia,[4] but are also made in this country

It would take up too much time to describe the *jājams*, *shatrinjīs*, *balūchīs*, and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk

Āʾīn 22

THE ĀBDĀR KHĀNA

His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality", and has committed the care of this department to proper persons He does not drink much, but pays much attention to this matter Both at home and

[1] *Vide* p 48
[[2] In text *gilīm* which is a carpet without a pile —P]

on travels he drinks Ganges water Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch the water in sealed jars When the court was at the capital Āgra and in Fathpūr, the water came from the district of Sorūn,[1] but now[2] that his Majesty is in the Panjāb, the water is brought from Hardwār For the cooking of the food, rain-water or water taken from the Jamna and the Chanāb is used, mixed with a little Ganges water On journeys and hunting parties, his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters

Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small Saltpetre is a saline earth They fill with it a perforated vessel, and pour some water over it, and collecting what drops through, they boil it, clean it, and let it crystallize One ser of water is then put into a goglet of pewter, or silver, or any other such metal, and the mouth closed Then two and a half sers of saltpetre are thrown into a vessel, together with five sers of water, and in this mixture the goglet is stirred about for a quarter of an hour, when the water in the goglet will become cold The *price* of saltpetre varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 *mans* per rupee

Since the thirtieth year[3] of the *Divine Era,* when the imperial standards were erected in the Panjāb, snow and ice have come into use Ice is brought by land and water, by post carriages or bearers, from the district of Panhān, in the northern mountains, about forty-five *kos* from Lāhor The dealers derive a considerable profit, two to three sers of ice being sold per rupee The greatest profit is derived when the ice is brought by water, next when by carriages, and least when by bearers The [illegible]

Out of the ten boats employed for the transport of ice, one arrives daily at the capital, each being manned by four boatmen The ice bundles contain from six to twelve sers, according to the temperature A carriage brings two loads There are fourteen stages, where the horses are changed, and besides, one elephant is used Twelve pieces of ten to four sers arrive daily By this kind of transport, a ser of ice costs in winter 3 *d* 21 *j* , during the rains 14 *d* 20 *j* , in the intermediate time 9 *d* 21$\frac{1}{2}$ *j*.,

[1] The nearest station on the Ganges from Āgra

[2] A.D 1596 As in 1586 Fathpur had ceased to be the capital Akbar resided mostly in the Panjab

[3] A D 1586

and in the average,[1] 5 *d* 15$\frac{3}{8}$ *j* If it is brought by bearers, twenty-eight men are required for the fourteen stages They bring every day one load, containing four parcels In the beginning of the year, the ice costs 5 *d* 19$\frac{1}{2}$ *j*, in the middle 16 *d* 2$\frac{1}{8}$ *j*, and in the end 19 *d* 15$\frac{5}{8}$ *j* per ser, in the average,[1] 8$\frac{7}{8}$ *d*

All ranks use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the whole year

Ā'*īn* 23

THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN

His Majesty even extends his attention to this department, and has given many wise regulations for it, nor can a reason be given why he should not do so, as the equilibrium of man's nature, the strength of the body, the capability of receiving external and internal blessings, and the acquisition of worldly and religious advantages, depend ultimately on proper care being shown for appropriate food This knowledge distinguishes man from beasts, with whom, as far as mere eating is concerned, he stands upon the same level If his Majesty did not possess so lofty a mind, so comprehensive an understanding, so universal a kindness, he would have chosen the path of solitude, and given up sleep and food altogether, and even now, when he has taken upon himself the temporal and spiritual leadership of the people, the question, "What dinner has been prepared to-day?" never passes over his tongue In the course of twenty four hours his Majesty eats but once, and leaves off before he is fully satisfied, neither is there any fixed time for this meal, but the servants have always things so far ready, that in the space of an hour, after the order has been given, a hundred dishes are served up The food allowed to the women of the seraglio commences to be taken from the kitchen in the morning, and goes on till night

Trustworthy and experienced people are appointed to this department, and all good servants attached to the court, are resolved to perform well whatever service they have undertaken Their head is assisted by the Prime Minister himself His Majesty has entrusted to the latter the affairs of the state, but especially this important department Notwithstanding all this, his Majesty is not unmindful of the conduct of the servants He appoints a zealous and sincere man as *Mīr Bakāwal*, or

[1] The text has *sarāsarī* which may mean the *average*, but the price given by Abū l Fazl is not an average The charges for ice at the time of Akbar may be compared to the prices of the present age Here in Calcutta one ser of American ice costs two annas or $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee i e $\frac{40}{8}$ = 5 *dams* of Akbar

Master of the Kitchen, upon whose insight the success of the department depends, and gives him several upright persons as assistants There are also treasurers for the cash and the stores, several tasters, and a clever writer Cooks from all countries prepare a great variety of dishes of all kinds of grains, greens, meats, also oily, sweet, and spicy dishes Every day such dishes are prepared as the nobles can scarcely command at their feasts, from which you may infer how exquisite the dishes are which are prepared for his Majesty

In the beginning of the year the Sub-treasurers make out an annual estimate, and receive the amount, the money bags and the door of the store house being sealed with the seals of the *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer, and every month a correct statement of the daily expenditure is drawn up, the receipt for which is sealed by the same two officers, when it is entered under the head of the expenditure At the beginning of every quarter,[1] the *Dīwān i buyūtāt*[2] and the *Mīr Bakāwal*, collect whatever they think will be necessary, e g *Sukhdās* rice from Bharaij,[3] *Dewzīra* rice from Gwāliār, *Jinjin* rice from Rajórī and Nimlah, *ghī* from *Hisār Fīrūza*; ducks,[4] water fowls, and certain vegetables from Kashmir Patterns are always kept The sheep, goats, berberies,[5] fowls, ducks,[6] etc, are fattened by the cooks, fowls are never kept less than a month The slaughter house is without the city or the camp, in the neighbourhood of rivers and tanks, where the meat is washed, when it is sent to the kitchen in sacks sealed by the cooks There it is again washed, and thrown into the pots The water carriers pour the water out of their leather bags into earthen vessels, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of cloth, and sealed up, and the water is left to settle before it is used A place is also told off as a kitchen garden, that there may be a continual supply of fresh greens The *Mīr Bakāwal* and the writer determine the price of every eatable, which becomes a fixed rule, and they sign the day book, the estimates, the receipts for transfers the list of wages of the servants, etc, and watch every transaction Bad characters idle talkers, unknown persons are never employed, no one is entertained without a personal security, nor is personal acquaintance sufficient

The victuals are served up in dishes of gold and silver, stone and earthenware, some of the dishes being in charge of each of the *Sub-*

[[1] *Fasl* —P]
[2] Superintendent of the stores workshops etc
[[3] Bahraich —B.]
[[4] *Qaz* T goose not duck —P]
[[5] Apparently the Barbary goat —P]
[[6] *Qāz* T goose —P]

Bakāwals During the time of cooking, and when the victuals are taken out, an awning is spread, and lookers on kept away The cooks tuck up their sleeves, and the hems of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and noses when the food is taken out, the cook and the *Bakāwal* taste it, after which it is tasted by the *Mīr Bakāwal*, and then put into the dishes The gold and silver dishes are tied up in red cloths, and those of copper and china in white ones The *Mīr Bakāwal* attaches his seal, and writes on it the names of the contents, whilst the clerk of the pantry writes out on a sheet of paper a list of all vessels and dishes, which he sends inside, with the seal of the *Mīr Bakāwal*, that none of the dishes may be changed The dishes are carried by the *Bakāwals*, the cooks, and the other servants, and macebearers precede and follow, to prevent people from approaching them The servants of the pantry send at the same time, in bags containing the seal of the *Bakāwal*, various kinds of bread, saucers of curds piled up, and small stands containing plates of pickles, fresh ginger, limes, and various greens The servants of the palace again taste the food, spread the table cloth on the ground, and arrange the dishes, and when after some time his Majesty commences to dine, the table servants sit opposite him in attendance, first, the share of the derwishes is put apart, when his Majesty commences with milk or curds After he has dined, he prostrates himself in prayer The *Mīr Bakāwal* is always in attendance The dishes are taken away according to the above list Some victuals are also kept half ready, should they be called for

The copper utensils are tinned twice a month, those of the princes, etc, once, whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones

Āʾīn 24

RECIPES FOR DISHES

There are many dishes, but the description is difficult I shall give some particulars Cooked victuals may be arranged under three heads, *first*, such in which no meat is used, called now a days *sūfiyāna* *secondly*, such in which meat and rice, etc, are used, *thirdly*, meats with spices I shall give ten recipes of each kind

First, 1 *Zard birinj* 10 *s* of rice, 5 *s* of sugarcandy, 3½ *s* of ghi, raisins, almonds, and pistachios, ½ *s* of each, ¼ *s* of salt, ⅛*s* of fresh ginger, 1½ *dāms* saffron, 2½ *misqāls* of cinnamon This will make four ordinary dishes Some make this dish with fewer spices, and even without

any· and instead of without meat and sweets, they prepare it also with meat and salt 2 *Khushka* 10 *s* rice, ½ *s* salt, but it is made in different ways This will likewise give four dishes One maund of *Dewzīra* paddy yields 25 *s* of rice, of which 17 sers make a full pot, *jinjin* rice yields 22 sers 3 *Khichrī* Rice, *mūng* dāl,[1] and ghī 5 *s* of each, ½ *s* salt, this gives seven dishes 4 *Shīrbirinj* 10 *s* milk, 1 *s* rice, 1 *s* sugarcandy, 1 *d* salt, this gives five full dishes 5 *Thūlī* 10 *s* of wheat, ground, of which one third will be lost, half of that quantity of ghī, 10 *misqāls* of pepper, 4 *m* cinnamon, 3½ *m* cloves and cardamums, ½ *s* salt, some add milk and sweetmeats this gives four dishes 6 *Chikhī* 10 *s* of wheat flour, made into a paste, and washed till it is reduced to 2 *s* of fine paste This is mixed with spices, and dressed with various kinds of meat 1 *s* ghī; 1 *s* onions, saffron, cardmums, and cloves, ½ *d* of each, cinnamon, round pepper, and coriander seed, 1 *d* of each, fresh ginger, *salt 3 d of each this gives two dishes, some* add lime juice 7 *Badinjān* [2] 10 *s*, 1½ *s* ghī 3¾ *s* onions, ½ *s* ginger and lime juice, pepper and coriander seed, 5 *m* of each, cloves, cardamums and assafœtida, each ½ *m* *This gives six dishes* 8 *Pahit* *For ten sers of dal of vetches* (or gram, or skinned lentils, etc) take 2½ *s* ghī ½ *s* of salt and fresh ginger, 2 *m* cuminseed, 1½ *m* assafœtida this yields fifteen dishes It is mostly eaten with *Khushka* 9 *Sāg* *It* is made of spinach, and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes 10 *s* spinach, fennel, etc, 1½ *s* ghi, 1 *s* onions, ½ *s* fresh ginger, 5½ *m* of pepper, ½ *m* of cardamums and cloves, this gives six dishes 10 *Halwā* Flour, sugarcandy, ghī, 10 *s* of each, which will give fifteen dishes, it is eaten in various ways

There are also various kinds of sugared fruits, and drinks which I cannot here describe

Secondly, 1 *Qabūlī* 10 *s* rice, 7 *s* meat, 3½ *s* ghī, 1 *s* gram skinned, 2 *s* onions, ½ *s* salt, ¼ *s* fresh ginger, cinnamon round pepper cuminseed, of each 1 *d*, cardamums and cloves, ½ *d* of each, some add almonds and raisins this gives five dishes 2 *Duzdbiryān* 10 *s* rice, 3½ *s* ghī, 10 *s* meat, ½ *s* salt this gives five dishes 3 *Qīma* [3] *Palāo* Rice and meat as in the preceding, 4 *s* ghī, 1 *s* peeled gram, 2 *s* onions, ½ s salt, ¼ *s* fresh ginger, and pepper, cuminseed, cardamums and cloves, 1 *d* of each this gives five dishes 4 *Shulla* 10 *s* meat, 3½ *s* rice, 2 *s* ghī, 1 *s* gram, 2 *s* onions, ½ *s* salt, ¼ *s* fresh

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[[1] All *split* peas pulse lentils vetches etc, are called *dal* —P]
[[2] *Badinjan* is the egg plant or brinjāl —P]
[[3] *Qima* is pounded (or minced) meat —P]

ginger, 2 *d* garlic, and round pepper, cinnamon, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d* of each this gives six dishes 5 *Bughrā* 10 *s* meat, 3 *s* flour; 1½ *s* ghī, 1 *s* gram, 1½ *s* vinegar, 1 *s* sugarcandy, onions, carrots, beets, turnips, spinach, fennel, ginger, ½ *s* of each, saffron, cloves, cardamums, cuminseed, 1 *d* of each, 2 *d* cinnamon, 8 *m* round pepper: this gives twelve dishes 6 *Qīma Shūrbā* 10 *s* meat, 1 *s* rice, 1 *s* ghī, ½ *s* gram, and the rest as in the *Shulla* this gives ten full dishes 7 *Harīsa* 10 *s* meat, 5 *s* crushed wheat, 2 *s* ghi, ½ *s* salt, 2 *d*. cinnamon this gives five dishes 8 *Kashk* 10 *s* meat, 5 *s* crushed wheat, 3 *s* ghi, 1 *s* gram ½ *s* salt, 1½ *s* onions, ½ *s* ginger, 1 *d* cinnamon, saffron, cloves cardamums, cuminseed, 2 *m* of each. this gives five dishes 9 *Halīm* The meat, wheat, gram, spices, and saffron, as in the preceding, 1 *s* ghī, turnips, carrots, spinach, fennel, ½ *s* of each this gives ten dishes 10 *Qutab*, which the people of Hind call *sanbūsa* This is made in several ways 10 *s* meat, 4 *s* fine flour; 2 *s* ghī, 1 *s* onions, ½ *s* fresh ginger, ½ *s* salt, 2 *d* pepper and coriander seed, cardamums, cuminseed, cloves, 1 *d* of each, ½ *s* of *summāq* This can be cooked in twenty different ways, and gives four full dishes

Thirdly, 1 *Biryān* For a whole *Dashmandī* sheep, take 2 *s* salt, 1 *s* ghī, 2 *m* saffron, cloves, pepper, cuminseed it is made in various ways 2 *Yakhnī*[1] for 10 *s* meat, take 1 *s* onions, and ½ *s* salt 3 *Yulma* A sheep is scalded in water till all the wool comes off, it is then prepared like *yakhnī*, or any other way, but a lamb, or a kid, is more preferable 4 *Kabāb* is of various kinds 10 *s* meat, ½ *s* ghī, salt, fresh ginger, onions, ½ *s* of each, cuminseed, coriander seed, pepper, cardamums, cloves, 1½ *d* of each 5 *Musamman* They take all the bones out of a fowl through the neck, the fowl remaining whole, ½ *s* minced meat, ½ *s* ghī, 5 eggs, ½ *s* onions, 10 *m* coriander, 10 *m* fresh ginger, 5 *m* salt, 3 *m* round pepper, ½ *m* saffron It is prepared as the preceding 6 *Dupiyāza* 10 *s* meat that is middling fat, 2 *s* ghī; 2 *s* onions, ½ *s* salt, ½ *s* fresh pepper, cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 *d* of each, 2 *d* pepper this will give five dishes 7. *Mutanjana*[2] sheep 10 *s* meat that is middling fat, 2 *s* ghī, ½ *s* gram; ½ *s* ginger, 1 *d* cuminseed, round pepper, cloves, cardamums, coriander seed, 2 *d* of each, this will give seven dishes full It is also made of fowl and fish 8 *Dampukht*[3] 10 *s* meat, 2 *s* ghī, 1 *s* onions, 11 *m* fresh ginger, 10 *m* pepper, 2 *d* cloves, 2 *d* cardamums 9 *Qaliyy*

[[1] *Yakhnī* is a gravy or broth —P]
[[2] Does this mean fried?]
[[3] *Dam pukht* means cooking slowly in a vessel with its lid closed by paste —P]

10 *s* meat, 2 *s* ghi, 1 *s* onions, 2 *d* pepper, cloves, cardamums, 1 *d* each, ½ *s* salt this will give eight dishes In preparing *qaliya*, the meat is minced and the gravy rather thick, in opposition to the *mutanjana* Here in Hind they prepare it in various ways 10 *Malghūba* 10 *s* meat, 10 *s* curds, 1 *s* ghi, 1 *s* onions, ¼ *s* ginger, 5 *d* cloves this will give ten dishes

Āʾīn 25

OF BREAD

This belongs, properly speaking, to the preceding chapter Bread is made in the pantry There is a *large* kind,[1] baked in an oven, made of 10 *s* flour, 5 *s* milk, 1½ *s* ghi, ¼ *s* salt They make also smaller ones The *thin* kind is baked on an iron plate One ser will give fifteen, or even more There are various ways of making it, one kind is called *chapātī*, which is sometimes made of *khushka*, it tastes very well when served hot For the bread used at court, one *man* of wheat is made to yield ½ *m* of fine flour, 2 *s* coarsely pounded flour, and the rest bran, if this degree of fineness be not required, the proportions are altered

Āʾīn 26

THE DAYS OF ABSTINENCE (*Sufiyāna*)[2]

His Majesty cares very little for meat, and often expresses himself to that effect It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures, and lending a ready hand in killing and eating them, none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty, but makes himself a tomb for animals If his Majesty had not the burden of the world on his shoulders, he would at once totally abstain from meat, and now it is his intention to quit it by degrees, conforming, however, a little to the spirit of the age His Majesty abstained from meat for some time on Fridays, and then on Sundays, now on the first day of every solar month, on Sundays, on solar and lunar eclipses, on days between two fasts, on the Mondays of the month of Rajab[3] on the feast day of every

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[[1] Probably a large flat cake —P]

[2] Living according to the manners of the Sufis

solar month, during the whole month of *Farwardīn*,[1] and during the month in which his Majesty was born, viz the month of *Ābān* Again, when the number of fast days of the month of *Ābān* had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of *Āzar* also were kept as fasts At present the fast extends over the whole month These fast days, however, from pious motives, are annually increased by at least five days Should fasts fall together, they keep the longer one, and transfer the smaller by distributing its days over other months Whenever long fasts are ended, the first dishes of meat come dressed from the apartments of Maryam Makani, next from the other begums, the princes, and the principal nobility

In this department nobles, *ahadīs*, and other military, are employed The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 *dāms*

Āʾīn 27

STATISTICS OF THE PRICES OF CERTAIN ARTICLES

The prices of course vary, as on marches, or during the rains, and for other reasons, but I shall give here the average prices for the information of future enquirers

A The spring harvest

Wheat, per *man*	12 *d*	Safflower seed (carthamus), do	8 *d*
Kabul gram, do	16 *d*	Fenugreek, do	10 *d*
Black gram, do	8 *d*	Peas,[2] do	6 *d*
Lentils, do	12 *d*	Mustard seed do	12 *d*
Barley, do	8 *d*	*Kewū*, do	7 *d*
Millet, do	6 *d*		
Linseed per *man*	10 *d*		

B The autumnal harvest

Mushkīn paddy per *man*	110 *d*	Jinjin rice, do	80 *d*
Sada paddy, do	100 *d*	Dakah (?) rice, do	50 *d*
Sukhdas rice, do	100 *d*	Zirhi rice, do	40 *d*
Dūnaparsad rice do	90 *d*	Sathi rice, do	20 *d*
Samzira rice, do	90 *d*	*Mūng* (black gram) do	18 *d*
Shakarchinī rice do	90 *d*	*Māsh* (a kind of vetch) per *man*	16 *d*
Dewzira rice do	90 *d*		

[1] February March [or March and April ?—P], vide the first *Āʾīn* of the third book *Ābān* corresponds to October November

[[2] *Mashang* or *mushang* = pea ?—P]

Moth (a kind of vetch) per *man*	12 *d*	*Lahdara* do	8 *d*
White sesame do	20 *d*	*Kōdram* do	7 *d*
Black sesame do	19 *d*	*Kurī* do	7 *d*
Lobiya (a kind of bean) do	12 *d*	*Shamakh* (Hind *Sāwank*) do	6 *d*
Juwari (a kind of millet) do	10 *d*	*Cal* (Hind *Kangni*) do	8 *d*
		Millet (Hind *chin a*) do	8 *d*

Mung dal per *man*	18 *d*	*Dal* of Lentils per *man*	16 *d*
Nukhud dal do	16½ *d*	*Moth d il* do	12 *d*

Wheat flour per *man*	22 *d*	*Nukhud* flour per *man*	22 *d*
Do coarse do	15 *d*	Barley flour do	11 *d*

C Vegetables

Fennel per *man*	10 *d*	Garlic flowers per *ser*	1 *d*
Spinach do	16 *d*	*Upalhak* (from Kashmir) do	1 *d*
Mint do	40 *d*	*Jilu* do	3 *d*
Onions do	6 *d*	Ginger (green) do	2½ *d*
Garlic do	40 *d*	*Po i* do	1 *d*
Turnips do	21 *d*	*Kachnār buds* do	½ *d*
Cabbage per *ser* [1]	1 *d*	*Chula* (sorrel) do	½ *d*
Kankachhu from Kashmir do	4 *d*	*Bathua* do	¼ *d*
Dunwretu	2 *d*	*Ratsaka* do	1 *d*
Shaqaqul (wild carrot [2]) do	3 *a*	*Chaula i* do	¼ *d*

D Living animals and meats

Dashmandi sheep per *head*	6¼ *R*	Mutton per *man*	65 *d*
Afghan sheep 1st kind do	[illegible] *R*	Goat do	54 *d*
Do 2nd kind do	1½ *R*	Geese per *head*	20 *d*
Do 3rd kind do	1¼ *R*	Duck per *head*	1 *R*
Kashmir sheep do	1½ *R*	*Tughdari* (bustard) [3] do	20 *d*
Hindustani sheep do	1½ *R*	*Kulang* (crane) [4] do	20 *d*
Barbari goat 1st kind do	1 *R*	*Jarz* (a kind of bustard) [5] do	18 *d*
Do 2nd kind do	¾ *R*		

[*Tu b rad* h not turn p —P]
[2 Or w ld parsn ? —P]
[3 *Tughda* s the Hubara bustard —P]
[4 *Kulang* s the Common Crane or coolan —P]
[5 For *charz* In Baluchistan th s s the rame of the Hubara but elsewhere of the Flo can —P]

Item	Price
Durrāj (black partridge), per *head*	3 d.
Kabg[1] (partridge), do	20 d.
Būdana,[2] do.	1 d.
Lāwah,[3] do.	1 d.
Karwānak (stone curlew), do.	20 d.
Fākhta (ringdove), do	4 d

E. Butter, Sugar, etc

Item	Price
Ghī, per *man*	105 d
Oil, do	80 d
Milk, do	25 d
Curds, do	18 d.
Refined Sugar, per *ser*	6 d
White sugar candy, do	5½ d
White sugar, per *man*	128 d.
Brown sugar, do.	56 d

F Spices

Item	Price
Saffron, per *ser*	400 d
Cloves, do	60 d
Cardamums, do	52 d
Round pepper, do	17 d
Long pepper, do	16 d
Dry ginger, do	4 d.
Fresh do, do.	2½ d
Cuminseed, do	2 d
Aniseed, per *ser*	2 d
Turmeric (Hind *haldī*) do	10 d
Coriander seed, do	3 d
Siyāhdāna (Hind *kalaunjī*), do	1¼ d.
Assafœtida, do	2 d.
Sweet fennel, do	1 d.
Cinnamon, do	40 d.
Salt, per *man*	16 d.

G. Pickles

Item	Price
Sour limes, per *ser*	6 d.
Lemon juice, do	5 d
Wine vinegar	5 d
Sugarcane vinegar, do	1 d
Pickled *ashtarghār*, do	8 d
Mangoes in oil, do	2 d
Do in vinegar, do	2 d
Lemons in oil, do	2 d
Do in vinegar, do	2 d
Do in salt, do	1½ d
Do in lemon juice, do	3 d
Pickled ginger	2½ d
Adarshākh, do	2½ d.
Turnips in vinegar, do	1 d.
Pickled carrots, do.	½ d
Pickled bamboo, per *ser*	4 d.
Do apples, do	11 d.
Do quinces, do	9 d
Do garlic, do	1 d
Do onions, do	½ d
Do *bādinjān* (egg plant), do.	1 d.
Do raisins and *munaqqa*,[4] do	8 d
Do *kachnār*, do	2 d.
Do peaches, do	1 d
Do *sahajna* (horse radish)	1 d.
Do *karīl buds* (capparis), do	½ d

[1 *Kabk* the Chukor partridge.—P.]
[2 The Common Quail.—P.]
[3 The Rock Bush quail.—P.]
[4 *Kishmish* sultana raisins, *munaqqa* large black raisins.—P.]

Pickled *karīl berries*, per *ser*	½ *d*	Do cucumbers, do	½ *d*
Do *sūran*, do	1 *d*	Do *bādrang*,[1] (gourd) do	½ *d*
Do mustard	½ *d*	Do *kachālū*, do	½ *d*
Do *torī* (a kind of cucumber)	½ *d*	Do radishes, do	½ *d*

Ā'*īn* 28

THE FRUITERY

His Majesty looks upon fruits as one of the greatest gifts of the Creator, and pays much attention to them The horticulturists of Īrān and Turan have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent, and water melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, etc, are everywhere to be found Ever since the conquest of Kabul, Qandahār, and Kashmir, loads of fruit are imported, throughout the whole year the stores of the dealers are full, and the bāzārs well supplied Muskmelons come in season, in Hindūstān, in the month of *Farwardīn* (February–March),[2] and are plenty in *Urdībihisht* (March–April)[3] They are delicious, tender, opening, sweet smelling, especially the kinds called *nāshpātī, bābāshaykhī, ʿalīsherī, alcha, barg i nay, dūd-i chirāgh*, etc They continue in season for two months longer In the beginning of *Sharīwar* (August),[4] they come from Kashmīr, and before they are out of season plenty are brought from Kābul, during the month of *Āzar* (November),[5] they are imported by the caravans from Badakhshān, and continue to be had during *Day* (December)[6] When they are in season in Zābulistān, good ones also are obtainable in the Panjab, and in Bhakkar and its vicinity they are plentiful in season, except during the forty cold days of winter Various kinds of grapes are here to be had from *Khurdād* (May)[7] to *Amurdād* (July),[8] whilst the markets are stocked with Kashmīr grapes during *Shahrīwar*[4] Eight sers of grapes sell in Kashmīr for one *dām*, and the cost of the transport is two rupees per *man* The Kashmīris bring them on their backs in conical baskets, which look very curious

[[1] *Badrang* not gourd Perhaps a citron.—P]
[[2] March–April —P]
[[3] April–May —P]
[[4] August–September —P]
[[5] *November–December* —P]
[[6] December–January —P]
[[7] May–June —P]
[[8] July–August —P]

From *Mihr* (September)[1] till *Urdībihist*[2] grapes come from Kābul, together with cherries,[3] which his Majesty calls *shāhālū*, seedless pomegranates, apples, pears, quinces, guavas, peaches, apricots, *girdālūs*, and *ālūchas*, etc, many of which fruits grow also in Hindūstān From Samarqand even they bring melons, pears, and apples

Whenever his Majesty wishes to take wine, opium, or *kūknār* (he calls the latter *sabras*), the servants in charge place before him stands of fruits; he eats a little, but most is distributed The fruits are marked according to their degree of excellence melons of the first quality are marked with a line drawn round the top, those of the second, with two lines, and so on

In this department *Mansabdars*, *Ahadīs*, and other soldiers are employed, the pay of a foot soldier varies from 140 to 100 *d*

The following tables contain particulars regarding the names, seasons, taste, and prices of various fruits

A Tūrānī Fruits

Fruit	Price
Arhang melons, 1st quality, at	2½ *R*
Do, 2nd and 3rd do, at 1 to	2½ *R*
Kābul melons, 1st do, at 1 to	1½ *R*
Do, 2nd do, at ¾ to	1 *R*
Do, 3rd do, at ¼ to	⅜ *R*
Samarqand apples, 7 to 15 for	1 *R*
Quinces, 10 to 30 for	1 *R*
Pomegranates, per *man*, 6½ to	15 *R*
Guavas, 10 to 100 for	1 *R*
Kabul and European apples, 5 to 10 for	1 *R*
Kashmir grapes, per *man*	108 *d*
Dates, per *ser*	10 *d*
Raisins (*kishmish*), do	9 *d*
Ābjosh (large raisins), do	9 *d*
Plums, do	8 *d*
Khūbānī (dried apricots), per *ser*	8 *d*
Qandahar dry grapes, do	7 *d*
Figs, per *ser*	7 *d*
Munaqqa, do	6¾ *d*
Jujubes, do	3½ *d*
Almonds, without the shell, do	28 *d*
Do, with do, do	11 *d*
Pistachios, do, do	9 *d*
Chilghūza[4] nuts, per *ser*	8 *d*
Sinjid (jujubes), do	6½ *d*
Pistachios, without shell, do	6 *d*
Jauz (nuts), do	4½ *d*
Filberts, do	3 *d*
Hazel[5] nuts, do	2½ *d*

[[1] September-October —P]

[2] The original has a word *kilās* which is not to be found in our dictionaries It may be *cerasus* [Gilās is the common name in Persia and in Kashmir for the white sweet cherry —P]

[3] A town in Bada Khshān

[[4] Edible seed of pinus Gerardiana —P]

[[5] *Girdgān* is properly the walnut —P]

B The sweet fruits of Hindustan

Mangoes, *per hundred*, up to	40 *d*	*Tendū*, do	2 *d*
Pine apples, one for	4 *d*	*Ūsīra*	*
Oranges,[1] two for	1 *d*	Dates, per *ser*	4 *d*
Sugarcanes, two for	1 *d*	*Anguhal*	*
Jackfruits, two for	1 *d*	*Dela*, do	1 *d*
Plantains do	1 *d*	*Gula*	*
Ber, per *ser*	2 *d*	*Bholsari*, per *ser*	4 *d*
Pomegranates, per *man*, 80 to	100 *d*	*Tarkul*, two for	1 *d*
Guavas,[2] two for	1 *d*	*Paniyāla*, per *ser*	2 *d*
Figs, per *ser*	1 *d*	*Lahsaura*, do	1 *d*
Mulberry, do	2 *d*	*Gumbhi*, do	4 *d*
Custard apples,[3] one for	1 *d*	*Karahrī*	4 *d*
Melons per *man*	40 *d*	*Tarrī*	*
Water melons, one	2 to 10 *d*	*Banga*, two for	1 *d*
Khirnī, per *ser*	4 *d*	*Gular*,[4] per *ser*	2 *d*
Mahuwā, do	1 *d*	*Pilu*, do	2 *d*
Dephal, do	4 *d*	*Barauta*	*
		Piyār, do	4 *d*

* The original does not mention the price

Mulberries and *gūlars* are in season during *spring*, pine apples, oranges sugarcane, *bers*, *ūsiras*, *bholsarīs*, *gumbhīs*, *déphals* during *winter*, jackfruits, *tarkuls* figs, melons, *lahsauras*, *karahrīs*, *mahuwās*, *tendūs*, *pilūs*, *barautas*, during *summer*, and mangoes plantains dates, *delās*, *gūlas*, pomegranates, guavas, water melons, *paniyalas*, *bangas*, *khirnīs*, *piyārs* during the rains

C Dried Fruits

Coco nuts, one for	4 *d*	*Makhānā*, per *ser*	4 *d*
Dry Dates per *ser*	6 *d*	*Supyari*, do	8 *d*
Walnuts, do	8 *d*	*Kaulgatta*, do	2 *d*
Chiraunchi do	4 *d*		

Dates, walnuts, *chiraunchīs*, and *kaulgattas* are in seasons during *summer*, and coco nuts, *makhānas*, and *supyaris*, during *winter*

[1 *Kāwla* ?]
[2 *Amrud* guava but in Persia and locally too in India a pear —P]
[3 *Sadā phal* The custard apple is *sita phal* —P] The original says that custard apples are to be had throughout the whole year This seems a mistake of the MSS The remark su[illegible] the next fruit (melons)
[4 *Gūlar* wild fig —P]

D Vegetables

Palwal, per *ser*	2 *d*	*Kachālū*, per *ser* . .	2 *d*
Gourd,[1] one	2½ *d*	*Chachīndā*, do	2 *d*
Bādinjan, per *ser*	1½ *d*	*Sūran*, do	1 *d*
Turaī, do	1½ *d*	Carrots, do	1 *d*
Kandurī, do	1½ *d*	*Singhāra*, do [2]	3 *d*
Senb, do	1½ *d*	*Sālak*, do	2 *d*
Peth, do	1½ *d*	*Pindālu*, do	2 *d*
Karila, do	1½ *d*	*Siyālī*	*
Kakura, do	1½ *d*	*Kaseru*, do	1 *d*

Surans and *siyālīs* are in season during *summer*, *palwals*, gourds, *turaīs*, *kachālūs*, *chachīndas*, *kandūrīs*, *senbs*, *peths*, *karīlas*, *kakuras*, and *singharas* during the *rains*, and carrots, *sālaks*, *pindālus* and *kaserūs*, during *winter*. *Bādinjāns* are to be had throughout the year.

E Sour Fruits

Limes, *four* up to	1 *d*	*Ghep*	*
Amalbet, do	1 *d*	*Bijaurā*, one for	8 *d*
Galgal, two up to	1 *d*	*Āwlā*,[3] per *ser*	2 *d*

Limes and *aulas* are to be had in summer, the others during the rains

F Fruits somewhat acid

Ambīlī, per *ser*	2 *d*	*Kait*, four up to	1 *d*
Badhal one for	1 *d*	*Kanku*	*
Kamrak, four up to	1 *d*	*Pakar*, per *ser*	½ *d*
Nārangī,[4] two up to	1 *d*	*Karnā*, one for	1 *d*
Mountain grapes	*	*Labhīrā*	*
Jāman per *ser*	1 *d*	*Janbhīrī*, five up to	1 *d*
Phalsa, do	1½ *d*	*Garnal*	*
Karaunda, do	1 *d*		

* The original does not mention the price

Kamraks and *nārangīs*,[4] are in season during *winter*, *ambīlīs*, *badhals*, mountain grapes, *phalsas*, *labhīrās*, during *summer*, and *kaits*, *pākars*, *karnās*, *jāmans*, *karaundās*, *jhanbhīrīs*, during the *rains*

The fruits of Hindustan are either sweet, or subacid, or sour, each kind is numerous. Some fruits also taste well when dry, others as above described are used when cooked. I shall give now a few details

[[1] *Kadu* pumpkin.—P]
[[2] The water nut —P]
[[3] The emblic myrobalans — P]
[[4] The orange with *close* skin —P]

The Mangoe The Persians call this fruit *Naghzak*, as appears from a verse of *Khusraw*[1] This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell, and taste, and some of the gourmets of Tūrān and Irān place it above muskmelons and grapes In shape it resembles an apricot, or a quince, or a pear, or a melon, and weighs even one ser and upwards There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and subacid mangoes The tree looks well, especially when young, it is larger than a walnut tree, and its leaves resemble those of the willow, but are larger The new leaves appear soon after the fall of the old ones in autumn, and look green and yellow, orange, peach coloured, and bright red The flower, which opens in spring, resembles that of the vine, has a good smell, and looks very curious[2] About a month after the leaves have made their appearance, the fruit is sour, and is used for preserves and pickles It improves the taste of *qalyas* (p 61), as long as the stone has not become hard If a fruit gets injured whilst on the tree, its good smell will increase Such mangoes are called *koyilās* The fruit is generally taken down when unripe, and kept in a particular manner Mangoes ripened in this manner are much finer They mostly commence to ripen during summer, and are fit to be eaten during the rains, others commence in the rainy season, and are ripe in the beginning of winter, the latter are called *Bhadiyya* Some trees bloom and yield fruit the whole year, but this is rare Others commence to ripen, although they look unripe, they must be quickly taken down, else the sweetness would produce worms Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal, Gujrāt, Mālwah, Khandesh, and the Dekhan They are rarer in the Panjāb, where their cultivation has, however, increased, since his Majesty made Lāhor his capital A young tree will bear fruit after four years They put milk and treacle round about the tree, which makes the fruits sweeter Some trees yield in one year a rich harvest, and less in the next one, others yield for one year no fruit at all When many mangoes are eaten, digestion is assisted by drinking milk with the kernels of the mangoe stones The kernels of old stones are subacid and taste well, when two or three years old they are used as medicine If a half ripe mangoe, together with its stalk to a length of about two fingers, be taken from the tree, and the broken end of its stalk be closed with warm wax, and kept in butter, or honey, the fruit will retain its taste for two or three months, whilst the colour will remain even for a year

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[1] *Vide* the fourth note on p 7o of my Persian text edition

[[2] *Shigarf* beautiful, fine —P]

They have several methods of distilling it, *first*, they put the above liquor into brass vessels, in the interior of which a cup is put, so as not to shake, nor must the liquid flow into it The vessels are then covered with inverted lids which are fastened with clay After pouring cold water on the lids, they kindle the fire, changing the water as often as it gets warm As soon as the vapour inside reaches the cold lid, it condenses, and falls as arrack into the cup *Secondly*, they close the same vessel with an earthen pot, fastened in the same manner with clay, and fix to it two pipes, the free ends of which have each a jar attached to them, which stands in cold water The vapour through the pipes will enter the jars and condense *Thirdly*, they fill an earthen vessel with the above mentioned liquor, and fasten to it a large spoon with a hollow handle The end of the handle they attach to a pipe, which leads into a jar The vessel is covered with a lid, which is kept full with cold water The arrack, when condensed, flows through the spoon into the jar Some distil the arrack twice, when it is called *Duātasha*, or twice burned It is very strong If you wet your hands with it, and hold them near the fire the spirit will burn in flames of different colours without injuring the hands It is remarkable that when a vessel containing arrack is set on fire you cannot put it out by any means but if you cover the vessel, the fire gets extinguished at once

The *Jackfruit* has the shape of a black pudding,[1] looks greenish, and is sometimes a yard long and half a yard broad When small it resembles a water melon, its peel is full of thorns It grows out of the branches, the trunk, and the roots Those that grow below the ground are sweetest On opening you see round clusters, so viscous, that the fingers stick together, when you take them out The tree looks like a nut tree, but is somewhat bigger and has larger leaves The flower like the fruit, has a good smell The fruits are also taken down when unripe They then apply lime etc when the fruits will get ripe

The *Plantain* tree looks straight like a spear, the leaves come out of the trunk thick and soft, and resemble an unsewn plaited[2] sleeve, but are much larger and wider Out of the middle rises something looking like a spindle, of a lilac[3] colour this is the bud The fruit consists of a cluster of seventy to eighty plantains In shape they resemble small cucumbers the peel is easily removed As plantains are very heavy you cannot eat many There are various kinds of plantains The plant is every year

[1 *K pā* the gut of a sheep stuffed with mince and rice —P]
[2 أو كسده might mean ironed —P]
[3 *Susan* is the common purple flag iris —P]

cut down, and a stump only is left of it if this is not done, it will no longer bear fruit The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor, but this is wrong, for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees—another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine

The *Mahuwa* tree resembles the mangoe tree, its wood is used for building purposes The fruit, which is also called *Gilaunda*, yields an intoxicating liquor

The *Bholsirī* tree is large and handsome,[1] the fruit has an orange colour, and resembles the jujube

The *Tarkul* tree, and its fruit, resemble the coco-nut palm and its fruit When the stalk of a new leaf comes out of a branch, they cut off its end and hang a vessel to it to receive the out flowing juice The vessel will fill twice or three times a day The juice is called *tārī*, when fresh it is sweet, when it is allowed to stand for some time it turns subacid and is inebriating

The *Paniyāla* fruit resembles the *Zardālū*[2] and its tree the limo tree, the leaves are like those of the willow When unripe the fruit is green, and red when ripe

The *Gumbhi* has a stem the branches of which are like creepers, its leaves and fruits, as those of the *kunār*, come from below the roots

The *Tarrī* forms at the root, it grows mostly in the mountains, and weighs a *man*, more or less when the creeper is a year old, and two, when two years old It looks like a millstone When older it grows larger according to the same proportion Its leaves resemble those of the water melon

The *Piyār* is like a small grape, brownish and sweet The inside of the kernel is like butter, and is used in the preparation of food, it is called *Chiraunjī* Its tree is about a yard high

The *Coco nut* is called by the Persians *Jawz-i Hindī* the tree resembles the date tree but is larger, its wood, however, looks better, and the leaves are larger The tree bears fruit throughout the whole year, the fruits ripen in three months They are also taken down, when unripe and green, and kept for some time Their inside contains a cup full of milk like juice, which tastes well, and is very often drunk in summer, mixed with sugar When ripe, the fruit looks brown The juice has now become solid, and

[1] The text has here a few words the meaning of which I do not understand
[[2] *Zardālū* the acid apricot —P]

gets black when mixed with butter, it is sweet and greasy When eaten with *pān* leaves, it makes the tongue soft and fresh The shell is used for spoons, cups, and *ghichaks* (a kind of violin) There are nuts having four, three, two, and one, holes or eyes, each kind is said to possess certain qualities, the last being considered the best Another kind is used for the preparation of an antidote against poison The nuts weigh some times twelve *sers* and upwards The bark of the tree is used for ropes, the large ropes used on ships are made of it

Dates are called in Hindi *Pind khajūr* The tree has a short stem, rising little above the ground, and produces from four to five hundred fruits

The *Sūpyārī*, or betel nut, is called in Persian *fufal* The tree is graceful and slender, like the cypress The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground, but it rises up again There are various kinds *The fruit when eaten raw tastes somewhat like an almond, but* gets hard when ripe It is eaten with betel leaves

The *Singhāra* is a triangular fruit, its creeper grows in tanks, and the fruit is on the surface of the water It is eaten raw or roasted

The *Sālak* grows in tanks under the earth They go into the water and dig it up

The *Pindālū* is reared on lattice work, and grows about two yards high Its leaf resembles the betel lead, they dig up the root

The *Kaserū* grows in tanks When the water gets low, they take it out of the ground and eat it, raw or boiled

The *Siyali* root is long and conical, the plant is a creeper, to whose root the fruit is attached

The *Orange*[1] has the shape of an egg One kind is called *kāghazī*[1] Between the peel and the fruit is a thin white membrane The fruit is juicy, and tastes well, one kind is to be had throughout the whole year

The *Amalbet* is like a lime,[2] and very sour If you put a steel needle into this fruit, the needle in a short time will dissolve, and a white shell when put into its juice will soon disappear

The *Karnā* resembles an apple, and appears after the plant has reached the third year At first the fruit is green sour and also somewhat bitter, but turns afterwards yellow and bitter, when ripe it is red and sweet When it is kept long, it turns green again The tree looks like an orange tree, but the leaves are somewhat broader, and the buds like fine arrows[3]

[[1] *Naranj* orange ?—P]

[[2] *Limu* lime *Kaghazi* is applied to a small green lime with a skin as thin as paper —P]

[[3] *Paykan i khaki* ?—P]

The flower is white, and has four petals and yellow stamens. It has a fine smell, and is used for ambergris; but it is beyond my power to describe the process of the manufacture.

The Betel leaf is, properly speaking, a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit. Mír Khusraw of Dihlí, in one of his verses, says, "It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in Hindustán." The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds. 1. The leaf called *Bilahri* is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days when greater efforts are made. 2. The *Káker* leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The *Jaiswár* leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The *Kapúrí* leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The *Kapúrkánt* leaf is yellowish green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banáras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The *Bangla* leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot, and pungent.

The cultivation is as follows. In the month of *Chait* (March–April), about New Year's[1] time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with *Karhanj* leaves on it, and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put milk, sesame oil and its dregs, etc., about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names. 1. The *Karhanj* leaf, which they separate for seedlings and call *Perí*. The new leaf is called *Gadauta*. 2. The *Nautí* leaf. 3. The *Bahutí* leaf. 4. The *Chhiw* leaf. 5. The *Adhinídá* leaf. 6. The *Agahniya* or *Lewar* leaf. 7. The *Karhanj* leaf itself. With the exception of the *Gadauta*, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some;

[1 The 21st March is New Year's Day.—P.]

others keep it for seeding they consider it very excellent, but connoisseurs prefer the *Perī*

A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called *Lahāsa*, which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000 Bundles of 200 are called *Dholī*, a *lahāsa* is made up of *dholīs* In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days, in summer every day From 5 to 25 leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and displayed in various ways They also put some betel nut and *Kath*[1] on one leaf, and some lime[2] paste on another, and roll them up, this is called a *bīrā* Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus They are also prepared as a dish

A'īn 29

ON FLAVOURS

As I have mentioned various kinds of food I shall also say something on flavours *Heat* renders pungent that which is agreeable, bitter that which is greasy, and brackish that which has the proper flavour *cold* makes the first acid, the second astringent and the third tart Astringency when affecting the tongue merely, is called in Arabic *qabz*, and *ʿufuṣat* when affecting the whole frame A *moderate* temperature renders the first quality greasy, the second sweet, and the last tasteless These are the fundamental flavours Others count four, viz, the sweet, the bitter, the acid, the brackish The flavours produced by combinations are endless, some have, however, names, e g *bashāʿat* is a bitter and tart flavour, and *zuʿūqa* a combination of the brackish and the bitter

A'īn 30

ON PERFUMES

His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives The court hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloewood, and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by his Majesty, and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes, whilst sweet smelling flowers are used

[1] An astringent vegetable extract eaten by the natives of India with the *pān* leaf It looks brown and stains the tongue and the gums red [Catechu ?—P]

[2] In Persian *chūna* but in Anglo Indice *chunām*

in large quantities Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair I shall give a few recipes

1 *Santūk* is used for keeping the skin fresh 1½ tolas Civet, 1 *t Chuwa*[1], 2 *māshas Chambeli* essence, 2 bottles of rose water 2 *Argaja* ¾ *s* sandalwood, 2 *t Iksīr* and *Mīd*, 3 *t Chūwa*, 1 *t* violet root, and *i gehla* (the seed of a plant), ½ *m* camphor, 11 bottles of rose water It is used in summer for keeping the skin cool 3 *Gulkāma*. Pound together 1 *t* best Ambergris, ½ *t Lādan*, 2 *t* best musk, 4 *t* wood of aloes and 8 *t Iksīr i ʿabīr*, and put it into a porcelain vessel, mix with it a *ser* of the juice of the flower called *Gul i surkh*,[2] and expose it to the sun, till it dries up Wet it in the evening with rose-water and with the extract of the flower called *Bahār*, and pound it again on *Sarrāq*[3] stone Let it stand for ten days, mix it with the juice of the flower called *Bahār i Naranj*,[4] and let it dry During the next twenty days, add occasionally some juice of the black *Rayhan* (also called black *Nā bū*)[5] A part of this mixture is added to the preceding 4 *Ruh afzā*, 5 *s* Aloewood, 1¼ *s* Sandalwood, 1½ *s Ladan*, *Iksīr*, *Lūbān*, Dhup (a root brought from Kashmir) 3½ *t* of each, 20 *t* violet root, 10 *t Ushna*, called in Hind *Chharīla* Press till it gets tenacious like syrup To be made into discs with four bottles of rose water It is burnt in censers, and smells very fine 5 *Opatna* is a scented soap 2¾ *s Lādan*, 1½ *s* 5 *d* Aloewood, the same quantity of *Bahār i Naranj*,[4] and 1½ *s* of its bark, 1 *s* 10 *d* Sandal wood, 1 *s* 5 *d Sumbul u 't tīb*, called in Hind *Chhar*, the same quantity of *Ushna*, 38½ *t* musk, 1 *s* 4 *t pācha* leaves, 36 *t* apples, 11 *t Suʿd*, called in Hind *Moth*, 5 *d* violet root, 1 *t* 2 *m Dhūp*, 1½ *t Ikankī* (a kind of grass), the same quantity of *Zurumbād*, called in Hind *kachūr* (zerumbet), 1 *t* 2 *m Lūbān*, 106 bottles of rose water, 6 bottles of extract of *Bahār* Pound the whole, sift it, and boil slowly in rose water When it has become less moist let it dry 6 *ʿAbīrmāya*,[6] 4 *d* Aloewood, 2 *d* Sandalwood, 1 *d* violet root, 3 *d Sumbul u 't tīb*, 3 *d Duwālak*, 4 *t* musk of *Khata* (Cathay) 2½ *d Lādan*, 7½ *d Bahar i Nāranj* Pound and sift, boil over a slow fire in 10 bottles of rose water, and put it into the shade to dry 7 *Kishta*, 24 *t* Aloewood, 6½ *Lādan Lubān*, and Sandalwood, *Iksīr* and *Dhup*, 2 *t* of each, violet root and musk, 2 *t*,

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[1] This and the following names of perfumes are explained further on in this chapter

[[2] *Gul i surkh* in Persian is a pink fragrant rose that blooms in Spring —P]
[[3] *Summāq* (vide *sumāq*) is the hardest kind of marble —P]
[[4] Orange-flower bloom —P]
[[5] Sweet basil.—P]
[6] *Vide* below the twelfth flower

1 *t* *Ushna*, mix with 50 *t*. refined sugar, and boil gently in two bottles of rose water It is made into discs It smells very fine when burnt, and is exhilarating 8 *Bukhūr* 1 *s* Aloewood and Sandalwood, ½ *s* *Lādan*, 2 *t* musk, 5 *t* *Iksīr*, mix with two *sers* of refined sugar and one bottle of rose-water over a slow fire 9 *Fatīla* 5 *s* Aloewood, 72 *t* Sandalwood, *Iksīr* and *Lādan*, 20 *t* of each, 5 *t* Violet root, 10 *t* *Lubān*, 3 *t* refined sugar, mix with two bottles of rose water, and make into tapers 10 *Bārjāt*, 1 *s* Aloewood, 5 *t* *Lādan*, 2 *t* musk, 2 *t* Sandalwood, 1 *t* *Lūbān*, ½ *t* Camphor. Then distill it like *Chuwa* (*vide* below) 11 *ʿAbīr Iksīr* ¾ *s* Sandalwood, 26 *t* *Iksīr*, 2 *t* 8 *m* musk Pound it, and dry it in the shade 12 *Ghasul* (a liquid soap), 35 *t* Sandalwood, 17 *t* *Katul* (?)[1] 1 *t* musk 1 *t* *Chuwa*, 2 *m* Camphor, 2 *m* *Mīd* Mix with 2 bottles of rose water

A List of Perfumes[2] *and their Prices*

ʿAmbar i ashhab	1 to 3 Muhurs, per *tolā*
Zabād (civet)	½ *R* to 1 *M*, *do*
Musk	1 to 4½ *R*, *do*
Lignum aloes Hind *Agar*	2 *R* to 1 *M* per *ser*
Chuwa (Distilled wood of Aloes)	½ *R* to 1 *R* per *tola*
Gaura[3]	3 to 5 *R* *do*
Bhīmsīnī Camphor	3 *R* to [illegible] *M*, *do*
Mīd	1 to 3 *R*, *do*
Zaʿfarān	12 to 22 *R*, per *ser*
Zaʿfarān i Kamandī	1 to 3 *M*, *do*
Zaʿfaran (from Kashmir)	8 to 12 *R*, *do*
Sandalwood	32 to 55 *R*, per *man*
Nafa yi mushk	3 to 12 *M* per *ser*
Kalanbak (Calembic)	10 to 40 *R*, per *man*
Silāras	3 to 5 *R*, per *ser*
ʿAmbar i Lādan	1½ to 4 *R*, *do*
Kāfur ī Chīna	1 to [illegible] *R*, *do*
ʿAraq i Fitna	1 to 3 *R*, per *bottle*
ʿAraq i Bed i Mushk	1 to 4 *R*, *do*
Rosewater	⅓ to 1 *R* *do*
ʿAraq i Bahār	1 to 5 *R* *do*
ʿAraq i Chambelī	½ to ½ *R*, *do*
Violet root	½ to 1 *R*, per *ser*

[1] According to some MSS *Kanwal*
[2] Most of the following names are explained below
[3] In the text p 85 by mistake *Kaurah* Vide my text edition p 94 l. 6

Azfar-ut-tib	1½ to 2 *R*, per *ser*
Barg-i-Maj (brought from Gujrat)	½ to 1 *R* *do*
Sugandh Gugala	10 to 13 *R* *do*
Luban (from Sargard ?)	⅓ to 5 *R*, per *tola*
Luban (other kinds)	1 to 2 *R* per *ser*
Alak Hind *Chhar*	¼ to ½ *R* *do*
Duwalak Hind *Chharila*	3 to 4 *d* *do*
Gehla	*
Suʿd	*
Ikanki	*
Zurumbad	*

* The original does not mention the prices

A List of fine smelling Flowers

1 The *Sewti* Whitish blooms the whole year especially towards the end of the rains

2 The *Bholsari* Whitish in the rains

3 The *Chambeli* White yellow and blue In the rains and partly during winter

4 *Ray bel* White and pale yellow In the end of the hot season and the beginning of the rains

5 The *Mongra* Yellow In summer

6 The *Champa* Yellow All the year especially when the sun stands in Pisces and Aries

7 *Kethi* The upper leaves are green the inner ones yellowish white It blooms during the hot summer

8 *Kuza* White During the hot season

9 The *Padal* Brownish lilac In spring

10 The *Juhi* White and yellow like jasmin During the rains

11 The *Niwari* Whitish In spring

12 The *Nargis* White In spring

13 The *Kewara* From Leo to Libra

14 The *Chalta*

15 The *Gulal* In spring

16 The *Tasbih Gulal* White In winter

17 The *Singarhar* It has small white petals In the hot season

18 The *Violet* Violet In the hot season

19 The *Karna* White In spring

20 The *Kapur bel*

21 The *Gul-i-Zaʿfaran* Lilac colour In autumn

A List of Flowers notable for their beauty

1 The *Gul i Āftāb* Yellow

2 The *Gul i Kawal* White and also bluish In the rains

3 The *Ja'farī* A golden yellow, or orange coloured, or greenish. In spring

4 The *Gudhal* Of different colours, red, yellow, orange, white In the rains

5 The *Ratan-manjanī* Bright red It is smaller than jasmin All the year

6 The *Kesū* In the hot season

7 The *Senbal* Dark red In spring

8 The *Ratan mālā* Yellow In spring

9 The *Sonzard* Yellow In spring

10 The *Gul i Māltī*

11 The *Karnphūl* A golden red

12 The *Karīl* In spring

13 The *Kaner* Red and white

14 The *Kadam* Outside green, in the middle yellow threads, the inside leaves white In spring

15 The *Nāg kesar* In spring

16 The *Surpan* White, with red and yellow stripes in the middle During the rains

17 The *Sirī khandī* Inside yellowish white, outside reddish In spring

18 The *Jait* Inside yellow, outside a blackish red In the rains

19 The *Champala* White, like orange blossoms In spring

20 The *Lāhī* It blooms in Pisces

21 The *Gul i Karaunda* White It is smaller than the Chambēli, and blooms during the rains

22 The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nīlufar* During the rains

23 The *Gul i Hinna*

24 The *Dupahriyā* Bright red and white All the year

25 The *Bhūn Champā* Peach coloured

26 The *Sudarsan* Yellow, it resembles the *Nīlufar*, but is smaller

27 The *Kanglā ī* There are two kinds, red and white

28 The *Sirs* Yellowish green It is full of stamens In spring

29 The *San* Yellow During the rains

On the Preparation of some Perfumes

1 *ʿAmbar* Some say that *ʿAmbar* grows at the bottom of the sea, and that it is the food brought up again after eating, by various animals living in the sea. Others say that fishes eat it and die from it, and that it is taken from their intestines. According to some, it is the dung of the sea-cow, called *sārā*, or the foam of the sea. Others again say, it trickles from the mountains of islands. Many look upon it as marine gum, others whose opinion I adopt, take it to be wax. It is said that on some mountains a great deal of honey is to be found, so much in fact that it runs into the sea, the wax rises to the surface, when the heat of the sun reduces it to a solid state. As the bees collect the honey from sweet smelling flowers, *ʿAmbar* is, naturally, scented. Bees are also occasionally found in it. *Abu Sīnā* thinks that there is a fountain at the bottom of the sea, from which *ʿAmbar* rills, when it is carried by waves to the shore. *ʿAmbar*, when fresh, is moist, the heat of the sun causes it to dry up. It is of various colours, the white is the best, and the black is the worst, the middling sort is pistachio coloured and yellow. The best kind goes by the name of *ashhab*. It feels greasy, and consists of layers. If you break it, it looks yellowish white. The whiter, lighter, and more flexible it is the better. Next in quality is the pistachio coloured *ʿAmbar*, and the inferior to it the yellow kind, called *Khashkhāshī*. The black kind is bad, it is inflammable. Greedy bâzar dealers will mix it with wax, *Mandal* and *Lādan*, etc, but not every one has recourse to such practices. *Mandal* is a kind of *ʿAmbar* taken from the intestines of dead fishes, it does not smell much.

2 *Lādan* is also often called *ʿAmbar*. It is taken from a tree which grows in the confines of *Qibrus* (Cyprus) and *Qīsus* (Chios) or *Qistūs*. It is a moisture that settles on the leaves of the tree. When goats in grazing pass near it the hairs of their thighs and the horn of their hoofs stick to it, and the whole then dries up. Such *Lādan* as is mixed with goat's hair is counted superior. It looks greenish, and has a good smell. But *Lādan* which is mixed with horn is looked upon as inferior. Sometimes people tie ropes round about the trees, and collect the *Lādan* which sticks to them. Afterwards they boil it in water, clean it, and make it into discs.

3 The *Camphor tree* is a large tree growing in the ghauts of Hindustan and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree. Camphor is collected from the trunk and the branches. Some say that during summer a large number of snakes wind themselves round about the tree for the sake of its coolness, people then mark such trees by shooting an arrow into the trunks, and collect the camphor during

remainder is pure aloes Some say that they do so with the whole tree The statement occasionally found in some old books that the habitat of the tree is Central India, is an absurdity of fanciful writers There are several kinds, the best is called *Mandalī*, and the second in quality, *Jabalī* or *Hindī* The smell of the wood, especially that of the first kind, is a preventive against fleas, but some think both kinds equal in this respect *Of other good kinds I may mention the Samandūrī, the Qumārī*, which is inferior to it, the *Qāqulī*, next in rank, the *Barrī*, the *Qitʿī*, and the Chinese, also called *Qismurī*, which is wet and sweet Still inferior are the *Jalalī*, the *Mayatāqī*, the *Lawāqī*, the *Rītalī*[1] But of all kinds, the *Mandalī* is the best The *Samandurī* is grey, fatty, thick, hard, juicy, without the slightest sign of whitishness, and burns long The best of all is the black and heavy, in water it settles at the bottom, is not fibrous, and may be easily pounded The wood which floats is looked upon as bad Former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrat, and nowadays it grows in Chanpanir It is generally brought from Āchin and Dahnasari Nothing is known of the *habitat* mentioned in old books Aloewood is often used in compound perfumes, when eaten, it is exhilarating It is generally employed in incense, the better qualities, in form of a powder, are often used for rubbing into the skin and clothes

■ *Chuwa* is distilled wood of aloes, it is in general use The preparation is as follows They take fine clay, mix it with cotton or rice bran and beat it well When properly intermixed, they take a small bottle large enough to put a finger in smear it all over with the clay, and let it dry After this, they put very small pieces of wood of aloes into it so as nearly to fill the bottle The wood must have been kept wet for a week before Another vessel, with a hole in the middle, is now placed on a three legged stand Into this vessel, they pass the neck of the little bottle inverted, placing a cup full of water at the bottom of the vessel in such a manner that the mouth of the bottle reaches the surface of the water On the top of the vessel they then put cow s dung, and light a gentle fire Should flames break out they extinguish them with water The wood of aloes will then secrete a moisture which trickles on the surface of the water where it remains This is collected, and washed several times with water and rose water to take off all smell of smoke The oftener it is washed, and the older it gets the better will be the scent It looks black, although experienced people make it white One *ser* of wood aloes will yield from two to fifteen *tolas* of Chūwa Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, thereby to cheat people

[1] The last three names are doubtful

9 *Sandalwood* is called in Hind *Chandan* The tree grows in China During the present reign, it has been successfully planted in India There are three kinds, the white, the yellow, the red Some take the red to be more refreshing than the white, others prefer the white The latter is certainly more cooling than the red, and the red more so than the yellow. The best is that which is yellow and oily, it goes by the name of *Maqāsarī* Sandalwood is pounded and rubbed over the skin, but it is also used in other ways

10 *Silaras* (storax) is called in Arabic *Miʿah* It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey The kind which is clear is called *Miʿah yi sāyila* (liquid), the other kinds, *Miʿah yi yabisa* (dry) The best kind is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk, it is yellowish

11 *Kalanbak* (calembic) is the wood of a tree brought from Zirbād (?)[1]: it is heavy and full of veins Some believe it to be raw wood of aloes When pounded it looks grey They use it for compound perfumes, and they also make rosaries of it

12 The *Malagir* is a tree resembling the former, only that the wood is lighter and not veined When pounded it looks reddish white

13 *Lubān* (frankincense) is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java Some take it to be the same as *Miʿah yi yābisa* When exposed to fire it evaporates like camphor The *Lubān* which the Persians call *Kundur i daryaʾī* (mastix) is a resin brought from Yaman, but it is not odorous

14 *Azfāru 't tib*, or scented finger nails, are called in Hind *Nakh*, and in Persian *Nakhun i boyā* It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell of two parts It has a sweet smell, as the animal feeds on *sumbul*, it is found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Basrah, and Bahrayan, the latter being considered the best It is also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer it to the other kinds It is heated in butter, some expose it to the fire, pound it, and mix it with other perfumes

15 *Sugandh gugala* (bdellium) is a plant very common in Hindustan, it is used in perfumes

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As I have said something on perfumes, I shall make a few remarks on several beautiful flowers

1 The *Sewti* resembles the *Gul i Surkh*, but is smaller It has in

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[1] Zirbād (Zirabad) a town near the frontiers of Bengal (The Persian translation of the Malay *Bawah* ... being the Malay nam... *Ghiyās* *l lughat* ...

the middle golden stamens and from four to six petals *Habitat*, Gujrat and the Dakhin

2 Of the *Chambeli* there are two kinds The *Rāy Chambeli* has from five to six petals, outside red The *Chambeli proper* is smaller, and has on the top a red stripe Its stem is one and a half or two yards high and trails over the ground It has many long and broad branches It flowers from the first year

3 The *Rāybel* resembles the jasmin There are various kinds, single and double, etc A quintuple is very common so that each petal might be separated as a distinct flower Its stem grows a yard high The leaves of the tree resemble those of the lime tree but they are somewhat smaller and softer

4 The *Mungra* resembles the *Rāybel* It is larger but inferior in perfume It has more than a hundred petals the plant grows to a large tree

5 The *Champa* flower has a conical shape of the size of a finger,[1] and consists of ten petals and more, lying in folds one above the other It has several stamens The tree looks graceful and resembles in leaf and trunk the nut tree It flowers after seven years

6 The *Ketkī* has the form of spindle[2] of the size of a quarter of a yard with twelve or more petals Its smell is delicate and fragrant It bears flowers in six or seven years

7 The *Kewra* resembles the preceding but is more than twice as big The petals have thorns As they grow on different places, they are not all equal In the midst of the flower, there is a small branch with honey coloured threads not without smell The flower smells even after it is withered Hence people put it into clothes when the perfume remains for a long time The stem of the tree is above four yards high, the leaves are like those of the maize, only longer, and triangular, with three thorns in each corner It flowers from the fourth year Every year they put new earth round about the roots The plant is chiefly found in the Dakhin Gujrat, Malwah and Bihār

8 The *Chalta* resembles a large tulip[3] It consists of eighteen petals, six green ones above, six others, some red, some green some greyish yellow, and six white In the midst of the flower as in the flower called *Hamesha Bahār*, there are nearly two hundred little yellow leaves, with a red globule in the centre The flower will remain quite fresh for five or six

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[1] Orientals as a rule have very small hands and fingers

[[2] *Sanābari paykar* a fir cone ?—P]

[[3] *Lāla* is the name of the common red poppy as well as of the tulip —P]

days after having been plucked It smells like the violet When withered, the flower is cooked and eaten The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and its leaves look like those of the lime tree It blooms in seven years

9 The *Tasbīh gulāl* has a fine smell The petals have the form of a dagger The stem of the plant is two yards high It flowers after four years They make rosaries of the flowers, which keep fresh for a week

10 The *Bholsarī* is smaller than the jasmin, its petals are indented When dry the flower smells better The tree resembles the walnut tree, and flowers in the tenth year

11 The *Singārhār* is shaped like a clove, and has an orange coloured stalk The stamens look like poppy seeds The tree resembles the pomegranate tree, and the leaves are like the leaves of a peach tree It flowers in five years

12 The *Kūza* looks like a *Gul i surkh*, but the plant and the leaves are larger It has five or a hundred petals and golden coloured stamens in the middle They make *ʿAbirmāya* and an extract from it

13 The *Pādal* has five or six long petals It gives water an agreeable flavour and smell It is on this account that people preserve the flowers, mixed with clay, for such times when the flower is out of season The leaves and the stem are like those of a nut tree It flowers in the twelfth year

14 The *Jūhī* has small leaves This creeper winds itself round about trees, and flowers in three years

15 The *Niwarī* looks like a simple *Rāy bel*, but has larger petals The flowers are often so numerous as to conceal the leaves and branches of the plant It flowers in the first year

16 The *Kapur bēl* has five petals, and resembles the saffron flower This flower was brought during the present reign from Europe

17 The *Zaʿfarān* (saffron)[1] In the beginning of the month of *Urdībihisht*, the saffron seeds are put into the ground, which has been carefully prepared and rendered soft After this the field is irrigated with rain water The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic The flower appears in the middle of the month of Ābān, the plant is about a quarter of a yard long, but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two thirds of it above, and sometimes two thirds below the ground The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals The stamens

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[1] *Vide* a similar account of the saffron flower in the third book (Ṣuba Kabul)

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are similarly placed three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red The latter yield the saffron Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour, they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt At the time of Ghāzi Khān,[1] the son of (Khaji) Chak, another custom became general, they gave the workmen eleven *tarks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tark* was given them as wages, and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshahi sers of clean, dry saffron, i e, for two Akbarshāhi *mans*[2] of saffron flowers they had to give two sers of cleaned saffron This custom however, was abolished by his Majesty on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the people

When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly, but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection After six years the bulbs must be taken out, else they get rotten They plant them again on some other place, and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years

Saffron comes chiefly from the place Panpur, which belongs to the district of Mararaj[3] The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kós* Another place of cultivation is in the Parganah of Paraspūr, near Indrakol, not far from Kamraj, where the fields extend about a *kos*

18 The *Aftabī* (sun flower) is round, broad, and large, has a large number of petals, and turns continually to the sun Its stem reaches a height of three yards

19 The *Kanwal* There are two kinds One opens when the sublime Sun shines, turning wherever he goes, and closing at night It resembles the *shaqāyiq*,[4] but its red is paler Its petals which are never less than six in number, enclose yellow stamens, in the midst of which there is an excrescence of the form of a cone with the base upwards, which is the fruit, and contains the seeds The other kind has four white petals, opens at night and turns itself according to the moon, but does not close

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[1] He was the contemporary of Shér Khan, *vide* Abu l Fazl's list of Kashmir Rulers in the third book A good biography of *Ghazi Khan* may be found in the beginning of the *Ma asir i Rahimi* Persian MS No 45 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

[2] One Kashmiri *Tark*=8 *sers* (of Akbar)=4 Kashmir *mans*, 1 Kash *man*=4 Kash *sers*, 1 Kash *ser*=7½ *pals*

[3] These places lie to the south of Srinagar the capital of Kashmir, for *Mararāj* the text has مراراج *Vide* Ṣuba Kabul third book

[[4] The *shaqāyiq* is probably the anemone —P]

20 The *Ja'farī* is a pretty, round flower, and grows larger than the *ṣadbarg* One kind has five, another a hundred petals The latter remains fresh for two months and upwards The plant is of the size of a man, and the leaves resemble those of the willow, but are indented It flowers in two months

21 The *Gudhal* resembles the *jūghāsū* tulip, and has a great number of petals Its stem reaches a height of two yards and upwards, the leaves look like mulberry leaves It flowers in two years

22 The *Ratanmanjanī* has four petals, and is smaller than the jasmin The tree and the leaves resemble the *rāy bel* It flowers in two years

23 The *Kesu* has five petals resembling a tiger's claw In their midst is a yellow stamen of the shape of a tongue The plant is very large, and is found on every meadow, when it flowers, it is as if a beautiful fire surrounded the scenery

24 The *Kaner* remains a long time in bloom It looks well, but it is poisonous Whoever puts it on his head is sure to fall in battle [1] It has mostly five petals The branches are full of the flowers, the plant itself grows to a height of two yards It flowers in the first year

25 The *Kadam* resembles a *tumāgha* [2] (a royal cap) The leaves are like those of the walnut tree, which the whole tree resembles

26 The *Nāg kesar*, like the *Gul i surkh*, has five petals and is full of fine stamens It resembles the walnut tree in the leaves and the stem, and flowers in seven years

27 The *Surpan* resembles the sesame flower, and has yellow stamens in the middle The stem resembles the *Hinnā* plant, and the leaves those of the willow

28 The *Srīkand* is like the *Chambelī*, but smaller It flowers in two years

29 The *Hinna* has four petals, and resembles the flower called *Nafarmān* Different plants have often flowers of a different colour

30 The *Dupahriya* is round and small, and looks like the flower called *Hamesha bahar* It opens at noon The stem is about two yards high

31 The *Bhun champā* resembles the *Nīlufar*, and has five petals The stem is about a span long It grows on such places as are periodically under water Occasionally a plant is found above the water

32 The *Sudarsan* resembles the *Rāy bel*, and has yellow threads inside The stem looks like that of the *Sūsan* [3] flower

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[[1] آویزد بر اسد gets entangled in quarrels ?—P]
[[2] *Tumāgha* locally survives in the sense of a hawk's hood.—P]
[[3] *Susan* is properly the flag iris —P]

33 *Senbal* has five petals, each ten fingers long, and three fingers broad

34 The *Ratanmālā* is round and small Its juice, boiled and mixed with vitriol and *muʿaṣfar*,[1] furnishes a fast dye for stuffs Butter, sesame, oil, are also boiled together with the root of the plant, when the mixture becomes a purple dye

35 The *Sūnzard* resembles the jasmin, but is a little larger, and has from five to six petals The stem is like that of the *Chambelī* It flowers in two years

36 The *Mālti* is like the *Chambelī*, but smaller In the middle there are little stamens looking like poppyseed It flowers in two years more or less

37 The *Karīl* has three small petals It flowers luxuriantly, and looks very well The flower is also boiled and eaten, they also make pickles of it

38 The *Jait* plant grows to a large tree, its leaves look like Tamarind leaves

39 The *Chanpala* is like a nosegay The leaves of the plant are like walnut leaves It flowers in two years The bark of the plant, when boiled in water, makes the water red It grows chiefly in the hills, its wood burns bright like a candle

40 The *Lāhi* has a stem one and a half yards high The branches before the flowers appear are made into a dish, which is eaten with bread When camels feed on this plant they get fat and unruly

41 The *Karaunda* resembles the *Jūhī* flower

42 The *Dhanantar* resembles the *Nīlūfar*, and looks very well It is a creeper

43 The *Siras* flower consists of silk like threads, and resembles a *tumāgha* It sends its fragrance to a great distance It is the king of the [illegible] *P—l* and *Bar*[2] trees The [illegible] Within the stem the

44 The *Kanglā*,[1] has five petals, each four fingers long, and looks very beautiful Each branch produces only one flower

45 The *San* (hemp) looks like a nosegay The leaves of the plant resemble those of the *Chinār*[3] Of the bark of the plant strong ropes are made One kind of this plant bears a flower like the cotton tree, and is called *Pat san* It makes a very soft rope

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[1 *Muʿaṣfar* is perhaps bastard saffron —P]
[2 *Bar* the banyan tree —P]
[3 *Chinār*, the plane tree —P]

It is really too difficult for me, ignorant as I am, to give a description of the flowers of this country I have mentioned a few for those who wish to know something about them There are also found many flowers of Iran and Tūran, as the *Gul i surkh*, the *Nargis*, the violet, the *Yāsman i kabūd*, the *Sūsan*,[1] the *Rayhan*[2] the *Raʿnā*, the *Zēbā*, the *Shaqayiq*,[3] the *Tāj i khurūs*, the *Qalgha*, the *Nafarmān*, the *Khatmī*,[4] etc Garden and flower beds are everywhere to be found Formerly people used to plant their gardens without any order but since the time of the arrival in India of the emperor Babar, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained, and travellers nowadays admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains

It would be impossible to give an account of those trees of the country whose flowers fruits, buds, leaves, roots, etc, are used as food or medicine If, according to the books of the Hindus, a man were to collect only one leaf from each tree he would get eighteen *bārs* (or loads) (5 *surkhs*=1 *māsha*, 16 *māshas*=1 *karg*, 4 *kargs*=1 *pal*, 100 *pals*=1 *tula*, 20 *tulās*= 1 *bar*), *i e*, according to the weights now in use, 96 *mans* The same books also state that the duration of the life of a tree is not less than two *gharīs* (twice 24 minutes), and not more than ten thousand years The height of the trees is said not to exceed a little above a thousand *jujans*[5] When a tree dies, its life is said to pass into one of the following ten things fire, water, air, earth plants, animals, animals of two senses, such as have three, or four, or five senses

Āʾīn 31

THE WARDROBE[6] AND THE STORES FOR MATTRESSES

His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs, hence Īrānī, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country to teach people an improved system of manufacture The imperial workshops, the towns of Lahor, Āgra, Fathpūr, Ahmadabad, Gujrat, turn out many masterpieces of workmanship, and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of

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[[1] *Susan* the iris —P]
[[2] *Rayhān* sweet basil —P]
[[3] *Shaqāyiq* vide p [illegible] note 1 —P]
[[4] [illegible]]
[[6] [illegible]]

fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed upon them the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved All kinds of hair weaving and silk spinning were brought to perfection, and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description

All articles which have been bought, or woven to order, or received as tribute or presents, are carefully preserved, and according to the order in which they were preserved, they are again taken out for inspection, or given out to be cut and to be made up, or given away as presents Articles which arrive at the same time, are arranged according to their prices Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as a knowledge of the exact prices is conducive *to the increase of the stock Even the prices became generally lower* Thus a piece woven by the famous Ghiyās i Naqshband may now be obtained for fifty muhrs, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum, and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten [1] His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles, and this was done in order to regulate the demand

I shall not say much on this subject, though a few particulars regarding the articles worn by his Majesty may be of interest

1 The *Takauchiya* is a coat without lining of the Indian form Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side, his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side [2] *It requires seven yards and seven girihs*,[3] and five *girihs* for the binding The price for making a plain one varies from one rupee to three rupees, but if the coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees Besides a *misqāl* of silk is required

2 The *peshwāz* (a coat open in front) is of the same form, but ties in front It is sometimes made without strings

3 The *Dutāhī* (a coat with lining) requires six yards and four *girihs* for the outside six yards lining, four *girihs* for the binding, nine *girihs* for the border The price of making one varies from one to three rupees One *misqal* of silk is required

4 The *Shah ajīda* (or the royal stitch coat) is also called *Shast khatt* (or sixty rows), as it has sixty ornamental stitches *per girih* It has generally a double lining, and is sometimes wadded and quilted The cost of making is two rupees *per* yard

5 The *Sūzanī* requires a quarter of a *ser* of cotton and two *dāms* of silk If sewed with *bakhya*[1] stitches, the price of making one is eight rupees, one with *ajīda* stitches costs four rupees

6 The *Qalamī* requires ⅜ *s* cotton, and one *dam* silk Cost of making, two rupees

7 The *Qabā*, which is at present generally called *jama yi pumba-dār*, is a wadded coat It requires 1 *s* of cotton and 2 *m* silk Price, one rupee to a quarter rupee

8 The *Gadar* is a coat wider and longer than the *qabā*, and contains more wadding In Hindustan it takes the place of a fur coat It requires seven *gaz* of stuff, six yards of lining, four *girihs* binding, nine for bordering 2½ *s* cotton, 3 *m* silk Price, from one half to one and one half rupees

9 The *Farjī* has no binding and is open in front Some put buttons to it It is worn over the *jama* (coat), and requires 5 *gaz* 12 *girih* stuff, 5 *gaz* 5 *girih* lining, 14 *girih* bordering, 1 *s* cotton, 1 *m* silk Price, from a quarter to one rupee

10 The *Fargul* resembles the *yāpanjī*[2] but is more comfortable and becoming It was brought from Europe,[3] but everyone nowadays wears it They make it of various stuffs It requires [illegible] *gaz* 6½ *girih* stuff, the same quantity of lining 6 *m* silk, 1 *s* cotton It is made both single and double Price from ½ to 2 rupees

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[1] *Bakhya* in Hind *bakhiya* corresponds to what ladies call *backstitching* *Ajida* is the buttonhole stitch These at least are the meanings which *bakhya* and *ajida* now have [illegible] ... embroidery

[2] A coat used in [illegible]

[3] [illegible] articl[illegible] *fila* [illegible] *padri* [illegible] *chābī* [illegible]

Abū l Fazl's explanation (*vide* my text edition [illegible] 102 l 16) corrects Vullers II, p 663*a*

11 The *Chakman*[1] is made of broadcloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth His Majesty has it made of *Dārā*[2]*ī* wax cloth, which is very light and pretty The rain cannot go through it It requires [illegible] *gaz* stuff, 5 *girih* binding, and 2 *m* silk The price of making one of broadcloth is 2 *R*, of wool, 1½ *R*, of wax cloth, ½ *R*

12 The *Shalwar* (drawers) [illegible] made of all kinds of stuff, single and double, and wadded It requires 3 *gaz* 11 *girih* cloth, 6 *girih* for the hem through which the string runs, 3 *gaz* 5 *girih* lining, 1½ *m* silk, ½ *s* cotton Price, from ¼ to ½ rupee

There are various kinds of each of these garments It would take me too long to describe the *chīras*, *fawtas*, and *dupattas*,[2] or the costly dresses worn at feasts or presented to the grandees of the present time Every season, there are made one thousand complete suits for the imperial wardrobe, and one hundred and twenty, made up in twelve bundles, are always kept in readiness From his indifference to everything that is worldly, His Majesty prefers and wears *woollen*[3] stuffs, especially shawls, and I must mention, as a most curious sign of auspiciousness that his Majesty's clothes becomingly fit every one, whether he be tall or short, a fact which has hitherto puzzled many

His Majesty has changed the names of several garments, and invented new and pleasing terms[4] Instead of *jāma* (coat), he says *sarbgātī*, i e. covering the whole body, for *izār* (drawers), he says *yār pīrāhan* (the companion of the coat), for *nīmtana* (a jacket), *tanzeb*, for *fauta*, *patgat*, for *burqa*[1] (a veil), *chitragupita*, for *kulāh* (a cap), *sīs sobhā*, for *mūy bāf* (a hair ribbon), *kesghan*, for *patkā* (a cloth for the loins), *katzeb*, for *shal* (shawl), *parmnarm*, for ,[5] *parmgarm*, for *kapūrdhūr*, a Tibetan stuff, *kapurnūr*, for *pāy afzār* (shoes), *charndharn*, and similarly for other names

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[1] As this word is not given in any dictionary the vowels are doubtful So in Vuller s form *chaspan*

terms

[5] The MSS have an unintelligible word The Banâras MS has *pardak Firang* or European Pardak (?)

Āʾīn 32

ON SHAWLS, STUFFS, ETC

His Majesty improved this department in *four* ways The improvement is visible, *first*, in the *Ṭūs* shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name, its natural colours are black, white, and red, but chiefly black Sometimes the colour is a pure white This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness People generally wear it without altering its natural colour, his Majesty has had it dyed It is curious that it will not take a red dye *Secondly*, in the *Safīd Alchas*,[1] also called *Ṭarhdārs*, in their natural colours The wool is either white or black These stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black, or mixed The first or white kind, was formerly dyed in three ways, his Majesty has given the order to dye it in various ways *Thirdly*, in stuffs as *Zardozī*,[2] *Kalābatun*, *Kashīda*, *Qalghaʾī*, *Bāndhnūn*, *Chhīnt*, *Alcha*, *Purzdār*, to which his Majesty pays much attention *Fourthly*, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs, his Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress

The garments stored in the Imperial wardrobe are arranged according to the days, months, and years, of their entries, and according to their colour, price, and weight Such an arrangement is nowadays called *misl*, a set The clerks fix accordingly the degree of every article of wear, which they write on a strip of cloth, and tack it to the end of the pieces Whatever pieces of the same kind arrive for the imperial wardrobe on the [illegible]

[illegible] pieces are equal in value, their precedence or otherwise, is determined by the character[3] of the day of their entry, and if pieces are equal as far as the character of the day is concerned, they put the lighter stuff higher in rank, and if pieces have the same weight, they arrange them according to their colour The following is the order of colours *ṭūs*, *safīdalcha*, ruby coloured, golden, orange, brass coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton flower coloured, sandalwood coloured, almond coloured, purple, grape coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey coloured, brownish lilac, coloured like the *Ratanmanjanī*

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[1] *Alcha* or *Alacha* [illegible]

[2] *Zardozī* [illegible] gold and silk [illegible] the piece [illegible]

[3] [illegible] The arrangement [illegible] Similar arrange[illegible] [illegible]haps they indicate [illegible] some order at least was kept

flower, coloured like the *Kāsnī* flower, apple coloured, hay coloured, pistachio, ,[1] *bhojpatra* coloured pink light blue, coloured like the *galghah* flower, water coloured oil coloured, brown red emerald, bluish like China ware, violet bright pink mangoe coloured, musk coloured, coloured like the *Fākhta* [2]

In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmir People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a very long time Nowa days they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well

His Majesty encourages in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir In Lahor also there are more than a thousand work shops A kind of shawl called *māyān*, is chiefly woven there, it consists of silk and wool mixed Both are used for *chiras* (turbans) *fotas* (loin bands), etc

I subjoin the following tabular particulars

A Gold stuffs

Brocaded velvet from Yazd [3] *per piece*	15 to 150 *M*
Do from Europe, do	10 to 70 *M*
Do from *Gujrāt*, do	10 to 50 *M*
Do from *Kāshān* do	10 to 40 *M*
Do from *Hirāt*, do	*
Do from *Lahor*, do	10 to 40 *M*
Do from *Barsah* (?) do	3 to 70 *M*
Mutabbaq, do [4]	2 to 70 *M*
Milak do	8 to 70 *M*
Brocade, from Gujrat do	4 to 60 *M*
Tas [5] Brocade from do do	1 to 35 *M*

[1] The text contains two doubtful words The next word *bhojpatra* is the bark of a tree used for making *huqqa* tubes

Dārā'ī-bāf, from Gujrāt	2 to 50 *M.*
Muqayyash, do	1 to 20 *M.*
Shirwānī Brocade, do	6 to 17 *M.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*	1 to 4 *M.*
Debā silk, do do	1 to 4 *M.*
Do, from *Yazd*, do	1 to 1½ *M.*
Khārā, do	5 *R.* to 2 *M.*
Satin, from Chinese Tartary	*
Nawār, from do	*
Khazz silk	*
Tafsīla (a stuff from Mecca)	from 15 to 20 *R.*
Kurtahwār, from Gujrāt	1 to 20 *M.*
Mindīl	1 to 14 *M.*
Chīra (for turbans)	½ to 8 *M.*
Dupattā, do	9 to 8 *R.*
Fotas (loin bands)	½ to 12 *M.*
Counterpanes	1 to 20 *M.*

* The Text does not give the prices.

B. Silks, etc., plain

Velvet from Europe, *per yard*	1 to 4 *M.*
Do from Kāshān, *per piece*	[illegible] to 7 *M.*
Do from Yazd, do	2 to 4 *M.*
Do. from Mashhad, do	2 to 4 *M.*
Do from Hirāt, do	1½ to 3 *M.*
Do Khāfī, do	2 to 4 *M.*
Do from Lāhor, do	2 to 4 *M.*
Do from Gujrāt, *per yard*	1 to 2 *R.*
Qaṭīfa-yi Pūrabī,[1] do	1 to 1½ *R.*
Tāja-bāf, *per piece*	2 to 30 *M.*
Dārā'ī-bāf, do	2 to 30 *M.*
Mutabbaq, do	1 to 30 *M.*
Shirwānī, do	1½ to 10 *M.*
Mīlak, do	1 to 7 *M.*
Kamkhāb, from Kābul and Persia, do	1 to 5 *M.*
Tawār (?), do	[illegible] *R.* to [illegible] *M.*
Khārī (?), do	4 to 10 *R.*
Mushajjar, from Europe, *per yard*	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Do. from Yazd, *per piece*	1 to 2 *M.*

[1] A kind of velvet.

Satin, from Europe, *per yard*	2 *R* to 1 *M*
Satin, from Hirat, *per piece*	5 *R* to 2 *M*
Khārā, *per yard*	1 *R* to 6 *R*
Sihrang,[1] *per piece*	1 to 3 *M*
Qutnī,[2] do	1½ *R* to 2 *M*
Katān[3] from Europe *per yard*	½ to 1 *R*
Tāfta,[4] do	¼ to 2 *R*
Anbarī do	4 *d* to ½ *R*
Dārā'ī do	⅛ *R* to 2 *R*
Sitīpūrī per piece	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Qabāband do	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Tat bandpūrī do	2 *R* to 1½ *M*
Lāh per yard	⅓ to ½ *R*
Misrī, *per piece*	½ to 1 *M*
Sār per yard	1/16 to ⅛ *R*
Tassar,[5] *per piece*	⅓ to 2 *R*
Plain *Kurtavār* Satin *per yard*	½ to 1 *R*
Kapūrnur formerly called *Kapūrdhur*, do	⅛ to 1 *R*
Alcha do	⅛ to 2 *R*
Tafsila per piece	7 to 12 *R*

C Cotton cloths

Khāsa per piece	3 *R* to 15 *M*
Chautar do	2 *R* to 9 *M*
Malmal do	4 *R*
Tansukh do	4 *R* to 5 *M*
Sirī Saf do	2 *R* to 5 *M*
Gangajal do	4 *R* to 5 *M*
Bhiraun do	4 *R* to 4 *M*
Salan do	1 to 3 *M*
Jhona do	1 *R* to 1 *M*
Atan do	2½ *R* to 1 *M*
Asāvalī do	1 to 5 *M*
Bifta do	1¼ *R* to 5 *M*
Mahmudī do	½ to 3 *M*

[1] Changing silk

[2]

[3] ... ree that it m exceeding ly ... it is *Muslin* th m

[4]

[5] ... *vulgo* tessa

Panchtoliya, per piece	1 to 3 *M*
Jhola, do	½ to 2½ *M*
Sālū per piece	3 *R* to 2 *M*
Doriya per piece .	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Bahādur Shāhī, do	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Garba Sūtī, do .	1½ to 2 *M*
Shela, from the Dakhin, do	½ to 2 *M*
Mihrkul, do	3 *R* to 2 *M*
Mindīl, do	½ to 2 *M*
Sarband, do	½ to 2 *M*
Dupatta, do	1 *R* to 1 *M*
Kalāncha, do	1 *R* to 1 *M*
Fota, do	½ to 6 *R*
Gothpech, do	1 to 2 *R*
Chhīnt per yard	2 *d* to 1 *R*
Ga īna per piece	½ to 1½ *R*
Silahatī per yard	2 to 4 *d*

D Woollen stuffs

Scarlet Broadcloth from Turkey, Europe [1] and Portugal *per yard*	2½ *P* to 4 *M*
Do, from Nagor and Lāhor, *per piece*	2 *R* to 1 *M*
Suf-i murabbaʿ do .	4 to 15 *M*
Suf-i [illegible],[2] do	[illegible] *R* to 1½ *M*
Parmnarm do	2 *R* to 20 *M*
Chīra-yi Parmnarm do	2 *R* to 25 *M*
Fota do .	½ to 3 *M*
Jāmawār-i Parmnarm do	½ to 4 *M*
Gothpech do	1½ *R* to 1½ *M*
Sarpech do	½ to 4 *M*
[illegible] do	7 *R* to 2½ *M*

[1] The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broad cloth, musical instruments, as trumpets; pictures; curiosities (vide Badāonī II, p. 299, l. 2 from below; p. 338, l. 7; and [illegible]). Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abul Fazl several are no longer known, as native weavers cannot compete with the [illegible] like cheap European [illegible] Alpacas, Chintzes and [illegible] which are nowadays in common use with the natives all over the East. At the time of the [illegible] and before the use of woollen stuffs and [illegible] the poorer classes, blankets was much more general than now. [illegible] Europe [illegible] were by Muhammadans in this country [illegible] in Hidāyah and in Persian [illegible]

[illegible]

Satın, from Europe, *per yard*	2 *R* to 1 *M*
Satın, from Hırat *per piece*	5 *R* to 2 *M*
Khārā, *per yard*	1 *R* to 6 *R*
Sihrang [1] *per piece*	1 to 3 *M*
Qutnī,[2] do	1½ *R* to 2 *M*
Katān,[3] from Europe *per yard*	½ to 1 *R*
Tāfta,[4] do	¼ to 2 *R*
Anbarī do	4 *d* to ½ *R*
*Dāra*ʼī do	⅛ *R* to 2 *R*
Sitipurī, *per piece*	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Qababand do	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Tat bandpurī do	2 *R* to 1½ *M*
Lāh, *per yard*	⅓ to 4 *R*
Misrī, *per piece*	½ to 1 *M*
Sar *per yard*	1/10 to ½ *R*
Tassar,[5] *per piece*	⅛ to 2 *R*
Plain *Kurtavar* Satın *per yard*	½ to 1 *R*
Kapurnur formerly called *Kapūrdhūr*, do	⅛ to 1 *R*
Alcha, do	⅛ to 2 *R*
Tafsila *per piece*	7 to 12 *R*

C *Cotton cloths*

Khasa *per piece*	3 *R* to 15 *M*
Chautar do	2 *R* to 9 *M*
Malmal do	4 *R*
Tansukh do	4 *R* to 5 *M*
Siri Saf do	2 *R* to 5 *M*
Gangajal do	4 *R* to 5 *M*
Bhiraun do	4 *R* to 4 *M*
Sahan do	1 to 3 *M*
Jhona do	1 *R* to 1 *M*
Atan do	2½ *R* to 1 *M*
Asavali do	1 to 5 *M*
Bifta do	1½ *R* to 5 *M*
Mahmudī do	½ to 3 *M*

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ree that it is exceed ngly
it is *Musl n*

vulgo tessa

Panchtoliya per piece	1 to 3 *M*
Jhola do	½ to 2½ *M*
Salu per piece	3 *R* to 2 *M*
Doriya per piece	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Bahadur Shahi do	6 *R* to 2 *M*
Garba Sūti do	1½ to 2 *M*
Shela from the Dakhin do	½ to 2 *M*
Mihrkul do	3 *R* to 2 *M*
Mindīl do	½ to 2 *M*
Sarband do	½ to 2 *M*
Dupatta do	1 *R* to 1 *M*
Katancha do	1 *P* to 1 *M*
Fota do	½ to 6 *R*
Goshpech do	1 to 2 *R*
Chhint per yard	2 *d* to 1 *R*
Gazina per piece	½ to 1½ *R*
Silahati per yard	2 to 4 *d*

D Woollen stuffs

Scarlet Broadcloth from Turkey Europe [1] and Portugal per yard	2¼ *P* to 4 *M*
Do from Nagor and Lahor per piece	2 *R* to 1 *M*
Sufi murabbac do	4 to 15 *M*
Sufi „ [2] do	3 *R* to 1½ *M*
Parmnarm do	2 *R* to 20 *M*
Chira-yi Parmnarm do	2 *R* to 25 *M*
Fota do	¼ to 3 *M*
Jamawar-i Parmnarm do	¼ to 4 *M*
Goshpech do	1½ *R* to 1½ *M*
Sarpech do	½ to 4 *M*
Aglri do	7 *R* to 21 *M*

[1] The articles imported from Europe were chiefly broad cloth . . . musical instruments as transparent pictures . . . cut out . . . de Paddon . . . p. 290 l. 2 from below . . . 1600 tobacco. Of the names of cloths mentioned by Abul Fazl several are no longer known as native weavers cannot compete with the . . . that the cheap European Muslins Alpacas Chintzes and Mohairs . . . nowadays in common use with the natives all over the East. At the time of the Moghuls and before, the use of woollen stuffs and . . . blankets was much more general than now. Even the . . . caps generally worn by Muhammadans . . . the country . . . in Hindustani . . . and in Persian . . . are mostly imported from England. I am not aware that the soldiers of the armies of the Moghuls were uniformly dressed though it appears that the commanders of the contingents at least looked to uniformity in the caps and turbans.

[2] The MSS. have an illegible word.

Parmgarm, per piece	3 *R* to 2½ *M.*
Katās, do	2½ *R* to 10 *M.*
Phūk, do	2½ to 15 *R*
Durman, do	2 *R* to 4 *M.*
Patū, do	1 to 10 *R*
Rewlār, do	2 *R.* to 1 *M.*
Misri, do	5 to 50 *R*
Burd i Yamanī, do	5 to 35 *R*
Mānjī (?) *namad*, do	2 *R* to 1 *M.*
Kanpak (?) *namad*, do	2 *R* to 1 *M.*
Takyal namad, from Kabul and Persia	*
Do , country made, do	1½ to 5 *R.*
Lo'ī, do	14 *d* to 4 *R*
Blankets, do	10 *d* to 2 *R.*
Kashmirian Caps, do	2 *d* to 1 *R.*

* The price is not given in the text

Ā'īn 33

ON THE NATURE OF COLOURS

White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours They are looked upon as extremes, and as the component parts of the other colours Thus white when mixed in large proportions with an impure black, will yield *yellow* , and white and black, in equal proportions, will give *red* White mixed with a large quantity of black, will give a *bluish green* Other colours may be formed by compounding these. Besides, it must be borne in mind that cold makes a juicy white body, and a dry body black , and heat renders that which is fresh black, and white that which is dry These two powers (heat and cold) produce, each in its place, a change in the colour of a body, because bodies are both *qābil*, i e capable of being acted upon, and *muqtaza*, i e subject to the influence of the heavenly bodies (chiefly the sun), the active origin of heat

Ā'īn 34

THE ARTS OF WRITING AND PAINTING

What we call *form* leads us to recognize a body , the body itself leads us to what we call *a notion, an idea* Thus, on seeing the form of a letter, we recognize the letter, or a word, and this again will lead us to some idea Similarly in the case of what people term *a picture* But though it is true

that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental states,[1] so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality. Yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and become a means to intellectual progress.

I shall first say something about the art of writing, as it is the more important of the two arts. His Majesty pays much attention to both, and is an excellent judge of form and thought. And indeed, in the eyes of the friends of true beauty, a letter is the source from which the light confined within it beams forth, and, in the opinion of the far-sighted, it is the world-reflecting cup[2] in the abstract. The letter, a magical power, is spiritual geometry emanating from the pen of invention; a heavenly writ from the hand of fate; it contains the secret word, and is the tongue of the hand. The spoken word goes to the hearts of such as are present to hear it; the letter gives wisdom to those that are near and far. If it was not for the letter, the spoken word would soon die, and no keepsake would be left us of those that are gone by. Superficial observers see in the letter a sooty figure; but the deepsighted a lamp of wisdom. The written letter looks black, notwithstanding the thousand rays within it; or it is a light with a mole on it that wards off the evil eye.[3] A letter is the portrait painter of wisdom; a rough sketch from the realm of ideas; a dark night ushering in day; a black cloud pregnant with knowledge; the wand for the treasures of insight; speaking, though dumb; stationary, and yet travelling; stretched on the sheet, and yet soaring upwards.

When a ray of God's knowledge falls on man's soul, it is carried by the mind to the realm of thought, which is the intermediate station between that which is conscious of individual existence (*mujarrad*) and that which is material (*māddī*). The result[4] is a concrete thing mixed with the absolute, or an absolute thing mixed with that which is concrete. This compound steps forward on man's tongue, and enters, with the assistance of the conveying air, into the windows of the ears of others. It then drops the

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[1] [illegible] referring to [illegible] natural to us, as benevolence [illegible] but [illegible] seven heavens.

[2] [illegible]

[3] Human beauty is imperfect unless accompanied by a mole. For the mole on the cheek of his sweetheart, Hafiz would make a present of Samarqand and Bukhara. Other poets rejoice to see at least one black spot on the beautiful face of the beloved, who, without such an amulet, would be subject to the influence of the evil eye.

[4] The spoken word, the idea expressed by a sound.

burden of its concrete component, and returns, as a single ray, to its old place the realm of thought But the heavenly traveller occasionally gives his course a different direction by means of man's fingers, and having passed along the continent of the pen and crossed the ocean of the ink alights on the pleasant expanse of the page, and returns through the eye of the reader to its wonted habitation

As the letter is a representation of an articulate sound, I think it necessary to give some information regarding the latter

The sound of a letter is a mode of existence depending on the nature of the air By *qaraʿ* we mean the striking together of two hard substances, and by *qalaʿ*, the separation of the same In both cases the intermediate air, like a wave, is set in motion, and thus the state is produced which we call *sound* Some philosophers take sound to be the secondary effect, and define it as the air set in motion, but others look upon it as the primary *effect, i e they define sound to be the very qaraʿ, or the qalaʿ, of any hard* substances Sound may be accompanied by modifying circumstances, it may be a piano, deep nasal, or guttural as when the throat is affected by a cold Again, from the nature of the organ with which man utters a *sound and the manner in which the particles of the air are* divided another modifying circumstance may arise, as when two pianos two deep, two nasal, or two guttural sounds separate from each other Some as Abu ʿAli Sina, call this modifying element (*ʿāriz) the sound of the letter*, others define it as the original state of the sound thus modified (*maʿruẓ*), but the far sighted define an articulate sound as the union of the modifying element and the original state modified This is evidently the correct view

There are fifty two articulate sounds in Hindi, so and so many[1] in Greek, and eighteen in Persian In Arabic there are twenty eight letters represented by eighteen signs, or by only fifteen when we count the joined letters and if we take the *Hamzah* as one with the *alif* The reason for writing an *alif* and a *lam* (ل) separately as the end of the single letters the Arabic alphabet is merely to give an example of a *sakin* letter, which must necessarily *be joined to another letter* and the *reason why* the letter *lām* is preferred[2] as an example is because the letter *lām* is the

[1] Abū l Fazl has forgotten to put in the number *He counts eighteen letters or* rather signs in Persian because ج چ and خ have the same fundamental sign

[2] ... these two letters

middle letter of the word *alif*, and the letter *alif* the middle letter of the word *lam*

The vowel signs did not exist in ancient times, instead of which letters were dotted with a different kind of ink, thus a red dot placed *over* a letter expressed that the letter was followed by an *a*, a red dot in front of the letter signified a *u*, and a red dot below a letter an *i*. It was Khalil ibn i Ahmad,[1] the famous inventor of the Metrical Art of the Arabians, who fixed the forms of the vowel signs as they are now in use

The beauty of a letter and its proportions depend much on personal taste, hence it is that nearly every people has a separate alphabet. Thus we find an Indian Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Coptic, *Maçqalī*, *Kufī Kashmirī*, Abyssinian, *Rayḥanī*, Arabic, Persian, Himyaritic, Berbery, Andalusian *Ruḥanī*, and several other ancient systems of writing. The invention of the Hebrew characters is traced in some poems to Ādam i Hafthazārī,[2] but some mention Idris[3] as the inventor. Others, however, say that Idris perfected the *Maçqalī* character. According to several statements, the Kufic character was derived by the Khalifah ʿAli from the *Maçqalī*

The difference in the form of a letter in the several systems, lies in the proportion of straight and round strokes, thus the Kūfic character consists of one sixth curvature and five sixths straight lines, the *Maçqalī* has no curved lines at all, hence the inscriptions which are found on ancient buildings are mostly in this character

In writing we have to remember that black and white look well, as these colours best prevent ambiguities in reading

In Iran and Tūran, India and Turkey, there are eight caligraphical

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i e do *not* read this compound *lam alif* but pass over it when you say the Alphabet look upon it as a mere example of a *sākin* letter

The term *hamzah* as used here in native schools is carefully distinguished from the terms *Shakl i Hamzah* and *Markaz i Hamzah*. *Shakl i Hamzah* is the small sign consisting of [illegible] slanting [illegible] latter whe[illegible] either of th[illegible] In Europe [illegible] explain the word *Hamzah* as the name of a *sign*

Another peculiarity of European grammars is this that in arranging the letters of the alphabet the *waw* is placed *after* the *he*, here in the East the *he* is invariably put before the *ya*

[1] He is said to have been born A H 100 and died at Basrah A H 175 or 190 He wrote several works on the science which he had established as also several books on the rhyme lexicographical compilations etc

[2] Adam is called *Haft hazārī* because the number of inhabitants on earth at his death had reached the number *seven thousand*. A better explanation is given by Badaoni (II p 337 l 10) who puts the creation of Adam *seven thousand* years before his time. *Vide* the first *Ā'īn* of the Third Book

[3] *Idris* or Enoch

systems [1] current, of which each one is liked by some people Six of them were derived in A H 310 by *Ibn i Muqlah* from the *Maʿqalī* and the Kūfic characters, viz, the *Sulṡ*, *Tauqīʿ*, *Muhaqqaq*, *Naskh*, *Rayhān*, *Riqāʿ* Some add the *Ghubār*, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him The *Naskh* character is ascribed by many to *Yāqūt*, a slave of the Khalifah Mustaʿsam Billāh [2] The *Sulṡ* and the *Naskh* consist each of one third [3] curved lines, and two thirds straight lines, the former (the *sulṡ*) is *jalī*, [4] whilst the latter (the *naskh*) is *khafī* The *Tauqīʿ* and *Riqāʿ* consist of three fourths curved lines and one fourth straight lines, the former is *jalī*, the latter is *khafī* The *Muhaqqaq* and *Rayhān* contain three fourths straight lines, the former, as in the preceding, is *jalī*, and the *Rayhān* is *khafī*

Among famous copyists I must mention ʿAlī ibn i Hilāl, better known under the name of *Ibn i Bawwāb*, [5] he wrote well the six characters Yāqūt brought them to perfection Six of Yaqut's pupils are noticeable, 1 Shaykh Ahmad, so well known under the name of Shaykh zāda yi Suhrwardī, 2 Arghūn of Kabul, 3 Mawlana Yūsuf Shah of Mashhad, 4 Mawlānā Mubārik Shāh, styled *Zarrīn qalam* (the golden pen, 5 Haydar, called *Gandahnawīs* (i e, the writer of the *jalī*), 6 Mīr Yahya

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[2] He was the last caliph and reigned from 1242 to 1258 when he was put to

The following calligraphists are likewise well known Sūfī Nasr[u] 'llāh, also called Sadr-i ʿIrāqī, Arqūn, ʿAbd[u] 'llāh, Khwāja ʿAbd[u] 'llāh-i Sayrafi, Hājī Muhammad, Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'llah-i Āshpaz; Mawlānā Muhī of Shīrāz, Muʿīn[u] 'd Dīn-i Tanūrī, Shams[u] 'd Dīn-i Khatā'ī, ʿAbd[u] 'r Rahīm-i Khalūh (?), ʿAbd[u] 'l Hayy Mawlānā Jaʿfar[1] of Tabrīz, Mawlānā Shāh of Mashhad, Mawlana Maʿrūf[2] of Baghdād, Mawlānā Shams[u] d Dīn Bāysanghur, Muʿīn[u] 'd Dīn of Farāh, ʿAbd[u] 'l Haqq of Sabzwār, Maulanā Niʿmat[u] 'llāh-i Bawwab, Khwājagī Mumin-i Marwarid, the inventor of variegated papers and sands for strewing on the paper Sultan Ibrahīm, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Mawlāna Muhammad Halīm Hafiz, Mawlanā Mahmūd Siyā,ūsh, Mawlanā Jamal[u] 'd Dīn Husayn, Mawlānā Pīr Muhammad, Mawlanā Fazl[u] 'l Haqq of Qazwīn[3]

A *seventh* kind of writing is called *Taʿlīq*, which has been derived from the *Riqāʿ* and the *Tauqīʿ* It contains very few straight lines, and was brought to perfection by Khwāja Tāj-i Salmānī[4] who also wrote well the other six characters Some say that he was the inventor

Of modern calligraphists I may mention Mawlānā ʿAbd[u] 'l Hayy, the Private Secretary[5] of Sultān Abū Saʿīd Mīrza, who wrote *Taʿlīq* well, Mawlana Darwish,[6] Amīr Mansūr, Mawlana Ibrāhīm of Astarābad, Khwaja Ikhtiyar,[7] Munshī Jamāl[u] 'd Dīn, Muhammad of Qazwīn, Mawlanā Idrīs Khwaja Muhammad Husayn Munshī, and Ashraf Khan,[8]

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] also mention Mulla Aba Bakr and Shaykh Mahmud

[4] According to the Maktūbat and several MSS *Sulaymanī*

[5] In the original text p 114 l. 5 by mistake Mawlana ʿAbd[u] 'l Hayy and the Munshī of Sultān Abū Saʿīd

[6] Mawlāna Darwish Muhammad was a friend of the famous Amīr ʿAlī Shor the vizier of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā king of Khurasan (A D 1470 to 1505) and the patron of the poet Jāmī Mawlāna Darwish entered afterwards the service of Shah Junayd-i Safawī king of Persia (A D 1499 to 15[illegible]) [illegible] may be [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

cal[illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[illegible] as quot[illegible]
among the contempo[illegible]
1596 a commander [illegible]

the Private Secretary of his Majesty, who improved the *Taʿlīq* very much

The *eighth* character which I have to mention is the *Nastaʿlīq* it consists entirely of round lines They say that Mir ʿAli of Tabriz, a contemporary of Timūr, derived it from the *Naskh* and the *Taʿlīq* but this can scarcely be correct because there exist books in the *Nastaʿlīq* character written before Timur's time Of Mir ʿAli's pupils, I may mention two [1] Mawlana Jaʿfar of Tabriz and Mawlana Azhar, and of other caligraphists in *Taʿlīq* Mawlana Muhammad of Awbah (near Hirat) an excellent writer Mawlana Bari of Hirat, and Mawlana Sultan ʿAli [2] of Mash had, who surpasses them all He imitated the writing of Mawlana Azhar, though he did not learn from him personally Six of his pupils are well known Sultan Muhammad i Khandan [3] Sultan Muhammad Nur Mawlana ʿAlaʾu d Din [4] of Hirat, Mawlana Zaynu d Din (of Nishapur) Mawlana ʿAbdi of Nishapūr, Muhammad Qasim Shadi Shah, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities

Besides these, there are a great number of other good caligraphists, who are famous for their skill in *Nastaʿlīq* as Mawlana Sultan ʿAli, of Qayin, [5] Mawlana Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad, [6] Mawlana Hijrani, [7] and after them the illustrious Mawlana Mir ʿAli [8] the pupil as it appears of Mawlana Zaynu d Din He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultan ʿAli of Mash had The new method, which he established is a proof of his genius he has left many masterpieces Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Mawlana He said "I also have brought writing to perfection, but yet, his method has a peculiar charm

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[1] The *Mirʾat* mentions a third immediate pupil of Mir ʿAli *Mawlāna Khwaja Muhammad* and relates that he put Mir ʿAli's name to his own writings without giving offence to his master

[2] He also was a friend of Amir ʿAli Sher and died A H 910 during the reign of Sultan Husayn Mirza mentioned in the fourth note

[3] He was called *Khandan* as he was always *happy* He was a friend of Amir ʿA[illegible]

In conclusion I may mention Shah Mahmūd[1] of Nishāpūr, Mahmūd Is hāq, Shams^u 'd Din of Kirmān, Mawlānā Jamshed, the riddle-writer, Sultan Husayn of Khujand, Mawlānā ʿAyshī, Ghiyās^u 'd Din, the gilder, Mawlanā ʿAbd^u s Samad, Mawlana Malik, Mawlanā ʿAbd^u 'l Karim, Mawlanā ʿAbd^u 'r Rahim of Khwārizm, Mawlanā Shaykh Muhammad, Mawlana Shah Mahmud i Zarrinqalam (or gold pen), Mawlanā Muhammad Husayn[2] of Tabriz, Mawlāna Hasan ʿAli of Mash had, Mir Muʿizz of Kashan, Mirza Ibrahim of Isfahan, and several others who have devoted their lives to the improvement of the art

His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing, hence the large number of skilful caligraphists *Nastaʿliq* has especially received a new impetus The artist who in the shadow of the throne of his Majesty, has become a master of caligraphy, is Muhammad Husayn[3] of Kashmir He has been honoured with the title of *Zarrinqalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlana ʿAbd^u 'l ʿAziz, his *maddāt* and *dawa'ir*[4] show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mulla Mir ʿAli Of other renowned caligraphists of the present age, I must mention Mawlanā Baqir, the son of the illustrious Mulla Mir ʿAli, Muhammad Amin of Mash had, Mir Husayn i Kulanki, Mawlanā ʿAbd^u 'l Hay; Mawlana Dawri,[5] Mawlana ʿAbd^u 'r Rahim, Mir ʿAbd^u 'llah, Nizāmi of Qazwin, ʿAli Chaman of Kashmir, Nur^u 'llah Qasim Arsalan

His Majesty's library is divided into several parts, some of the books are kept within, and some without, the Harem Each part of the library

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[1] According to the *Maktubāt* and the *Mir'at* Shāh *Muhammad* of Nishapur Both [illegible]

[2] He [illegible] graphy will be fo[illegible]

[3] He [illegible]

[4] By [illegible] *dawa'ir* (curvatures) letters like ى ح

Draw four horizontal lines at equal intervals call the spaces between them a b c of which a is the highest Every letter which fills the space b is called a *shusha*, as ا ء د ـ. The diacritical points are immaterial Every line above b is called a *markaz* every line below b i.e in c a *dāman* Thus ع consists of a *shusha* and a *markaz* ص of a *shusha* and a *daman*. The knob of a ع ب or ق is called *kalla* Thus ق is a *Madda* consisting of a *kalla* and a *daman*, so also ع ح ك The ك consists of a *markaz* and a *daman*.

In *Grammar* the word *markaz* means the same as *shusha* in caligraphy thus ـه consist of a *markaz* and a *shakl i hamza*

By *islah* caligraphists mean any additional ornamental strokes or refilling a [illegible] *khilnā*)

[5] [illegible] *Dawri* is his poetical [illegible] Akbar bestowed [illegible] pupil was Khwaja [illegible] or *Ibrāhim*, in the

is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic,[1] are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest. The Akhlāq i Nāṣirī, the Kīmiyā yi Saʿādat, the Qābūsnama, the works of Sharaf of Munayr (*vide* p. 50), the Gulistān, the Hadiqa of Hakim Sanā'ī, the Masnawī of Maʿnawī, the Jām i Jam, the Bustān, the Shahnama, the collected Masnawis of Shaykh Nizāmi, the works [illegible] Anvarī, and se[illegible] ty Philolo[illegible] bic, and Persian books, into other languages. Thus a part of the Zich i Jadid-i Mirzā'ī (*vide* 3rd book, Ā'īn 1) was translated under the superintendence of Amīr Fath^u 'llah of Shīrāz (*vide* p. 34), and also the Kishnjoshī, the Gangādhar, the Mohesh Mahanand, from Hindi (Sanscrit) into Persian, according to the interpretation of the author of this book. The Mahabhārat which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustan has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqib Khan,[2] Mawlāna ʿAbd^u 'l Qadir of Badaon,[3] and Shaykh Sultan of

[1] Observe that the Arabic books are placed last. [But see p. 104, line 4.—B.]

[2] Regarding this renowned man *vide* Abu 'l Fazl's list of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 161.

[3] Mullā ʿAb[illegible] [or 949] at Badaon, a town near [illegible] His father [illegible]

Thanesar [1] The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses His Majesty calls this ancient history *Razmnāma*, the book of Wars The same learned men translated also into Persian the Ramayan, likewise a book of ancient Hindustan which contains the life of Ram Chandra, but is full of interesting points of Philosophy Haji Ibrahim of Sarhind translated into Persian the *Atharban* [2] which, according to the Hindus, is one of

four thousand

extracts

A copy

the Persian

Tawarikh

Atharban there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage This passage contains many times the letter *l* and resembles very much our

Badāonī ii p 212

the four divine books The Lilawatī, which is one of the most excellent works written by Indian mathematicians on arithmetic, lost its Hindū veil, and received a Persian garb from the hand of my elder brother, Shaykh ʿAbd ʾl Fayẓ i Fayẓī[1] At the command of His Majesty, Mukammal Khān of Gujrāt translated into Persian th Tājak, a well known work on Astronomy The Memoirs[2] of Bābar, *the Conqueror of the world*, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mirzā ʿAbdᵘ ʾr-Rahīm Khān, the present Khān Khanan (Commander in Chief) The History of Kashmīr, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmīrian into Persian[3] by Mawlānā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād The *Muʿjamᵘ ʾl Buldān*, an excellent work on towns and countries, has been translated from Arabic into Persian by several Arabic scholars as Mullā Ahmad of Thathah,[4] Qasim Beg, Shaykh Munawwar, and others The *Haribāṁs*, a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlānā Sherī (*vide* the poetical extracts of the second book) By order of His Majesty, the author of this volume composed a new version of the Kalīlah Damnah, and published it under the title of *ʿAyār Dānish*[5] The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties, and though Naṣrᵘ llah i Mustawfi and Mawlānā Husayn i Waʿiz has translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words The Hindi story of the love of Nal and Daman, which melts the hearts of feeling readers, has been metrically translated by my

Lilawati is sex

brother Shaykh Fayzı ı Fayyazī, ın the masnavī metre of the Layı Majnūn and is now everywhere known under the title of *Nal Daman* [1]

As His Majesty has become acquainted with the treasure of history, he ordered several well informed writers to compose a work containing the events which have taken place in the seven zones for the last one thousand years Naqib Khan and several others commenced this history A very large portion was subsequently added by Mulla Ahmad of Thathah, and the whole concluded by Jaʿfar Beg ı Āsaf Khan The introduction is composed by me The work has the title of *Tarīkh ı Alfi*,[2] the History of a thousand years

The Art of Painting

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *taswīr* His Majesty, from his earliest youth has shown a great predilection for this art and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means both of study and amusement Hence the art flourishes and many painters have obtained great reputation The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks, he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained The mixture of colours has especially been improved The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish Most excellent painters are now to be found and masterpieces worthy of a *Bihzād*,[3] may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world wide fame The minuteness in detail, the general finish the boldness of execution etc now observed in pictures are incomparable, even inanimate

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The
contains no pr face commences with the
Prophet (8th June 632) and ends at
Mask (A.H 99 or A D 717–18)
Prophet not from the Hijrah For
Badāonī ii p 317

[3] *Bihzād* was a famous painter who lived at the court of Shah Ismaʿīl ı Ṣafawı of Persia *Sirajullughāt*

powerful as to make an impression on it A sufficient number of such armours has been made so as to supply whole armies His Majesty also looks into the prices of such as are sold in the bāzārs

All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them Thus there are thirty swords (*Khāṣa* swords), one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the harem, who keep it till its turn comes again Forty other swords are kept in readiness, they are called *kotal* swords When the number of *khāṣa* swords (in consequence of presents, etc) has decreased to twelve, they supply new ones from the *kotal* swords There are also twelve *Yakbandī* (?),[1] the turn of every one of which recurs after one *week* Of *Jāmdhars* and *Khapwas*, there are forty of each Their turn recurs every week, and each has thirty *kotals*, from which deficiencies are supplied as before Besides, eight knives, twenty spears and *barchhas* are required monthly Of eighty six *Mash hadī* bows, *Bhadāyan* bows, and twenty four others, are returned monthly [2] In the same manner a rank is assigned to each

Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bār i ʿĀm*, or Levee the sons of the Amīrs, and other *Mansabdārs* and *Aḥadīs*, carry the *Qur* in their hands and on their shoulders i e every four of them carry four quivers, four bows four swords four shields, and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *pyāzī* war clubs, sticks bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged Several *qaṭār*[3] of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness, and on travels they use Bactrian camels, etc, for that purpose At court receptions, the Amirs and other people stand opposite the *Qur* ready for any service, and on the march they follow behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty Elephants in full trappings, camel carriages, *naqqāras*, flags, the *kawkabas*, and other Imperial insignia accompany the *Qur*, while eager macebearers superintend the march assisted by the Mirbakhshis In hunting expeditions several swift runners are in attendance, and a few others are in charge of harnesses

In order to shorten the trouble of making references, I shall enumerate the weapons now in use in form of a table, and give pictures of some of them

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[1] I doubt the correctness of the translation. The word *yakbandī* is not in the dictionaries

[2] The text has an unintelligible sentence

[3] Five camels are called *qiṭār* in Hind *qaṭar* A string of some length is tied to the tail of the front camel and is drawn through the nose holes of the next behind it and so on Young camels are put on the backs of their mothers

1	Swords (slightly bent)	½ *R* to 15 *Muhurs*
2	*Khaḍā* (straight swords)	1 to 10 *R*
3	*Guptī ʿaṣā* (a sword in a walking stick)	2 to 20 *R*
4	*Jamdhar* (a broad dagger)	¼ *R* to 2½ *M*
5	*Khanjar*	¼ to 5 *R*
6	*Khapwa*	½ *R* to 1½ *M*
7	*Jam khāk*	½ *R* to 1½ *M*
8	*Bāk*	½ *R* to 1 *M*
9	*Jhanbwa*	½ *R* to 1 *M*
10	*Kaṭāra*	½ *R* to 1 *M*
11	*Narsink moṭh*	½ *R* to 2 *M*
12	*Kamān* (bows)	½ *R* to 3 *M*
13	*Takhsh kamān*	1 to 4 *R*
14	*Nawak*	½ *R* to 1 *M*
15	Arrows, *per bundle*	½ to 30 *R*
16	Quivers	½ *R* to 2 *M*
17	*Dadī*	¼ to 5 *R*
18	*Tīrbardār* (arrow drawers)[1]	¼ to 2½ *d*
19	*Paikānkash* (do.)	¼ to 3 *R*
20	*Neza* (a lance)	1½ *R* to 6 *M*
21	*Barchha*	¾ *R* to 2 *M*
22	*Sāk*	¼ to 1½ *R*
23	*Sainthī*	¼ to 1 *R*
24	*Selara*	10 *d* to ¾ *R*
25	*Gurz* (a war club)	¼ to 5 *R*
26	*Shashpar* (do.)	½ *R* to 3 *M*
27	*Kestan* (?)[2]	1 to 3 *R*
28	*Tabar* (a war axe)	¼ *R* to 2 *M*
29	*Piyāzī* (a club)	¼ to 5 *R*
30	*Zaghnōl* (a pointed axe)	½ *R* to 1 *M*
31	*Chakar basola*	1 to 6 *R*
32	*Tabar zāghnol*	1 to 4 *R*
33	*Tarangala*	¼ to 2 *R*
34	*Kard* (a knife)	2 *d* to 1 *M*
35	*Guptī kard*	3 *R* to 1½ *M*
36	*Qamchī kard*	1 to 3½ *R*
37	*Chāqu* (a clasp knife)	2 *d* to ¼ *R*

[1] If this spelling be correct, it is the same as the next (No. 19); but it may be *tīr-i-pardār*, an arrow with a *feather* at the bottom of the shaft, a barbed arrow.

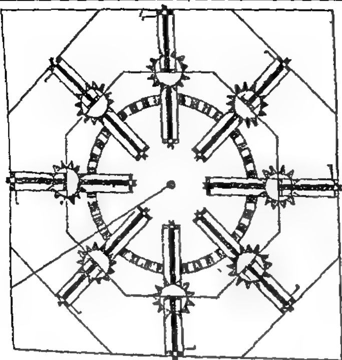
[2] This name is doubtful. The MSS. give all sorts of spellings. *Vide* my text edition, p. 121, l. 1. The dictionaries give no information.

38 *Kamān i guroha* (bullet bow)	2 *d* to 1 *R*
39 *Kamtha*	5 *d* to 3 *R*
40 *Tufak i dahān* [1] (a tube, *Germ* Blaserohr)	10 *d* to ½ *R*
41 *Pushtkhār* [2]	2 *d* to 2 *R*
42 *Shastāwez* [3]	2 *d* to 1 *R*
43 *Girihkushā*	1 *d* to ¼ *R*
44 *Khār i māhī*	1 to 5 *R*
45 *Gobham* (a sling)	1½ *d* to ¼ *R*
46 *Gajbāg*	1 to 5 *R*
47 *Sipar* (a shield)	1 to 50 *R*
48 *Dhāl*	½ *R* to 4 *M*
49 *Khera*	1 *R* to 4 *M*
50 *Pahrī*	1 *R* to 1 *M*
51 *Udāna*	½ to 5 *R*
52 *Dubulgha*	½ *R* to 3½ *M*
53 *Khoghī*	1 to 4 *R*
54 *Zirih kulāh*	1 to 5 *R*
55 *Ghūghuwa*	1 *R* to 2 *M*
56 *Jaibāh* [4]	20 *R* to 30 *M*
57 *Zirih*	1½ *R* to 100 *M*
58 *Bagtar* [5]	4 *R* to 12 *M*
59 *Joshan*	4 *R* to 9 *M*
60 *Chār a'ina*	2 *R* to 7 *M*
61 *Kothī*	5 *R* to 8 *M*
62 *Sādiqī*	3 *R* to 8 *M*
63 *Angirkha*	1½ *R* to 5 *M*
64 *Bhanju*	3 *R* to 2 *M*
65 *Chihrahzirih i āhanī*	1½ *R* to 1 *M*
66 *Salhqabā*	5 *R* to 8 *M*
67 *Chihilqad*	5 to 25 *R*
68 *Dastwāna*	1½ *R* to 2 *M*
69 *Rāk* [6]	1 *R* to 10 *M*

[[1] A blow pipe —P.]

... a corruption
... ut *jabah* as given by

[6] According to some MSS *rag*



70	*Kantha sobha* [1]	1 to 10 *R*
71	*Moza-yi ahanī*	½ to 10 *R*
72	*Kajem*	50 to 300 *R*
73	*Artak* (the quilt) *i kajem*	4 *R* to 7 *M*
74	*Qashqa*	1 *R* to 2½ *M*
75	*Gardanī* [2]	1 *R* to 1 *M*
76	Matchlocks	½ *R* to 1 *M*
77	*Bān* (rockets)	2½ to 4 *R*

Aʿīn 36

ON GUNS

Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the state, and befitting keys for the door of conquest With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this There are nowadays guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans*, several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a king, and therefore devotes to it much of his time Daroghas and clever clerks are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order

His Majesty has made several inventions which have astonished the whole world He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put together again when required By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match Again he made another kind of gun which can easily be carried by a single elephant, such guns have the name *Gajnals* Guns which a single man may carry are called *Narnals*

The imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom and each Suba has that kind which is fit for it For the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements, His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches It is impossible to count every gun, besides clever workmen make continually new ones, especially *Gajnāls* and *Narnāls*

Amirs and Ahadis are on staff employ in this branch The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d*

[1] The figure represents a long spear, but the etymology as also its position in the list of weapons, shows that it must be a part of the armour a neck piece.

[2] A round shield like plate of iron attached to the neck of the horse and hanging down so as to protect the chest of the animal.

Áʼín 37

ON MATCHLOCKS, ETC

These are in particular favour with His Majesty, who stands unrivalled in their manufacture, and as a marksman Matchlocks are now made so strong that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides Some left them, from fore sight, on one edge open, but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the former kind His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist, they then join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin Three or four of such pieces make one gun, or, in the case of smaller ones, two Guns are often made of a length of two yards, those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long, and go by the name of *Damānak* The gunstocks are differently made From the practical knowledge of His Majesty, guns are now made in such a manner that they can be fired off, without a match, by a slight movement of the cock Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword Through the assistance of the inventive genius of His Majesty there are now many masters to be found among gunmakers, e g, Ustad Kabir and Husayn

Iron, when heated, loses about one half of its volume

When a barrel is completed lengthways, before the transverse bottom piece is fixed to it, they engrave on it the quantity of its iron and the length, both being expressed in numerals A barrel thus far finished, is called *Daul* In this imperfect state they are sent to His Majesty, and delivered, in proper order, at the harem, to which place they are also brought for [1] At the same time, the weight of the ball is fixed, and the order is given for the transverse section of the matchlock For long guns the weight of a ball does not exceed twenty five *tanks*, and for smaller ones fifteen But balls of the former weight no one but His Majesty[2] would dare to fire When the barrels are polished, they are again

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[1] The text has an unintelligible word the *variantes lectiones* are marked on p 125 of my text edition Note (13) The Banāras MS. has [illegible] The word appears to be a foreign term.

[2] Akbar was remarkable for bodily strength. *Vide* Tusuk i Jahāngīrī, p 16

sent to the harem, and preserved in proper order They are afterwards taken out, and closed, by the order of His Majesty, with a transverse bottom piece Having been put to an old stock, they are filled to one third of the barrel with powder, and fired off If no *tarāwish* [1] takes place, and the trial is satisfactory, they take the barrels again to His Majesty, who gives the order to finish the mouthpiece of the barrel After this the gun is again placed on the stock, and subjected to a trial If the ball issues in a crooked line, the barrel is heated, and straightened by means of a rod introduced into it, and, in the presence of His Majesty, handed over to a filer He adorns the outside of the barrel in various ways, according to orders, when it is taken to the harem The wood and the shape of the stock are then determined on Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz, the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, the former marks being now removed, the place where the iron is taken from, the workman, the place where the gun is made, the date, its number Sometimes without reference to a proper order, one of the unfinished barrels is selected and completed at His Majesty's command It is then entered in another place, the transverse bottom piece is fixed, and the order is given to make the cock, the ramrod, the *pargaz*,[2] etc As soon as all these things have been completed, a new trial is ordered, and when it succeeds, they send in the gun and deliver it a third time at the harem In this state the gun is called *sāda* (plain) Five bullets are sent along with it His Majesty, after trying it in the manner above described, returns it with the fifth bullet The order for the colour of the barrel and the stock is now given, one of the nine kinds of colour is selected for the stock Guns also differ in the quality of inlaid gold and enamel, the colour of the barrel is uniform A gun thus far completed is called *rangīn* (coloured) It is now, as before, handed over together with five bullets, His Majesty makes four trials, and returns it with the last ball When ten of such guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and the butt end with gold They are then again sent for trial into the harem and whenever ten are quite complete they are handed over to the slaves

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[1] *Tarāwish* means a *trickling*, the particular meaning which it here has is not clear and not given in the Dictionaries

[2] *Pargaz* or *Purgaz* may mean the groove into which the ramrod is put or the ramrod itself The word is not in the dicts, and appears to be unknown at the present day

Aʾīn 38

THE MANNER OF CLEANING GUNS

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments in order to clean matchlocks His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time The wheel is turned by a cow Plate XV will best show what sort of a machine it is

Aʾīn 39

THE RANKS OF THE GUNS

The Imperial arsenal contains *manufactured, purchased,* and *presented,* guns Each of them is either *long,* or *short* , and these are again subdivided into *sāda* (plain), *rangīn* (coloured), and *koftkār* (hammered) guns His *Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred* and five as *khāsa*, i e for his special use *First,* twelve in honour of the twelve *months* each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months *Secondly,* thirty for every week , after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought *Thirdly,* thirty two for the solar days , one for every day *Fourthly,* thirty one *kotals* Sometimes there are only twenty eight Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, *kotals* are brought, to supply their *places* *The order of precedence is as follows* the guns for the month, the week, days, *kotals*, plain, coloured, *koftkār,* not handed over to the slaves, *koftkar,* handed over to the slaves, long ones, selected from *peshkash* presents, or from such as were bought, *damānaks,* selected from *peshkash,* or from bought ones, such as have been chosen from selections of both The one hundred and five *khāṣa* guns are divided into seven parts, every fifteen form a *kishk,* or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves On Sundays two are taken from the first, four from the second, five from the third, four from the fourth This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second, four from the third, five from the fourth On Fridays, one is taken from the first, five from the second, four from the third, five from the fourth So also for Saturdays In order to supply the places of such *khāṣa* guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on half kotals, fourteen, quarter kotals, seven, one eighth kotals, four, one-sixteenth kotals, two, one-thirtysecond kotals, one When *kotal* guns are given away, they bring half *kotals* , similarly, the place of a gun,

and to the success of a conqueror, and is of the greatest use for the army Experienced men of Hindustan put the value of a good elephant equal to five hundred horses, and they believe that, when guided by a few bold men armed with matchlocks, such an elephant alone is worth double that number In vehemence on one side, and submissiveness to the reins on the other, the elephant is like an Arab, whilst in point of obedience and attentiveness to even the slightest signs, it resembles an intelligent human being In restiveness when full blooded, and in vindictiveness, it surpasses man An elephant never hurts the female, though she be the cause of his captivity, he never will fight with young elephants, nor does he think it proper to punish them From a sense of gratitude, he does his keepers no harm, nor will he throw dust over his body when he is mounted, though he often does so at other times Once an elephant, during the rutting season was fighting with another When he was in the height of excitement a small elephant came in his way, he kindly lifted up the small one with his trunk set him aside, and then renewed the combat If a male elephant breaks loose during the rutting season in order to have his own way, few people have the courage to approach him, and some bold and experienced man will have to get on a female elephant, and try to get near him and tie a rope round his foot Female elephants, when mourning the loss of a young one, will often abstain from food and drink, they sometimes even die from grief

The elephant can be taught various feats He learns to remember such melodies as can only be remembered by people acquainted with music, he will move his limbs to keep time, and exhibit his skill in various ways He will shoot off an arrow from a bow, discharge a matchlock, and will learn to pick up things that have been dropped and hand them over to the keeper Sometimes they get grain to eat wrapped up in hay, this they hide in the side of their mouth, and give it back to the keeper, when they are alone with him

The teats of a female elephant, and the womb resemble those of a woman The tongue is round like that of a parrot The testicles are not visible Elephants frequently with their trunks take water out of their stomachs and sprinkle themselves with it Such water has no offensive smell They also take out of their stomach grass on the second day, without its having undergone any change

The price of an elephant varies from a lak[1] to one hundred rupees,

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[1] During the reigns of Akbar's successor the price of a well trained war elephant rose much higher Vide Tuzuk i Jahangiri p 198 At the time of Shahjahan, the first white elephant was brought from Pegu *Padishāhnama* i p 267

elephants worth five thousand, and ten thousand rupees, are pretty common

There are four kinds of elephants 1 *Bhaddar* It is well proportioned, has an erect head, a broad chest, large ears, a long tail, and is bold and can bear fatigue They take out of his forehead an excrescence resembling a large pearl, which they call in Hindi *Gaj manik*.[1] Many properties are ascribed to it [illegible] *Mand* It is black, has yellow eyes, a uniformly sized belly, a long penis, and is wild and ungovernable [illegible] *Mirg* It has a whitish skin with black spots, the colour of its eyes is a mixture of red, yellow, black, and white 4 *Mir* It has a small head, and obeys readily It gets frightened when it thunders

From a mixture of these four kinds are formed others of different names and properties The colour of the skin of elephants is threefold, white, black, grey Again, according to the threefold division of the dispositions assigned by the Hindus to the mind, namely, *sat* benevolence, *raj* love of sensual enjoyment, and *tam* irascibility, which shall be further explained below,[2] elephants are divided into three classes *First*, such in which *sat* predominates They are well proportioned, good looking, eat moderately, are very submissive, do not care for intercourse with the female, and live to a very old age *Secondly*, such in whose disposition *raj* prevails They are savage-looking, and proud, bold, ungovernable, and voracious *Lastly*, such as are full of *tam* They are self willed, destructive, and given to sleep and voraciousness

The time of gestation of the female is generally eighteen[3] lunar months For three months the *fluida germinalia* intermix in the womb of the female, when agitated the mass looks like quicksilver Towards the fifth month the *fluida* settle and get gelatinous In the seventh month, they get more solid, and draw to perfection towards the ninth month In the eleventh, the outline of a body is visible, and in the twelfth, the veins, bones, hoofs, and hairs, make their appearance In the thirteenth month the *genitalia* become distinguishable, and in the fifteenth, the

[1] This excrescence is also called *Gajmoti* or *elephant's pearl*. [illegible] has also *Gajmanik*, and th[illegible]

process of quickening commences If the female, during gestation, gets stronger, the fœtus is sure to be a male, but if she gets weak it is the sign of a female During the sixteenth month the formation becomes still more perfect, and the life of the fœtus becomes quite distinct In the seventeenth month there is every chance[1] of a premature birth on account of the efforts made by the fœtus to move, till, in the eighteenth month, the young one is born

According to others the sperm gets solid in the first month, the eyes, ears, the nose, mouth, and tongue are formed in the second, in the third month the limbs made their appearance, in the fourth month, the fœtus grows and gets strong, in the fifth, it commences to quicken, in the sixth, it gets sense, which appears more marked during the seventh month, in the eighth, there is some chance of a miscarriage, during the ninth, tenth and eleventh months the fœtus grows, and is born during the twelfth It will be a male young one if the greater part of the sperm came from the male, and it will be a female young one if the reverse is the case If the sperm of both the male and female is equal in quantity the young one will be a hermaphrodite The male fœtus lies towards the right side, the female towards the left, a hermaphrodite in the middle

Female elephants have often for twelve days a red discharge, after which gestation commences During that period they look startled, sprinkle themselves with water and earth keep ears and tail upwards, and go rarely away from the male They will rub themselves against the male, bend their heads below his tusks, smell at his urine and dung, and cannot bear to see another female near him Sometimes, however, a female shows aversion to intercourse with the male, and must be forced to copulate, when other female elephants at hearing her noise, will come to her rescue

In former times, people did not breed elephants, and thought it unlucky, by the command of His Majesty, they now breed a very superior class of elephants, which has removed the old prejudice in the minds of men A female elephant has generally one young one, but sometimes two For five years the young ones content themselves with the milk of the mother, after that period they commence to eat herbs In this state they are called *bāl* When ten years old they are named *put*, when twenty years old, *bikka*, when thirty years old, *kalba* In fact the animal changes appearance every year, and then gets a new name When sixty years old, the elephant is full grown The skull then looks like two

[1] The words of the text are ambiguous They may also mean In the seventeenth month the effort of the fœtus to move causes the female to sink down

The *Bhaddar* ruts in Libra and Scorpio, the *Mand* in spring, the *Mirg* in Capricorn and Sagittarius, the *Mir* in any season Elephant drivers have a drug which causes an artificial heat, but it often endangers the life of the beast The noise of battle makes some superior elephants just as fierce as at the rutting season, even a sudden start may have such an effect Thus His Majesty's elephant *Gajmukta* he gets brisk as soon as he hears the sound of the Imperial drum, and gets the above mentioned discharge This peculiar heat generally makes its first appearance when elephants have reached the age of thirty, sometimes, however, earlier, at an age of twenty five Sometimes the heat lasts for years, and some of the Imperial elephants have continued for five years in an uninterrupted alacrity But it is mostly male elephants that get in heat They then commence to throw up earth, and run after a female, or roll about in mud, and daub themselves all over with dirt When in heat they are very irritable, and yawn a great deal, though they sleep but little At last they even discontinue eating and dislike the foot-chain they try to get loose, and behave noisily

The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years

The Hindi language has several words for an elephant, as *hastī*, *gaj*, *pīl*, *hāthī*, etc Under the hands of an experienced keeper it will much improve, so that its value in a short time may rise from one hundred to ten thousand rupees

The Hindus believe that the eight points of the earth are each guarded by a heavenly being in the shape of an elephant, they have curious legends regarding them Their names are as follows 1 *Airāwata*, in the East, 2 *Pundarika*, south east, 3 *Bāman*, south, 4 *Kumada*, south west, 5 *Anjan*, west, 6 *Puhpadanta*, north west, 7 *Sārbhabhūma*, north, 8 *Supratīka*, north east When occasions arise, people read incantations in their names, and address them in worship They also think that every elephant in the world is the offspring of one of them Thus, elephants of a white skin and white hairs are related to the first, elephants with a large head and long hairs, of a fierce and bold temper, and eyelids apart, belong to the second, such as are [1] good looking, black, and high in the back, are the offspring of the third, if tall, ungovernable, quick in understanding, short-haired, and with red and black eyes, they come from the fourth, if bright black, with one tusk longer than the other, with a white breast and belly, and long and thick fore-feet, from the

[1] The MSS have an unintelligible word. Perhaps *khushgunj* graceful, is the correct reading

and Jhārkhand, and in the Sūba of Bengal, in Orīsā, and Sātgāw. The elephants from Pannah are the best

A herd of elephants is called in Hindi *sahn* They vary in number, sometimes a herd amounts to a thousand elephants Wild elephants are very cautious In winter and summer, they select a proper place, and break down a whole forest near their sleeping place For the sake of pleasure, or for food and drink, they often travel over great distances On the journey one runs far in front of the others, like a sentinel, a young female is generally selected for this purpose When they go to sleep they send out to the four sides of the sleeping place pickets of four female elephants, which relieve each other

Elephants will lift up their young ones, for three or four days after their birth, with their trunks, and put them on their backs, or lay them over their tusks They also prepare medicines for the females when they are sick or in labour pains and crowd round about them When some of them get caught, the female elephants break through the nets, and pull down the elephant drivers And when a young elephant falls into a snare they hide themselves in an ambush, go at night to the place where the young one is, set it at liberty, and trample the hunters to death Sometimes [illegible]

immediately, and left it, but when we came next morning near the place, we saw that some wild elephants had filled the pit with broken logs and grass, and thus pulled out the young one" Again "Once a female elephant played us a trick She feigned to be dead We passed her, and went onwards, but when at night we returned, we saw no trace left of her"

There was once an elephant in the Imperial stables named *Ayāz* For some reason it had got offended with the driver, and was for ever watching for an opportunity Once at night, it found him asleep It got hold of a long piece of wood managed to pull off with it the man's turban, seized him by the hair, and tore him asunder

Many examples are on record of the extraordinary cleverness of elephants, in some cases it is difficult to believe them

Kings have always shown a great predilection for this animal and done everything in their power to collect a large number Elephant keepers are much esteemed, and a proper rank is assigned to such as have a special knowledge of the animal Wicked, low men see in an elephant a means of lawlessness, and unprincipled evildoers, with the help of this animal,

carry on their nefarious trade Hence kings of former times never succeeded in suppressing the rebellious, and were thus disappointed in their best intentions But His Majesty, though overwhelmed with other important matters, has been able, through God's assistance and his numerous elephants, to check those low but haughty men, he teaches them to desire submission and bestows upon them, by wise laws, the blessings of peace

His Majesty divided the Imperial elephants into sections, which he put in charge of honest Daroghas Certain elephants were also declared *khāṣa*, i e, appointed for the exclusive use of His Majesty

Aʼīn 42

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMPERIAL ELEPHANTS

His Majesty made a sevenfold division, based upon experience 1 *Mast* (full blood), 2 *Shergīr* (tiger seizing), 3 *Sāda* (plain), 4 *Manjhola* (middlemost), 5 *Karha*, 6 *Phandurkiya*, 7 *Mokal* The first class comprises young elephants possessed of the peculiar heat which renders the animal so strong The second class contains likewise young ones which once or twice have given signs of perfection and exhibit an uninterrupted alacrity The third class comprehends useful elephants, which are nearly as good as the preceding The fourth class contains elephants of a somewhat inferior value Those of the fifth class are younger than those of the fourth The elephants of the sixth class are smaller than those of the fifth The last class contains all young ones still unfit for use

Each class is divided into three subdivisions viz, *large sized, middle, young ones*, the last class contains ten kinds A certain quantity of food has been fixed for each class

Aʼīn 43

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO THE ELEPHANTS

Formerly the classification of the elephants was never attended to hence in feeding them a large quantity of the stores was wasted But when His Majesty, soon after lifting the veil[1] commenced to care for the

[1] The same phrase as on p. [illegible] line 12. It refers to the year 1560 when Bairām fell in disgrace and Akbar assumed the reins of the government

[illegible] inquired into, and wise [illegible] large ones get [illegible], [illegible] m 14 s

2 *Shergīrs* Large ones, 2 *m* 9 *s*, middle sized ones, 2 *m* 4 *s*, small ones, 1 *m* 39 *s* 3 *Sādas* Large ones, 1 *m* 31 *s*, middle sized ones, 1 *m* 29 *s*, small ones, 1 *m* 21 *s* 4 *Manjholas* Large ones, 1 *m* 22 *s*, middle-sized ones, 1 *m* 20 *s*, small ones, 1 *m* 18 *s* 5 *Karhas* Large ones, 1 *m* 14 *s*, middle sized ones, 1 *m* 9 *s*, small ones, 1 *m* 4 *s* 6 *Phandurkiyas* Large ones, 1 *m*, middle sized ones, 36 *s*, small ones, 32 *s* 7 *Mokals* Large ones, 26 *s*, middle sized ones, 24 *s*, third class, 22 *s*, fourth class, 20 *s*, fifth class, 18 *s*, sixth class, 16 *s*, seventh class 14 *s* eighth class, 12 *s*, ninth class, 10 *s*, tenth class, [illegible] *s*

Female elephants have been divided into four classes, viz, large ones, middle sized ones, small ones, *mokals* The first two classes are divided into three, the third, into four, the fourth, into nine subdivisions 1 *Large ones* Big, 1 *m* 22 *s*, middling, 1 *m* 18 *s*, small ones, 1 *m* 14*s* 2 *Middle sized ones* Big, 1 *m* 10 *s*, middling 1 *m* 6 *s*, small, 1 *m* 2 *s* 3 *Small ones* Big, 37 *s*, middling, 32 *s*, small, 27 *s*, still smaller, 22 *s* 4 *Mokals* First class, 22 *s*, second, 20 *s*, third, 1[illegible] *s*, fourth, 16 *s*, fifth, 14 *s*, sixth, 12 *s*, seventh, 10 *s*, eighth, 8 *s*, ninth, 6 *s*

Āʾīn 44

THE SERVANTS OF THE ELEPHANT STABLES

1 *Mast* elephants There are five and a half[1] servants for each, viz, a *Mahāwat*, who sits on the neck of the animal and directs its movements He must be acquainted with its good and bad properties, and thus contribute to its usefulness He gets 200 *dams* per month, but if the elephant be *khutahar*, i e, wicked and addicted to pulling down the driver, he gets 220 *d* Secondly, a *Bhoī*, who sits behind, upon the rump of the elephant, and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal, but he often performs the duties of the *Mahāwat* His monthly pay is 110 *d* Thirdly, the *Meths*, of whom there are three and one half, or only three in case of small elephants A *meth* fetches fodder, and assists in caparisoning the elephant *Meths* of all classes get on the march four *dāms* daily, and at other times three and a half

2 For every *Shergīr*, there are five servants, viz, a *Mahāwat*, at 180 *d*, a *Bhoī*, at 103 *d*, and three *Meths* as before

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[1] i e either eleven servants for two elephants or the last was a boy

3 For every *Sāda*, there are four and a half servants, viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 160 *d* , a *Bhoī* at 90 *d* , and two and a half *Meths*

4 For every *Manjhola*, there are four servants , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 140 *d* , a *Bhoī*, at 80 *d* , and two *Meths*

5 For every *Karha*, there are three and a half servants , viz , a *Mahāwat* at 120 *d* , a *Bhoī*, at 70 *d* and one and a half *Meths*

6 For every *Phandurkiya*, there are two servants , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 100 *d* , and a *Meth*

7 For every *Mokal*, there are likewise two servants , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 50 *d* , and a *Meth*.

Female Elephants 1 Large ones have four servants, viz , a *Mahāwat*, at *100 d* , a *Bhoī*, at 60 *d* , two *Meths* 2 Middle sized ones have three and a half servants , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 80 *d* , a *Bhoī*, at 50 *d* , and one and a half *Meths* 3 Small ones have two , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 60 *d* , and a *Meth* 4 *Mokals* have likewise two , viz , a *Mahāwat*, at 60 *d* , and a *Meth*

The Faujdār

His Majesty has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants Such a troop is called a *halqa* , the superintendent is called *Faujdār* His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants , he teaches them to be bold, and to stand firm at the sight of fire and at the noise of artillery , and he is responsible for their behaviour in these respects When a *Faujdār* is raised to the dignity of a *Sadī* (a commander of one hundred) or higher, he has twenty five elephants assigned to himself, the other *Faujdārs*, as *Bistīs* (commanders of twenty) and *Dahbāshīs* (commanders of ten) being under his orders The same order is followed from the *Dahbāshīs* up to the *Hazārīs* (commanders of one thousand) The pay of officers above the *Sadī* is different Some *Faujdārs* have been raised to the dignity of grandees of the court A *Sadī* marks two horses A *Bistī* of the first grade has 30 *rupees per mensem* , second grade, 25 *R* , third grade, 20 *R* A *Dahbāshī* of the first grade has twenty *R* , second grade, 16 *R* , third grade, 12 *R* *Bistīs* and *Dahbāshīs* mark one horse, and belong to the *Ahadīs* Such *Faujdārs* as have thirty or twenty five elephants assigned to themselves have to pay the wages of the *Mahāwat* and of one *Bhoī* of that elephant, which they select for their own use , but such as have twenty or ten only pay for a *Mahāwat*

The above arrangement regarding the servants was not thought sufficient by His Majesty, who has much experience in this matter He therefore put several *halqas* in charge of every grandee, and required him

to look after them The fodder also is now supplied by the government A trustworthy clerk has, besides, been appointed, who is in charge of the correspondence of this branch, he looks after the receipts and expenditure and sees that the orders of His Majesty are carried out He also parades the elephants in the order described below (*Ā*ʾ*īn* 78)

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 45

THE HARNESS OF ELEPHANTS

1 The *Dharna* is a large chain made of iron, gold, or silver It is made of sixty oval links, each weighing three *sers*, but the chain differs in length and thickness according to the strength of the elephant One end of the chain is fixed in the ground, or fastened to a pillar, the other end is tied to the left hind leg of the elephant Formerly, they fastened this chain to the forefoot, but as this is injurious for the chest of the elephant His Majesty ordered to discontinue the usage

2 The *Āndū* is a chain, with which both forefeet are tied As it annoys the elephant, His Majesty ordered it to be discontinued

3 The *Berī* is a chain for fastening both hind feet

4 The *Baland* is a fetter for the hind feet, an invention of His Majesty It allows the elephant to walk, but prevents him from running

5 The *Gaddh berī* resembles the *Āndū*, and is an additional chain for the hindlegs of unruly and swift elephants

6 The *Loh langar* is a long chain, suitable for an elephant One end is tied to the right fore foot, and the other end to a thick log, a yard in length This the driver keeps near him, and drops it when the elephant runs too swiftly, or gets so unruly as no longer to obey The chain twists round his leg, and the log will annoy the animal to such extent that it necessarily stops This useful invention, which has saved many lives, and protected huts and walls, is likewise due to His Majesty

7 The *Charkhī* is a piece of hollowed bamboo half a yard and two tassūjes long, and has a hole in the middle It is covered with sinews and filled with gunpowder, an earthen partition dividing the powder into two halves A fuzee wrapt in paper is put into each end Fixed into the hole of the bamboo at right angles is a stick which serves as a handle Upon fire being put to both ends, it turns round and makes a frightful noise When elephants fight with each other, or are otherwise unruly, a bold man on foot takes the burning bamboo into his hand, and holds it before the animals when they will get quiet Formerly, in order to separate two elephants that were fighting they used to light a fire, but people had

much trouble, as it seldom had the desired effect His Majesty invented the present method, which was hailed by all.

8 *Andhiyārī*, i e, darkness, a name which His Majesty changed into *Ujyālī*, i e, light, is a piece of canvas above one and a half yards square It is made of brocade, velvet, etc, and tied with two ends to the *Kilāwa* (*vide* next) When the elephant is unruly, it is let fall, so that he cannot see This has been the saving of many As it often gives way, especially when the elephant is very wild, His Majesty had three heavy bells attached to the ends of the canvas, to keep it better down This completed the arrangement

9 The *Kilāwa* [1] consists of a few twisted ropes, about one and a half yards long They are laid at the side of each other, without, however, being interwoven among themselves, the whole being about eight fingers broad A ring is drawn through both ends of the ropes, and fastened where the throat of the elephant is, the elephant driver rests his feet in it, and thus sits firmly Sometimes it is made of silk or leather Others fix small pointed iron spikes to the *kalāwa*, which will prevent an unruly elephant from throwing down the driver by shaking its head

10 The *Dulthī* is a rope, five yards long, as thick as a staff This they tie over the *kalāwa* to strengthen it

11 The *Kanār* is a small pointed spike, half a yard long This they likewise attach to the *kalāwa*, and prick the elephant's ears with it in order to make the animal wild or to urge it on

12 The *Dor* is a thick rope passing from the tail to the throat When properly tied it is an ornament They also catch hold of it, when the elephant makes an awkward movement They also attach many other trappings to it

13 The *Gadela* is a cushion put on the back of the elephant below the *dulthī* It prevents galling, and is a source of comfort

14 The *Gudauṭī* is a chain of brass They attach it near the tail, which it prevents from getting injured by the *dulthī* It is also ornamental

15 The *Pichwa* is a belt made of ropes and is fastened over the buttocks of the elephant It is a support for the *Bhoī*, and of much use to him in firing

16 The *Chaurāsī* consists of a number of bells attached to a piece of

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[1] This should be *Kalāwa*. Abū l Faẓl spells the word wrong, *vide* my text edition p 136 l, 16. It looks as if Abu l Faẓl had mistaken this *Persian* word for a *Hindī* term else why should he have any spelling at all. In Vullers Persian Dictionary ii, p 862b, read khait for khat and ba tanid for his emendation (?) *tabyin*.

broadcloth, which is tied on before and behind with a string passed through it It looks ornamental and grand

17 *Pitkachh* is the name of two chains fastened over the elephant's sides Attached to them, a bell hangs below the belly It is of great beauty and grandeur

18 Large chains They attach six on both sides, and three to the *kalāwa*, the latter being added by His Majesty

19 *Qutās* (the tail of the Thibetan Yak) There are about sixty, more or less, attached to the tusk, the forehead, the throat, and the neck They are either white, or black, or pied, and look very ornamental

20 The *Ṭayyā* consists of five iron plates, each a span long, and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings On both sides of the *Ṭayyā* there are two chains, each a yard long, one of which passes from above the ear, and the other from below it to the *kalāwa*, to which both are attached Between them there is another chain, which is passed over the head and tied to the *kalāwa*, and below, crossways, there are four iron spikes ending in a curve, and adorned with knobs The *Qutās* are attached here At their lower end there are three other chains similarly arranged Besides, four other chains are attached to the knob, two of them, like the first, end in a knob, whilst the remaining two are tied to the tusks To this knob again three chains are attached, two of which are tied round about the trunk, the middle one hanging down *Qutās* and daggers are attached to the former knobs, but the latter lies over the forehead All this is partly for ornament, partly to frighten other animals

21 The *Pakhar* is like an armour, and is made of steel, there are separate pieces for the head and the trunk

22 The *Gaj jhamp* is a covering put as an ornament above the *pakhar* It looks grand It is made of three folds of canvas, put together and sewn, broad ribbons being attached to the outside

23 The *Megh dambar* is an awning to shade the elephant driver, an invention by His Majesty It also looks ornamental

24 The *Ranpiyal* is a fillet for the forehead made of brocade or similar stuffs, from the hem of which nice ribbons and *qutās* hang down.

25 The *Gateli* consists of four links joined together, with three above them, and two others over the latter It is attached to the feet of the elephant Its sound is very effective

26 The *Pāy ranjan* consists of several bells similarly arranged

27 The *Ankus* is a small crook His Majesty calls it *Gajbāga*[1] It is used for guiding the elephant and stopping him

[1] i.e. an elephant rein. His Majesty had reason to change the name *Ankus* [1] which sounds offensive to a Persian ear *Rashid.* Hence the Persians pronounce it *angush*

28 The *Gad* is a spear which has two prongs instead of an iron point The *Bhoī* makes use of it, when the elephant is refractory

29 The *Bangrī* is a collection of rings made of iron or brass The rings are put on the tusks, and serve to strengthen as well as to ornament them

30 The *Jagāwat* resembles the *Gad* (No 28) and is a cubit long The *Bhoī* uses it, to quicken the speed of the elephant

31 The *Jhandā*, or flag, is hung round with *Quṭās*, like a *togh* [1] It is fixed to the side of the elephant

But it is impossible to describe all the ornamental trappings of elephants

For each *Mast* and *Shergīr* and *Sāda*, seven pieces of cotton cloth are annually allowed, each at a price of 8½ *dams* Also, four coarse woollen pieces, called in Hindi *kambal*, at 10 *d* each, and eight ox hides, each at 8 *d* For *Manjhola* and *Karha* elephants, four of the first, three of the second, and seven of the third, are allowed For *Phandurkiyas* and *Mokals*, and female elephants, three of the first, two of the second, four of the third The saddlecloth is made of cloth, lining, and stuff for edging it round about, for sewing, half a *ser* of cotton thread is allowed For every *man* of grain, the *halqa dār* is allowed ten *sers* of iron for chains, etc, at 2 *d* per *ser*, and for every hide, one *ser* of sesame oil, at 60 *d* per *man* Also 5 *s* coarse cotton thread for the *kalāwa* of the elephant on which the *Faujdār* rides, at 8 *d* per *ser*, but for other elephants, the men have to make one of leather, etc, at their own expense

A sum of twelve *dāms* is annually subtracted from the servants, but they get the worn out articles

A'īn 46

THE ELEPHANTS FOR HIS MAJESTY'S USE (*KHĀṢA*)

There are one hundred and one elephants selected for the use of His Majesty Their allowance of food is the same in quantity as that of the other elephants, but differs in quality Most of them also get 5 *s* of sugar, 4 *s* of *ghī*, and half a *man* of rice mixed with chillies, cloves, etc, and some have one and a half *man* [2] of milk in addition to their grain In the sugar-cane season, each elephant gets daily, for two months, 300 sugar canes, more or less His Majesty takes the place of the *Mahāwat*

Each elephant requires three *bhoīs* in the rutting season, and two, when cool Their monthly wages vary from 120 to 400 *d*, and are fixed by His

[1] *Togh* is the same as *tūq* Vide A'īn 19 p [illegible]

[2] Liquids are sold in India by the weight.

Majesty himself. For each elephant there are four *Meths* In the *Halqas*, female elephants are but rarely told off to accompany big male ones; but for each *khāsa* elephant there are three, and sometimes even more, appointed First class big female elephants have two and one half *meths*, second class do, two, third class do, one and one-half, for the other classes as in the *Halqas*

As each *Halqa* is in charge of one of the grandees, so is every *khāṣa* elephant put in charge of one of them Likewise, for every ten *khāṣa* elephants, a *professional man is appointed, who is called Dahā,īdār* They draw, twelve, ten, and eight rupees *per mensem* Besides, an active and honest superintendent is appointed for every ten elephants. He is called *Naqīb* (watcher) and has to submit a daily report, when elephants eat little, or get a shortened allowance, or in cases of sickness, or when anything unusual happens He marks a horse, and holds the rank of an *Ahadī* His Majesty also weekly dispatches some of the servants near him, in the proportion of one for every ten elephants, who inspect them and send in a report

Ā'*īn* 47

THE MANNER OF RIDING *KHĀSA*-ELEPHANTS

His Majesty, the royal rider of the plain of auspiciousness, mounts on every kind of elephant, from the first to the last class, making them, notwithstanding their almost supernatural strength, obedient to his command His Majesty will put his foot on the tusks, and mount them, even when they are in the rutting season, and astonishes experienced people [1]

They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment An elephant so caparisoned is always ready at the palace

Whenever His Majesty mounts an elephant, a month's wages are given as a donation to the *bhoīs* And when he has ridden ten elephants, the following donations are bestowed, *viz*, the near servant who has weekly to report on the elephants, receives a present, the former, 100 *R*, the *Dahā,ī*, *31 R*, *the Naqīb, 15 R*, *the Mushrif (writer), 7½ R* *Besides, the* regal rewards given to them at times when they display a particular zeal or attentiveness, go beyond the reach of speech

Each elephant has his match appointed for fighting, some are always

[1] Jahangir, in his Memoirs gives several examples of Akbar's daring in this respect, *vide* Tuzuk, p 16

ready at the palace, and engage when the order is given When a fight is over, if the combatants were *khasa* elephants, the *bhoīs* receive 250 *dāms* as a present, but if other elephants, the *bhoīs* get 200 *d*

The *Dahā'idār* of *Khāsa* elephants receives one *dām* for every rupee paid as wages to the *bhoīs* and *meths*, the *Mushrif* is entitled to ½ *d*, and the *Naqīb* to ¼ *d* In the case of *halqa* elephants, the *Sadīwāl*, the *Dahbashī*, and the *Bistī*, are entitled to 1 *d* for every rupee, and the *Mushrif* and the *Naqīb* receive the allowance given for *Khāsa* elephants

Āʾīn 48

ON FINES

In order to prevent laziness and to ensure attentiveness, His Majesty, as for all other departments, has fixed a list of fines On the death of a male or a female *khaṣa* elephant the *Bhoīs* are fined three months' wages If any part of the harness is lost, the *Bhoīs* and *Meths* are fined two-thirds of the value of the article, but in the case of a saddlecloth, the full price When a female elephant dies from starvation, or through want of care, the *Bhoīs* have to pay the cost price of the animal

If a driver mixes drugs with the food of an elephant to make the animal hot, and it dies in consequence thereof, he is liable to capital punishment, or to have a hand cut off, or to be sold as a slave If it was a *Khāsa* elephant, the *Bhoīs* lose three months' pay and are further suspended for one year

Two experienced men are monthly dispatched to inquire into the fatness or leanness of the *khāsa* elephants If elephants are found by them out of flesh to the extent of a quarter, according to the scale fixed by the *Pāgosht* Regulation (*vide* Āʾīn 83), the grandees in charge are fined, and the *bhoīs* are likewise liable to lose a month's wages In the case of *halqa* elephants, Ahadis are told off to examine them, and submit a report to His Majesty If an elephant dies, the *Mahāwat* and the *Bhoī* are fined three months' wages If part of an elephant's tusk is broken, and the injury reaches as far as the *Lalī*—this is a place at the root of the tusks, which on being injured is apt to fester, when the tusks get hollow and become useless—a fine amounting to one eighth of the price of the elephant is exacted, the *dārogha* paying two thirds, and the *Faujdār* one-third Should the injury not reach as far as the *Lalī*, the fine is only one half of the former, but the proportions are the same But, at present, a fine of one per cent has become usual, in the case of *Khāsa* elephants, however, such punishment is inflicted as His Majesty may please to direct

Āʾīn 49

THE IMPERIAL HORSE STABLES

His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience

Merchants bring to court good horses from ʿIrāq i ʿArab and ʿIrāq i ʿAjam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshān, Shirwān Qirghiz, Thibet, *Kashmīr*, and other countries *Droves after droves arrive* from Tūran and Īrān, and there are nowadays twelve thousand in the stables of His Majesty And in like manner, as they are continually coming in, so there are others daily going out as presents, or for other purposes

Skilful, experienced men have paid much attention to the breeding of this sensible animal, many of whose habits resemble those of man, and after a short time Hindustan ranked higher in this respect than Arabia, whilst many Indian horses cannot be distinguished from Arabs or from the *ʿIrāqī* breed There are fine horses bred in every part of the country, but those of Cachh excel, being equal to Arabs It is said that a long time ago an Arab ship was wrecked and driven to the shore of Cachh, and that it had seven *choice horses, from which, according* to the general belief, the breed of that country originated In the Panjāb, horses are bred resembling ʿIrāqīs, especially between the Indus and the Bahat (Jhelum) they go by the name of *Sanūjī*,[1] so also in the district of Pati Haybatpūr,[2] Bajwāral, Tibāra, in the Ṣūbaof Āgra, Mewāt, and in the Sūba of Ājmīr, where the horses have the name of *pachwāriya*

[illegible]

near Kūch [-Bahār], another kind of horses occurs, [illegible] the *gūt* and Turkish horses, and are called *tānghan*,[3] they are strong and powerful

His Majesty, from the light of his insight and wisdom, makes himself acquainted with the minutest details, and with the classification and the condition of every kind of article, he looks to the requirements of the times and designs proper regulations Hence he also pays much attention to everything that is connected with this animal, which is of so great an importance for the government and an almost supernatural means *for the attainment of personal greatness*

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[1] *Several good MSS. read Salūjī*
[2] Haibatpur Lat 29° 51′, Long 76° 2 , Tihara Lat 30° 57 Long 75° 25
[[3] *Tāghan.*—P]

whose value comes up to ten muhurs, is kept in a *Dah muhrī* stable, those worth from eleven to twenty muhurs, in a *Bist muhrī* stable, and so on

Grandees and other *Manṣabdārs*, and Senior *Aḥadīs* are in charge of the stables Hay and crushed grain are found by the government for all horses, except the horse which the *Yatāqdar* (guard) of every stable is allowed to ride, and which he maintains in grain [1] and grass at his own expense

Ā'īn 51

THE FODDER ALLOWED IN THE IMPERIAL STABLES

A *khāṣa* horse was formerly allowed eight *sers* fodder *per diem*, when the *ser* weighed twenty eight *dāms* Now that the *ser* is fixed at thirty *dams* a *khāsa* horse gets seven and a half *sers* In winter, they give boiled peas or vetch, in summer, grain [1] The daily allowance includes two *sers* of flour and one and a half *sers* of sugar In winter, before the horse gets fresh grass, they give it half a *ser* of *ghī* Two *dāms* are daily allowed for hay, but hay is not given, when fresh grass [2] is available About three *bīghās* of land will yield sufficient fodder for a horse When, instead of sugar, the horses get molasses,[3] they stop the *ghī* and when the season of fresh grass [2] comes, they give no grain for the first three days but allow afterwards six *sers* of grain and two *sers* of molasses *per diem* [3] In other *ʿIrāqī* and *Turkī* stables, they give seven and a half *sers* of grain [1] During the cool six months of the year, they give the grain [1] boiled an allowance of one *dam* being given for boiling one *man* of it The horses also get once a week a quarter *ser* of salt When *ghī* and fresh grass [2] are given each horse,

[illegible] of sugar

[illegible] get half

[illegible] grass [2] is

given horses of a value from twenty one to upwards of one hundred muhurs, get one *man* and ten *sers* of *ghī*, such as are worth from eleven to twenty muhurs thirty *sers*, but horses up to ten muhurs get neither *ghī*, brown sugar, nor green oats [2] Salt is given at the *daily* rate one fiftieth of a *dām*, though it is mostly given in a lump *ʿIraqī* and *Turkī* horses which belong to the court are daily allowed two *d* for grass, but such of them as are in the country only one and a half In winter, each horse gets a *bīghā* of

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[[1] *Moth* a small, hard blue grain used when well boiled for fattening horses *Dāna* ' grain colloquially amongst horse dealers etc means gram P]

[[2] *Khavīd* = green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed, it is cut and used as fodder —P]

[[3] *Qand i siyāh* = probably *gur* —P]

fresh oats [1] the price of which, at court, is 240 *d*, and in the country 200 *d* At the time of fresh oats,[1] each horse gets two *mans* of molasses,[2] the same quantity being subtracted from the allowance of grain [3]

Experienced officers, attached to the Imperial offices, calculate the amount required, and make out an estimate, which in due course is paid When a horse is sick, every necessary expense is paid on the certificate of the horse doctor

Every stallion to a stud of mares receives the allowance of a *khāsa* horse The *gut* horses get five and a half *sers* of grain,[3] the usual quantity of salt, and grass at the rate of one and a half *d* per diem, if at court, and at the rate of $1\frac{3}{4}$ *d*, when in the country, but they do not get *ghī*, molasses, or green oats [1] *Qurāqs* [i e, female horses] get, at court, four and a half *sers* of grain,[3] the usual allowance of salt, and one *d* for grass, and in the country, the same, with the exception of the grass, for which only three fourths of a *dām* are allowed Stud mares get two and three-fourths *sers* of grain,[3] but the allowance for grass, salt, and fuel, is not fixed

A foal sucks its dam for three months, after which, for nine months, it is allowed the milk of two cows, then, for six months, two and three-fourths *sers* of grain [3] *per diem*, after which period, the allowance is every six months increased by a *ser*, till it completes the third year, when its food is determined by the above regulations

Ā'*īn* 52

ON HARNESS, ETC

It would be difficult and tedious to describe the various ornaments, jewels, and trappings, used for the *khāsa* horses on which His Majesty rides

For the whole outfit of a *khāsa* horse, the allowance is $277\frac{1}{2}$ *d* *per annum*, viz, an *artak*, or horse quilt, of wadded chintz, 47 *d*, a *yālposh* (a covering for the mane), 32 *d*, a woollen towel, 2 *d* —these three articles are renewed every six months, in lieu of the old *artak*, half the cost price is deducted, and one sixth for the old *yālposh*, a saddle-cloth, the outside of which is woven of hair, the lining being felt, 42 *d*, halters for the

[1 *Khavīd* is green wheat or barley (not oats) before the ear is well formed, it is cut and used as fodder —P]

[2 *Qand i siyāh* is probably *gur* —P]

[3 *Dāna* colloquially means, as here gram —P]

nukhta[1] (headstall) and the hind feet,[2] 40 *d*, a *pusht tang* (girth), 8 *d*, a *magas rān* (a horse tail to drive away flies), 3 *d*, a *nukhta* and *qayza*[3] (the bit), 14 *d*, a curry comb, 1½ *d*, a grain bag, 6 *d*, a basket, in which the horse gets its grain, 1[4] *d*. These articles are given *annually*, and fifteen *dāms*, ten *jetals*, subtracted in lieu of the old ones.

In the other stables, the allowance for horses whose value is not less than twenty-one muhurs, is 196½ *d* *per annum*, the rate of the articles being the same. Twenty five and a half *dāms* are subtracted in lieu of the old articles.

In stables of horses worth twenty to eleven muhurs, the annual allowance is 155½ *d*, viz, for the *artak*, 39¾ *d*, the *yālposh*, 27½ *d*, a coarse saddle cloth, 30 *d*, the girth, 6 *d*, the *nukhta* and *qayza*, 10 *d*, and the *nukhta* ropes and feet ropes, 32 *d*. the *magas rān*, 2 *d*, a towel, 1½ *d*, a curry comb, 1½ *d*, a basket, 1 *d*, a grain bag, 4½ *d*. Twenty *dāms* are subtracted for the old articles.

For horses worth up to ten muhurs, and *qisrāqs*, and *gūt*, the allowance is 117½ *d*,[5] viz, an *artak*, 37 *d*, a *yālposh*, 24½ *d*, a *jul*, 24 *d*, a *nukhta band* and a *pāy band*, 8 *d*, a *nukhta* and *qayza*, 8 *d*, a *pusht tang*, 5 *d*, a *magas rān* and a towel, each 1½ *d*, a curry comb 1½ *d*, a basket, 1 *d*, a grain bag, 4½ *d*. The amount subtracted is the same as before.

1 The *Karāh*[6] is an iron vessel for boiling grain sufficient for ten horses. The price of a *karāh* is at the rate of one hundred and forty *dāms* per *man* of iron, but this includes the wages of the maker. 2 The *Missīn Satl*, or brass bucket, out of which horses drink. There is one for every ten *khāsa* horses. The price of making one is 140 *d*. For other horses, as in the stables of thirty, etc, there is only one. 3 The *Kamand*, attached to iron pegs, is for fastening the horses. In stables of forty, there are three, in stables of thirty, two, in others, one. The weight of a halter is half a *man*, its cost price is 140 *d*, and 16 *d* the

[1] *Nukhta* for *nukta*.—P.

wages of the rope maker. 4. The *Āhanīn mekh* or iron peg, of which there are two for every halter. Each peg weighs five *sers*, and costs 15 *d*. 5. The *Tabartul<u>kh</u>maq* or hammer, weighs five *sers*, and is used for fixing the iron pegs. There is one in every stable.

All broken and old utensils of brass and iron, in the *<u>kh</u>āsa* stables, if repairable, are repaired at the expense of the Dāroghas; and when they are past mending, their present value is deducted, and the difference paid in cash. In other stables, a deduction of one half of their value is made every third year.

6. *Naʿl* or horseshoes are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight *dāms* were given for a whole set, but now ten. 7. *Kündlān*. One is allowed for ten horses.[1] The price of it is 80¾ *R*.

Āʾīn 53

THE OFFICERS AND SERVANTS ATTACHED TO THE IMPERIAL STABLES

1. The *Ātbegī* is in charge of all horses belonging to the government. He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the State, and is only held by grandees of high rank; at present it is filled by the *<u>Kh</u>ān <u>Kh</u>ānān*[2] (Commander in Chief). 2. The *Dārogha*. There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to Senior Ahadis. 3. The *Mushrif*, or accountant. He keeps the roll of the horses, manages all payments and fines, sees that His Majesty's orders are carried out, and prepares the estimate of the stores required for this department. He is chosen from among the grandees. 4. The *Dīda war*, or inspector. His duty is occasionally to inspect the horses before they are mustered by His Majesty; he also determines the rank and the condition of the horses. His reports are taken down by the Mushrif. This office may be held by the Mansabdars or Ahadis. 5. The *A<u>kh</u>tachīs* look after the harness, and have the horses saddled. Most of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis. 6. The *Chābuksuwār* rides the horses, and compares their speed with the road, which is likewise taken down by the Mushrif. He receives the pay of an Ahadi. 7. The *Hādā*. This name is given to a class of Rajpūts, who teach horses the elementary

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[1] This appears to be the same as the *Hind.* کنڈا which our meagre dictionaries describe as a ... kind of tent.

[2] Or *Mirzā <u>Kh</u>ān <u>Kh</u>ānān*, i.e. ʿAbd-ur Raḥīm, son of Bayram Khan. Vide List of Grandees, 2nd book, No. 29.

steps Some of them get their pay on the list of the Ahadis 8 The *Mirdaha* is an experienced groom placed over ten servants He gets the pay of an Ahadi, but in other *khāṣa* stables, he only gets 170 *d*, in the country bred stables, 160 *d*, in the other *si aspī* stables, 140 *d*, in the *bīst aspī* stables, 100 *d*, and in the *dah aspī* stables, 30 *d* Besides he has to look after two horses 9 The *Baytar*, or horse doctor, gets the pay of an Ahadi 10 The *Naqīb*, or watcher Some active intelligent men are retained for supervision They report the condition of each stable to the *Dāroghas* and the *Mushrif*, and it is their duty to have the cattle in readiness The two head *Naqībs* are *Ahadīs*, and they have thirty people under them who receive from 100 to 120 *d* 11 The *Sā,is*, or groom There is one groom for every two horses In the *chihil-aspī* stables, each groom gets 170 *d*, in the stables of the eldest prince, 138 *d*, in the stables of the other princes, and in the courier horse stables, 136 *d*, in the country bred stables, 126 *d*, in the other *si-aspī* stables, 106 *d*, in the *bīst-aspī* stables, 103 *d*, and in the *dah aspi* stables, 100 *d* 12 The *Jilawdār* (*vide* Āʾīn 60) and the *Payk* (a runner) Their monthly pay varies from 1,200 to 120 *d*, according to their speed and manner of service Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred *kroh* (*kos*) a day 13 The *Naʿlband*, or farrier Some of them are *Ahadīs*, some foot soldiers They receive 160 *d* 14 The *Zīndār*, or saddle holder, has the same rank and pay as the preceding In the *khāsa* stable of forty horses, one saddle is allowed for every two horses, in the following manner for the first and twenty first, for the second and twenty second, and so on If the first horse is sent out of the stable, the saddle remains at its place, and what was the second horse becomes first, and the second saddle falls to the third horse, and so on to the end If a horse out of the middle leaves, its saddle is given to the preceding horse 15 The *Ābkash*, or water carrier Three are allowed in the stables of forty, two in stables of thirty, and only one in other stables The monthly pay is 100 *d* 16 The *Farrāsh* (who dusts the furniture) There is one in every *khāṣa* stable His pay is 130 *d* 17 A *Sipandsoz*[1] is only allowed in the stables of forty horses,

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[1] The seeds of *sipand* (in Hind *sarsō* a kind of mustard seed) are put on a heated plate of iron. Their smoke is an effectual preventive against the evil eye (*nazar i bad chashm rasīdan*) which is even dangerous for Akbar s choice horses. The seeds burn away slowly, and emit a crackling sound. The man who burns them is called *Sipandsoz* *Vide* the poetical extracts of the 2nd book, under *Shifāʾī*. Instead of *Sipand* grooms sometimes keep a monkey over the entrance of the stable. The influence of the evil eye passes from the horses to the ugly monkey

Another remedy consists in nailing old horseshoes to the gates of the stables. Hundreds of such shoes may still be seen on the gates in Fatḥpur Sīkrī.

[*Sipand* P., or *harmal* A., is wild rue not mustard —P]

his pay is 100 *d* 18 The *Khākrūb*, or sweeper Sweepers are called in Hindustan *Halālkhur*,[1] His Majesty brought this name *en vogue* In stables of forty, there are two, in those of thirty and twenty, one Their monthly pay is 65 *d*

During a march, if the *dāroghas* are in receipt of a fixed allowance for coolies, they entertain some people to lead the horses In the stables of thirty horses, fifteen are allowed And in the same proportion does the government appoint coolies, when a *dārogha* has not received the extra allowance Each cooly gets two *dāms per diem*

Āʾīn 54

THE BĀRGIR

His Majesty, from the regard which he pays to difference in rank, believes many fit for cavalry service, though he would not trust them with the keeping of a horse For these he has told off separate stables, with particular *Dāroghas* and *Mushrifs* When their services are required, they are furnished with a horse on a written order of the *Bitikchī* (writer), but they have not to trouble themselves about the keeping of the horse A man so mounted is called a *Bārgīrsuwār*

Āʾīn 55

REGULATIONS FOR BRANDING HORSES

In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word نظر (*nazr*, sight), sometimes with the word داغ (*dāgh*, mark), and sometimes with the numeral ۷ (seven)[2] Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek, and those that were returned, on the left side Sometimes, in the case of ʿ*Irāqī* and *Mujannas*[3]

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[1] Akbar was very fond of changing names which he thought offensive, or of giving new names to things which he liked, *vide* p 46, l 28, p 55, l. 18, p. 65, l 1[illegible], p. 90 l 22, also Forbes Dictionary under *ranglarā*. *Halalkhur*, i.e., one who eats that which the ceremonial law allows is a euphemism for *harāmkhur* one who eats forbidden things as pork, etc The word *halalkhur* is still in use among educated Muhammadans but it is doubtful whether it was Akbar's invention. The word in common use for a sweeper is *mihtar*, a prince, which like the proud title of *khalifa*, nowadays applied to cooks, tailors, etc, is an example of the irony of fate

[2] *Vide* Āʾīns 7 and 8 of the second book. The branding of horses was revived in A.H 981 A D 1573, when Shāhbāz had been appointed *Mir Bakhshi*. He followed the regulations of ʿAlāʾ ud Din Khilji and Sher Shāh, *vide* Badaoni pp 173, 190

[3] *Mujannas* i.e., put nearly equal (to an *Irāqi* horse), *vide* 2nd book Āʾīn 2 [I think *mujannas* means half bred.—P]

horses, they branded the price in numerals on the right cheek, and in the case of Turki and Arab horses, on the left Nowadays the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals Thus, a horse of ten muhurs is marked with the numeral ten, those of twenty muhurs have a twenty, and so on When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed

Āʾīn 56

REGULATIONS FOR KEEPING UP THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF HORSES

Formerly, whenever there had been taken away either ten horses from *the stables of forty, or from the stud bred horses, or five from the courier* horses, they were replaced in the following manner The deficiency in *the stables of forty* was made up *from horses chosen from the stables of* the princes, the stud bred horses were replaced by other stud bred ones, and the *courier horses from other stables Again, if there were wanting* fifteen horses in the stables of the eldest prince (Salīm) they were replaced *by good horses of his brothers, and if twenty were wanting* in the stables of the second prince (Murād), the deficiency was made up by horses taken *from the stables of the youngest prince* and from other stables, and if twenty five were wanting in the stables of the youngest prince (Danyāl), *the deficiency was made up from other good stables*

But in the thirty seventh year of the Divine Era (A D. 1593), the order was *given that, in future,* one horse should annually be added to each stable Thus, when, in the present year, the deficiency in the *khāsa* stables had come up to eleven, they commenced to make up the complement, the deficiency of the other stables being made up at the time of the muster parades

Āʾīn 57

ON FINES

When a *khāsa* horse dies, the Darogha has to pay one rupee, and the Mirdaha ten *d*, upon every muhur of the cost price, and the grooms lose one fourth of their monthly wages When a horse is stolen, or injured, His Majesty determines the fine, as it cannot be uniform in each case

In the other stables they exacted from the Darogha for a single horse that dies, one rupee upon every muhur, for two horses, two rupees

upon every muhur, and from the Mirdaha and the grooms the above proportions But now they take one rupee upon every muhur for one to three horses that die, and two upon every muhur for four horses, and three upon every muhur for five

If the mouth of a horse gets injured, the Mirdaha is fined ten *dāms* upon every muhur, which fine he recovers from the other grooms

Ā'īn 58

ON HORSES KEPT IN READINESS

There are always kept in readiness two *k͟hāsa* horses, but of courier horses [1] three, and one of each stable from the seventy muhurs down to the ten muhur stables and the *guts* They are formed into four divisions, and each division is called a *misl*

First *misl* one from the *chihilaspī* stables, one from the stable of the eldest prince, one from those of the second prince, one from the stable of *k͟hasa* courier horses Second *misl* one from the stable of the youngest prince, one from the stud bred, one from the *chihilaspī* stables, one courier horse Third *misl*, one horse from the stables of the three princes, one stud bred Fourth *misl*, one horse from each of the stables of horses of forty, thirty, twenty, and ten muhurs

His Majesty rides very rarely on horses of the fourth *misl* But when prince Shah Murad joined his appointment [2] His Majesty also rode the best horses of the stables of forty muhurs The arrangement was then as follows First *misl*, one horse from the stables of forty, one horse from the stables of the eldest and the youngest prince, and a courier horse Second *misl*, stud bred horses from the stables of horses above seventy muhurs, *k͟hāsa* horses of forty muhurs, and courier horses Third *misl*, one horse from the stables of each of the two princes, the stud bred, and the seventy muhur horses Fourth *misl*, horses from the stables of sixty, forty, and thirty muhurs

Horses are also kept in readiness from the stables of twenty and ten muhurs and the *gūts*

[[1] *Rahwar* ambling a roadster —P]

[2] Prince Murad in the beg[illegible]
in command of the ar[illegible]
time after Akbar hea[illegible]
the carelessness and [illegible]
(43rd year) and disp[illegible]
came just in time to [illegible]
from epileptic fits (*sar*[illegible]

Āʼīn 59

ON DONATIONS

Whenever his Majesty mounts a horse belonging to one of the six *khāsa* stables, he gives something, according to a fixed rule, with a view of increasing the zeal and desire for improvement among the servants. For some time it was a rule that, whenever he rode out on a *khasa* horse, a rupee should be given, viz., one *dām* to the Ātbegī, two to the Jilawdar, eighteen and one half to the grooms, the rest being shared by the Mushrif, the Naqib, the Akhtachi, and the Zindar. In the case of horses belonging to the stables of the eldest prince, thirty *dāms* were given, each of the former recipients getting a quarter of a *dām* less. For horses belonging to stables of the second prince, twenty *dams* were given, the donations decreasing by the same fraction; and for horses belonging to the stables of the youngest prince, as also for courier horses,[1] and stud breds, ten *dāms*, according to the same manner of distribution.

Now, the following donations are given:—For a horse of a stable of forty, one rupee as before; for a horse belonging to a stable of the eldest prince, twenty *dāms*; for a horse belonging to the youngest prince, ten *dāms*; for courier horses, five; for stud breds, four; for horses of the other stables, two.

Āʼīn 60

REGULATIONS FOR THE JILAWĀNA[2]

Whenever a horse is given away as a present, the price of the horse is calculated fifty *per cent* higher, and the recipient has to pay ten *dāms* upon every muhur of the value of the horse. These ten *dāms per muhur* are divided as follows:—The Ātbegī gets five *dāms*; the Jilawbegi two and a half; the Mushrif, one and a quarter; the Naqibs nine *jetals*; the grooms, a quart… m; the Tahsildar, fifteen *jetals*; the remainder is equally divided among the Zindar and Akhtachī.

In this country horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 muhurs to 2 rupees.

[1 *Rahwar*, ambling, a roadster.—P.]

[2] [illegible] the fee

Ā'īn 61

THE CAMEL STABLES

From the time His Majesty paid regard to the affairs of the state, he has shown a great liking for this curiously shaped animal, and as it is of great use for the three branches of the government, and well known to the emperor for its patience under burdens, and for its contentment with little food, it has received every care at the hands of His Majesty The quality of the country breed improved very much, and Indian camels soon surpassed those of Irān and Tūrān

From a regard to the dignity of his court, and the diversion of others, His Majesty orders camel fights, for which purpose several choice animals are always kept in readiness The best of these *khāsa* camels, which is named *Shāhpasand* (approved of by the Shah), is a country bred twelve years old, it overcomes all its antagonists, and exhibits in the manner in which it stoops down and draws itself up every finesse of the art of wrestling

Camels are numerous near Ājmīr, Jodhpūr, Nagor, Bīkānīr, Jaisalmīr, Batinḍā, and Bhatnīr, the best are bred in the Ṣūba of Gujrat, near Cachh But in Sind is the greatest abundance, many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upwards The swiftest camels are those of Ājmīr, the best for burden are bred in Thatha

The success [1] of this department depends on the *Arwānas*, i e, female camels In every country they get hot in winter and couple The male of two humps goes by the name of *Bughur* The young ones of camels are called *nar* (male) and *māya* (female), as the case may be, but His Majesty has given to the *nar* the name of *bughdī*,[2] and to the female that of *jammāza* The *bughdī* is the better for carrying burdens and for fighting, the *jammāza* excels in swiftness The Indian camel called *lok*, and its female, come close to them in swiftness, and even surpass them The offspring of a *bughur* and a *jammāza* goes by the name of *ghurd*, the female is called *māya ghurd* If a *bughdī*, or a *lok*, couples with a *jammāza*, the young one is called *bughdī* or *lok* respectively But if a *bughdī* or a *lok* couples with an *arwāna*, the young male is named after its sire and the young female after its dam The *lok* is considered superior to the *ghurd* and the *māya ghurd*

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[1] In the text *māya* which also means *a female camel*—a very harmless pun. *Vide* Dr Sprenger's Gulistān, preface p. 6. Regarding the word *bughur*, *vide* Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, for 1868, p. 59

[[2] Corruption of *bakhtī* —P]

When camels are loaded and travel, they are generally formed into *qatārs* (strings), each *qatār* consisting of five camels The first camel of each *qatār* is called *peshang*[1]; the second, *peshdara*, the third, *miyāna qatār*, the fourth, *dumdast*, the last camel, *dumdār*.

Āʼīn 62

THE FOOD OF CAMELS

The following is the allowance of such *bughdīs* as are to carry burdens At the age of two and a half, or three years, when they are taken from the herd of the stud dams, a *bughdī* gets 2 *s* of grain, when three and a half to *four years old, 5 s., up to seven years, 9 s, at eight years, 10 s.* The same rule applies to *bughurs* Similarly in the case of *jammāzas, ghurds, māyah ghurds,* and *loks,* up to four years of age, but from the fourth to the seventh year, they get 7 *s*, and at the age of eight years, 7½ *s*, at the rate of 28 *dāms* per *ser*. As the *ser* has now 30 *dāms*, a corresponding deduction is made in the allowance When *bughdīs* are in heat, they eat less Hence also concession is made, if they get lean, to the extent of 10 *s*, according to the provisions of the *Pāgosht* rule (*Āʼīn 83*), and when the rutting season is over, the Daroghas give out a corresponding extra allowance of grain to make up for the former deficiency If they have made a definite entry into their day-book, and give out more food, they are held indemnified according to the *Pāgosht* rule, and similarly in all other cases, note is taken of the deductions according to that rule

At Court, camels are found in grass by the government for eight months Camels on duty inside the town are daily allowed grass at the rate of 2 *d* per head, and those outside the town, 1½ *d* During the four rainy months, and on the march, no allowance is given, the drivers taking the camels *to meadows*[2] *to graze*

Āʼīn 63

THE HARNESS OF CAMELS

The following articles are allowed for *khāṣa* camels an *Afsār* (head stall), a *Dum afsār* (crupper), a *Mahār kāthī* (furniture resembling a horse saddle, but rather longer—an invention of His Majesty); a *kūchī*

[1] So according to the best MSS The word is evidently a vulgar corruption of *pesh āhang* the leader of a troop *Peshdara* means in front of the *belly* or middle, of the *qatār*'

[[2] *Chara gah*, grazing places —P]

(which serves as a saddle cloth), a *Qatārchī*, a *Sarbchī*,[1] a *Tang* (a girth), a *Sartang* (a head strap), a *Shebband* (a loin strap), a *Jalājil* (a breast rope adorned with shells or bells), a *Gardanband* (a neck strap), three *Chādars* (or coverings) made of broadcloth, or variegated canvas, or waxcloth The value of the jewels, inlaid work, trimmings, and silk, used for adorning the above articles, goes beyond description

Five *qatārs* of camels, properly caparisoned, are always kept ready for riding, together with two for carrying a *Mihaffa*, which is a sort of wooden turret, very comfortable, with two poles, by which it is suspended, at the time of travelling, between two camels

A camel's furniture is either coloured or plain For every ten *qatārs* they allow three *qatars* coloured articles

For *Bughdīs*, the cost of the [coloured] furniture is 225¾ *d*, viz, a head stall studded with shells, 20½ *d*, a brass ring 1½ *d*, an iron chain, 4½ *d*, a *kallagī* (an ornament in shape of a rosette, generally made of peacock's feathers, with a stone in the centre), 5 *d*, a *pushtpozī* (ornaments for the strap which passes along the back), 8 *d*, a *dum-afsār* (a crupper), 1½ *d*, for a *takaltū* (saddle quilt) and a *sarbchī*, both of which require 5 *sers* of cotton, 20 *d*, a *jul* (saddle cloth),[2] 68 *d*, a *jahāz* ı *qajkārī*,[3] which serves as a *maharkāthī* (*vide* above), 40 *d*, a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband* (throat strap), 24 *d*, a *tanāb* (long rope) for securing the burden—camel drivers call this rope *tāqa tanāb*, or *kharwār*—38 *d*, a *bālāposh*, or covering, 15 *d*[4]

For *Jammāzas*, two additional articles are allowed, viz, a *gardanband*, 2 *d*, and a *sīna band* (chest-strap) 16 *d*

The cost of a set of plain furniture for *Bughdīs* and *Jammāzas* amounts to 168½ *d*, viz, an *afsār*, studded with shells, 10 *d*, a *dum afsār*, ½ *d*, a *jahāz*, 16½ *d*, a *jul*, 52½ *d*, a *tang* a *shebband*, and *gulūband*, 24 *d*, a *tāqa tanāb*, 37½ *d*, a *bālāposh*, 28 *d*[5]

For *Loks*, the allowance for furniture is 143 *d*, viz, an *afsār*, *jahāz*,

Kharwār, according to the former rates, a *jul*, 37½ *d*, a *tang*, *shebband*, *gulūband*, 14½ *d*, a *bālāposh*, 28 *d*[1]

The coloured and plain furniture is renewed once in three years, but not so the iron bands and the woodwork. In consideration of the old coloured furniture of every *qaṭār*, sixteen *dāms*, and of plain furniture, fourteen *dāms*, are deducted by the Government. At the end of every three years they draw out an estimate, from which one-fourth is deducted, then, after taking away one-tenth of the remainder, an assignment is given for the rest[2]

ʿ*Alafī* camels (used for foraging) have their furniture renewed annually, at the cost of 52½ *d* for country-bred camels, and *loks*, viz [for country bred camels] an *afsār*, 5 *d*, a *jul*, 36½ *d*, a *sardoz*, ½ *d*, a *tang* and a *shebband*, 10¾ *d*,[3] and [for *loks*], an *afsār*, a *tang*, and a *shebband*, as before, a *jul*, 45¾ *d*, a *sardoz*, ¾ *d*

From the annual estimate one fourth is deducted, and an assignment is given for the remainder

Shalīta tāts, or canvas sacks, for giving camels their grain, are allowed one for every *qaṭār*, at a price of 30¾ *d* for *bughdīs* and *jammāzas*, and 24½ *d* for *loks*

Hitherto the cost of these articles had been uniformly computed and fixed by contract with the camel drivers. But when, in the forty second year of the divine era [1598 A D], it was brought to the notice of His Majesty that these people were, to a certain extent, losers; this regulation was abolished, and the current market price allowed for all articles. The price is therefore no longer fixed

On every New Year's day, the head camel-drivers receive permission for shearing the camels, anointing them with oil, injecting oil into the noses of the animals, and indenting for the furniture allowed to ʿ*alafī* camels

Āʾīn 64

REGULATIONS FOR OILING CAMELS, AND INJECTING OIL INTO THEIR NOSTRILS

The scientific terms for these operations are *tatliya* and *tajrīʿ*, though we might expect *tatliya* and *tanshīq*, because *tanshīq* means *injecting into the nose*

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[1] The items added up give 144 *d*, instead of Abū l Fazl's 143 *d*

[2] Hence the Government paid, as a rule $\frac{9}{10} \times \frac{3}{4} = \frac{27}{40}$ of the estimates presented

[3] The addition gives 52¾ *d*, instead of 52½. The following items, for *loks*, give added up 62¼

For each *Bughdī* and *Jammāza* 3½ *sers* of sesame oil are annually allowed, viz, three *sers* for anointing, and ½ *ser* for injection into the nose So also ½ *s* of brimstone, and 6¼ *s* of butter-milk For other kinds of camels the allowance is ⅝ *s* of brimstone, 6¼ *s* of butter milk, and ½ *s* of grease for injecting into the nose holes

Formerly these operations were repeated three times, but now only once, a year.

Ā'īn 65

THE RANKS OF THE CAMELS, AND THEIR SERVANTS

His Majesty has formed the camels into *qaṭārs*, and given each *qaṭār* in charge of a *sārbān*, or driver Their wages are four fold The first class get 400 *d*, the second, 340 *d*, the third, 280 *d*, the fourth, 220 *d*, *per mensem*

The *qaṭārs* are of three kinds—1 Every five *qaṭārs* are in charge of an experienced man, called *Bīstopanjī*, or commander of twenty-five His salary is 720 *d* He marks a Yabu horse, and has four drivers under him 2 Double the preceding or ten *qaṭārs*, are committed to the care of a *Panjāhī*, or commander of fifty He is allowed a horse, draws 960 *d*, and has nine drivers under him 3 Every hundred *qaṭārs* are in charge of a *Panjsadī*, or commander of five hundred Ten *qaṭārs* are under his personal superintendence With the exception of one *qaṭār*, Government finds drivers for the others The *Panjahīs* and *Bīstopanjīs* are under his orders Their salary varies, nowadays many *Yūzbāshīs*[1] are appointed to this post One camel is told off for the *farrāshes* A writer also has been appointed His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has placed each *Pansadī* under a grandee of the court Several active foot soldiers have been selected to inquire from time to time into the condition of the camels, so that there may be no neglect Besides, twice a year some people adorned with the jewel of insight inspect the camels as to their leanness or fatness at the beginning of the rains and at the time of the annual muster

Should a camel get lost, the *Sārbān* is fined the full value, so also the *Panjāhī* and the *Pansadī* If a camel get lame or blind, he is fined the fourth part of the price

Raibārī

Raibārī is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel They teach the country bred *lok* camel so to step

[1] Corresponding to our Captains of the Army, commanders of 100 soldiers.

as to pass over great distances in a short time Although from the capital to the frontiers of the empire, in every direction relay horses are stationed, and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five *kos*, a few of these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness Each *Raibārī* is also put in charge of fifty stud *aruānas*, to which for the purpose of breeding one *bughur* and two *loks* are attached The latter (the males) get the usual allowance of grain but nothing for grass The fifty *arwānas* get no allowance for grain or grass For every *bughur*, *bughdī*, and *jammāza* in the stud, the allowance for oiling and injecting into the nostrils is 4 *s* of sesame oil, ⅜ *s* of brimstone 6½ *s* of butter milk [1] The first includes ⅜ *s* of oil for injection *Loks, aruānas, ghurds*, and *māya ghurds*, get only 3⅝ *s* of sesame oil—the deduction is made for injection—6½ *s* of butter milk [1] and ⅜ *s* of brimstone

Botas and *Dumbulas*—these names are given to young camels, the former is used for light burdens they are allowed 2½ *s* of oil inclusive of ½ *s* for injection into the nostrils, ½ *s* of brimstone and 4½ *s* of butter milk [1]

Full grown stud camels get weekly ½ *s* of saltpetre and common salt *botas* get ¼ *s*

The wages of a herdsman is 200 *d* *per mensem* For grazing every fifty stud camels he is allowed five assistants, each of whom gets 2 *d* *per diem* A herdsman of two herds of fifty is obliged to present to His Majesty three *arwānas* every year, on failure, their price is deducted from his salary

Formerly the state used to exact a fourth part of the wool sheared from every *bughdī* and *jammāza*, each camel being assessed to yield four *sers* of wool This His Majesty has remitted, and in lieu thereof, has ordered the drivers to provide their camels with *dum afsars*, wooden pegs etc

The following are the prices of camels —a *bughdī* from 5 to 12 muhurs, a *jammāza*, from 3 to 10 *M*, a *bughur*, from 3 [2] to 7 *M*, [3] a mongrel *lok*, from 8 to 9 *M* a country bred, or a Baluchi *lok* from 3 to 8 *M*, an *arwāna* from 2 to 4 *M*

His Majesty has regulated the burdens to be carried by camels A first class *bughdī*, not more than 10 *mans*, a second class do 8 *m*, superior *jammāzas* *loks*, etc 8 *m* a second class do 6 *m*

In this country, camels do not live above twenty four years

[1 *Māst* curds.—P] [2 In text from 4 to 7 —P]
[3 The text has also here a *maya bughur* from 3 to 5 a *ghurd* from 3 to 8 a *maya ghurd* and a *lok* from 3 to 7 —P]

Ā'īn 66

THE GĀW KHĀNA OR COW[1] STABLES

Throughout the happy regions of Hindustan, the cow[1] is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration, for by means of this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life is rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitant is filled with milk, butter milk,[2] and butter It is capable of carrying burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus becomes an excellent assistant for the three branches of the government

Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujrat are the best Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs They will travel 80 kos [120 miles] in 24 hours, and surpass even swift horses Nor do they dung whilst running The usual price is 20 and 10 muhurs Good cattle are also found in Bengal and the Dakhin They kneel down at the time of being loaded The cows give upwards of half a *man* of milk In the province of Dihli again, cows are not worth more than 10 Rupees His Majesty once bought a pair of cows for two lacs of *dāms* [5,000 Rupees]

In the neighbourhood of Thibet and Kashmīr, the *Qutās*, or Thibetan Yak, occurs, an animal of extraordinary appearance

A cow will live to the age of twenty five

From his knowledge of the wonderful properties of the cow, His Majesty, who notices everything which is of value, pays much attention to the improvement of cattle He divided them into classes, and com mitted each to the charge of a merciful keeper One hundred choice cattle were selected as *khāṣa* and called *kotal* They are kept in readiness for any service, and forty of them are taken unladen[1] on hunting expedi tions, as shall be mentioned below (Book II, Ā'īn 27) Fifty one others nearly as good are called half *kotal*, and fifty one more, quarter *kotal* Any deficiency in the first class is made up from the second, and that of the middle from the third But these three form the cow[1]-stables for His Majesty's use

Besides, sections of cattle have been formed, each varying in number from 50 to 100, and committed to the charge of honest keepers The rank of each animal is fixed at the time of the public muster, when each gets its proper place among sections of equal rank A similar proceeding is adopted for each section when selected for drawing waggons and travelling carriages, or for fetching water (vide Ā'īn 22)

[[1] *Gāv* ox The bullock only is used for work —P] [[2] *Māst* curds.—P]

There is also a species of oxen, called *gaini*, small like *gut* horses, but very beautiful

Milch-cows and buffaloes have also been divided into sections, and handed over to intelligent servants

Āʾīn 67

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD

Every head of the first *Ḵẖāṣa* class is allowed daily 6¼ *s* of grain,[1] and 1½ *d* of grass The whole stable gets daily 1 *man* 19 *s* of molasses,[2] which is distributed by the Darogha, who must be a man suitable for such a duty, and office Cattle of the remaining *Ḵẖāṣa* classes get daily 6 *s* of grain,[1] and grass as before, but no molasses [2] are given

In other cow stables the daily allowance is as follows First kind, 6 *s* of grain,[1] 1½ *d* of grass at court, and otherwise only 1 *d* The second kind get 5 *s* of grain,[1] and grass as usual The oxen used for travelling carriages get 6 *s* of grain,[1] and grass as usual First class *gainis* get 3 *s* of grain, and 1 *d* of grass at court, otherwise only ¾ *d* Second class do, 2½ *s* of grain,[1] and ¾ *d* of grass at court, otherwise only ½ *d*

A male buffalo (called *arna*) gets 8 *s* of wheat flour boiled, 2 *s* of *ghī*, ½ *s* of molasses,[2] 1½ *s* of grain [1] and 2 *d* of grass This animal, when young, fights astonishingly, and will tear a lion [3] to pieces When this peculiar strength is gone, it reaches the second stage, and is used for carrying water It then gets 8 *s* of grain, and 2 *d* for grass Female buffaloes used for carrying water get 6 *s* of grain, and 2 *d* for grass First class oxen for leopard waggons [4] get 6½ *s* of grain, and other classes, 5 *s* of grain, but the same quantity of grass Oxen for heavy waggons got formerly 5 *s* of grain, and 1½ *d* for grass, but now they get a quarter *ser* less, and grass as before

The milch cows, and buffaloes, when at court, have grain given them in proportion to the quantity of milk they give A herd of cows and buffaloes is called *thāt* A cow will give daily from 1 to 15 *s* of milk, a buffalo from 2 to 30 *s* The buffaloes of the Panjab are the best in this respect As soon as the quantity of milk given by each cow has been ascertained, there are demanded two *dāms* weight of *ghī* for every *ser* of milk

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[[1] *Dāna*=gram see p. 142 note 1 —P]
[[2] *Qand i siyāh* see p 142 footnote 3 —P]
[[3] *Sher* in India is the tiger, but *shīr* in Persia is the lion —P]
[4] Carriages for the transport of trained hunting leopards Vide Book II, Āʾīn 27

Ā'īn 68

THE SERVANTS EMPLOYED IN THE COW[1] STABLES

In the *khāṣa* stables, one man is appointed to look after four head of cattle Eighteen such keepers in the first stable get 5 *d per diem*, and the remaining keepers, 4 *d* In other stables, the salary of the keepers is the same, but each has to look after six cows[1] Of the carriage drivers, some get their salaries on the list of the Ahadīs, others get 360 *d*, others 256 *d* down to 112 *d* *Bahals*, or carriages, are of two kinds —1 *Chatrīdār* or covered carriages, having four or more poles (which support the *chatr*, or umbrella), 2 without a covering Carriages suited for horses are called *ghur bahal*[2] For every ten waggons, 20 drivers and 1 carpenter are allowed The head driver, or *Mīrdaha*, and the carpenter, get each 5 *d per diem*, the others 4 *d* For some time 15 drivers had been appointed, and the carpenter was disallowed, the drivers themselves undertook the repairs, and received on this account an annual allowance of 2,200 *dāms* [55 Rupees]

If a horn of an ox was broken, or the animal got blind, the Dārogha was fined one fourth of the price, or even more, according to the extent of the injury

Formerly the Dāroghas paid all expenses on account of repairs, and received for every day that the carriages were used, half a *dām* as *ūng* money— *ūng* is hemp smeared with ghī, and twisted round about the axle tree which, like a pivot, fits into the central hole of the wheel, and thus prevents it from wearing away or getting broken When afterwards the Daroghaship was transferred to the drivers, they had to provide for this expense At first, it was only customary for the carts to carry on marches a part of the baggage belonging to the different workshops, but when the drivers performed the duties of the Daroghas they had also to provide for the carriage of the fuel required at court and for the transport of building materials But subsequently 200 waggons were set aside for the transport of building materials, whilst 600 others have to bring, in the space of ten months, 1,50 000 *mans* of fuel to the Imperial kitchen And if officers of the government on any day use the Imperial waggons for other purposes, that day is to be separately accounted for, as also each service rendered to the court The drivers are not subject to the *Pāgosht* regulation (*vide* Ā'īn 83) If, however, an ox dies, they have to buy another

[[1] *Gāv*, ox, *vide* p 157, note 1 —P] [[2] *Ghur bahal* —P]

But when it came to the ears of His Majesty that the above mode of contract was productive of much cruelty towards these serviceable, but mute animals he abolished this system, and gave them again in charge of faithful servants The allowance of grain for every cart bullock was fixed at 4 *s*, and 1¼ *d* were given for grass For other bullocks, the allowance is one half of the preceding But during the four rainy months no money is allowed for grass There were also appointed for every eighteen carts twelve drivers, one of whom must understand carpenter's work Now, if a bullock dies, government supplies another in his stead, and likewise pays for the *ũng*, and is at the expense of repairs

The cattle that are worked are mustered once a year by experienced men who estimate their fatness or leanness, cattle that are unemployed are inspected every six months Instead of the above mentioned transport of firewood, etc, the carters have now to perform any service which may be required by the government

*A*ʼ*in* 69

THE MULE STABLES

The mule possesses the strength of a horse and the patience of an ass and though it has not the intelligence of the former it has not the stupidity of the latter It never forgets the road which it has once travelled Hence it is liked by His Majesty, whose practical wisdom extends to everything and its breeding is encouraged It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground, and it has a very soft step People generally believe that the male ass couples with a mare, but the opposite connexion also is known to take place as mentioned in the books of antiquity The mule resembles its dam His Majesty had a young ass coupled with a mare, and they produced a very fine mule

In many countries just princes prefer travelling about on a mule, and people can therefore easily lay their grievances before them [1] without inconveniencing the traveller

Mules are only bred in Hindustan in Pakhali,[2] and its neighbourhood *The simple inhabitants of the country used to look upon mules as asses* and thought it derogatory to ride upon them, but in consequence of the

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[1] Which the subjects could not so easily do if the princes on their tours of administration of justice were to ride on elephants because the plaintiff would stand too far from the king

[2] The Sarkar of Pakhali lies between Atak (Attock) and Kashmir, a little north of Rawul Pindee *Vide* towards the end of Book III

interest which His Majesty takes in this animal, so great a dislike is now nowhere to be found

Mules are chiefly imported from ʿIrāq i ʿArab and ʿIrāq i ʿAjam Very superior mules are often sold at Rs 1,000 per head

Like camels, they are formed into *qatārs* of five, and have the same names, except the second mule of each *qaṭār*, which is called *bardast*, [instead of *peshdara*, *vide* Āʾīn 61, end]

Mules reach the age of fifty

Āʾīn 70

THE DAILY ALLOWANCE OF FOOD FOR MULES

Such mules as are not country bred, get at court, 6 *s* of grain, and 2 *d* for grass, otherwise, only 1½ *d* Country bred mules get 4 *s* of grain, and 1⅝ *d* of grass, when at court, otherwise, 1 *d* for grass Each mule is allowed every week 3½ *jetals* for salt, but they give the salt in one lot

Āʾīn 71

THE FURNITURE OF MULES

For imported mules, a head stall of leather, 20½ *d*, an iron chain weighing 2 *s*, 10 *d*, a *ranakī* (crupper) of leather, 4 *d*, a *pālān* (pack-saddle), 102 *d*, a *shāltang* (shawl strap) and a *palās tang* (blanket strap), 36½ *d*, a *taqa tanāb* (a rope for fastening the burden), 63 *d*, a *qāṭir shalāq* (a short whip), 6 *d*, a bell, one for every *qatā*, 10 *d*, a horse hair saddle, 40 *d*, a *kalaua* (*vide* Āʾīn 45, No 9) of leather, 13 *d*, a set of ropes, 9 *d*, a saddle cloth, 4½ *d* a *sardoz* (a common head stall), 4 *d*, a *khurjīn* (wallet) 15 *d*, a fodder bag 4 *d*, a *magas rān* (to drive away flies) of leather, 1 *d*, a curry comb and a hair glove (for washing), 4 *d* Total 345¾ *d*

For country bred mules the allowance is 151½ *d*, viz, a head stall of leather, 4 *d*, pack saddle, 51 *d* 18¾ *j*, the two straps 16½ *d*, a *tāqa tanāb* and *sardoz*, 40 *d*, a bell 5 *d*, a fodder bag, 3 *d*, a crupper, 3 *d*, a saddle, 24 *d*, a curry comb and a hair glove 4 *d*

The furniture is renewed every third year but for all iron and wood work, half the price is deducted The annual allowance for the repair of the furniture is 40 *d*, but on the march, the time of renewal depends on the wear Mules are shod every six months at a cost of 8 *d* per head

Each *qatār* is in charge of a keeper Tūrānis, Īrānis and Indians are appointed to this office, the first two get from 400 to 1,920 *d*, and the

third class, from 240 to 256 *d* *per mensem* Such keepers as have monthly salaries of 10 R [400 *d*] and upwards have to find the *peshang*[1] (first mule of their *qaṭār*) in grain and grass Experienced people inspect the mules twice a year *as to leanness or fatness Once a year they are paraded* before His Majesty

If a mule gets blind or lame the muleteer is fined one fourth of the cost price, and one half if it is lost

Asses also are employed for carrying burdens and fetching water They get 3 *s* of grain and 1 *d* for grass The furniture for asses is the same as that for country bred mules, but no saddle is given The annual allowance for repairs is 23 *d* The keepers do not get above 120 *d* *per mensem*

Aʾīn 72

THE MANNER IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY SPENDS HIS TIME

The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time The care with which His Majesty guards over his motives, and *watches over his emotions*, bears on its face the sign of the Infinite, and the stamp of immortality, and though thousands of important matters occupy, at one and the same time, his *attention, they do not* stir up the rubbish of confusion in the temple of his mind, nor do they allow the dust of dismay to settle on the vigour of his mental powers or the habitual earnestness with which His Majesty contemplates the charms of God's world His anxiety to do the will of the Creator is ever increasing, and thus his insight and wisdom are ever deepening From his practical knowledge, and capacity for everything excellent, he can sound men of experience, though rarely casting a glance on his own ever extending excellence He listens to great and small, expecting that a good thought, or the relation of a noble deed, may kindle in his mind a new lamp of wisdom, though ages have passed without his *having found a really great man Impartial statesmen, on seeing the* sagacity of His Majesty, blotted out the book of their own wisdom, and commenced a new leaf But with the magnanimity which distinguishes him, and with his wonted zeal, he continues his search for superior men, and finds a reward in the care with which he selects such as are fit for his society

[[1] The *peshang* is selected for being a quick stepper and for intelligence —P]

Although surrounded by every external pomp and display, and by every inducement to lead a life of luxury and ease, he does not allow his desires or his wrath to renounce allegiance to Wisdom, his sovereign—how much less would he permit them to lead him to a bad deed! Even the telling of stories, which ordinary people use as a means of lulling themselves into sleep, serves to keep His Majesty awake.

Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age. But the great object of his life is the acquisition of that sound morality, the sublime loftiness of which captivates the hearts of thinking sages, and silences the taunts of zealots and sectarians.

Knowing the value of a lifetime, he never wastes his time, nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that in the light of his upright intentions, every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.

It is beyond my power to describe in adequate terms His Majesty's devotions. He passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God. He especially does so at the time, when morning spreads her azure silk, and scatters abroad her young, golden beams; and at noon, when the light of the world-illuminating sun embraces the universe, and thus becomes a source of joy for all men; in the evening, when that fountain of light withdraws from the eyes of mortal man, to the bewildering grief of all who are friends of light; and lastly at midnight, when that great cause of life turns again to ascend, and to bring the news of renewed cheerfulness to all who, in the melancholy of the night, are stricken with sorrow. All these grand mysteries are in honour of God, and in adoration of the Creator of the world; and if dark-minded, ignorant men cannot comprehend their signification, who is to be blamed, and whose loss is it? Indeed, every man acknowledges that we owe gratitude and reverence to our benefactors; and hence it is incumbent on us, though our strength may fail, to show gratitude for the blessings we receive from the sun, the light of all lights, and to enumerate the benefits which he bestows. This is essentially the duty of kings, upon whom, according to the opinion of the wise, this sovereign of the heavens sheds an immediate light.[1] And this is the very motive which actuates His Majesty to venerate fire and reverence lamps.

But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of

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[1] *Vide* Abu l Fazl's Preface, pp. iii and 49.

the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak minded zealots who with much concern talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun and the introduction of fire worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile

The compassionate heart of His Majesty finds no pleasure in cruelties or in causing sorrow to others he is ever sparing of the lives of his subjects wishing to bestow happiness upon all

His Majesty abstains much from flesh so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food which though prized by most is nothing thought of by the sage His august nature cares but little for the pleasures of the world In the course of twenty four hours he never makes more than one meal He takes a delight in spending his time in performing whatever is necessary and proper He takes a little repose in the evening and again for a short time in the morning but his sleep looks more like waking

His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably to the private audience hall are then admitted eloquent philosophers and virtuous Ṣufis who are seated according to their rank and entertain His Majesty with wise discourses On such occasions His Majesty fathoms them and tries them on the touch stone of knowledge Or the object of an ancient institution is disclosed or new thoughts are hailed with delight Here young men of talent learn to revere and adore His Majesty and experience the happiness of having their wishes fulfilled whilst old men of impartial judgment see themselves on the expanse of sorrow finding that they have to pass through a new course of instruction

There are also present in these assemblies unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts and relate the impressive events of ancient times His Majesty often makes remarks wonderfully shrewd or starts a fitting subject for conversation On other occasions matters referring to the empire and the revenue are brought up when His Majesty gives orders for whatever is to be done in each case

About a watch before daybreak musicians of all nations are introduced who recreate the assembly with music and songs and religious strains and when four *ghaṛis* are left till morning His Majesty retires to his private apartments brings his external appearance in harmony with the simplicity of his heart and launches forth into the ocean of contemplation In the meantime at the close of night soldiers merchants peasants tradespeople and other professions gather round the palace patiently waiting to catch a glimpse of His Majesty Soon after daybreak they are allowed to make the *kornish* (*vide* Ain 74) After

this, His Majesty allows the attendants of the Harem to pay their compliments During this time various matters of worldly and religious import are brought to the notice of His Majesty As soon as they are settled, he returns to his private apartments and reposes a little

The good habits of His Majesty are so numerous that I cannot adequately describe them If I were to compile dictionaries on this subject they would not be exhaustive

A'in 73

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COURT

Admittance to Court is a distinction conferred on the nation at large, it is a pledge that the three branches of the government are properly looked after, and enables subjects personally to apply for redress of their grievances Admittance to the ruler of the land is for the success of his government what irrigation is for a flower bed, it is the field, on which the hopes of the nation ripen into fruit

His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty four hours when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance *First*, after performing his morning devotions, he is visible from outside the awning to people of all ranks, whether they be given to worldly pursuits, or to a life of solitary contemplation, without any molestation from the mace bearers This mode of showing himself is called, in the language of the country, *darsan* (view), and it frequently happens that business is transacted at this time The *second* time of his being visible is in the State Hall, whither he generally goes after the first watch of the day But this assembly is sometimes announced towards the close of day, or at night He also frequently appears at a window, which opens into the State Hall, for the transaction of business, or he dispenses there justice calmly and serenely, or examines into the dispensation of justice, or the merit of officers, without being influenced in his judgment by any predilections or anything impure and contrary to the will of God Every officer of government then presents various reports, or explains his several wants and is instructed by His Majesty how to proceed From his knowledge of the character of the times, though in opposition to the practice of kings of past ages His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline, he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers his equanimity to be disturbed

Whenever His Majesty holds court they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise. In this manner, people of all classes receive notice. His Majesty's sons and grandchildren, the grandees of the Court, and all other men who have admittance, attend to make the *Kornish*, and remain standing in their proper places. Learned men of renown and skilful mechanics pay their respects; the Dāroghas and Bitikchīs (writers) set forth their several wants; and the officers of justice give in their reports. His Majesty, with his usual insight, gives orders, and settles everything in a satisfactory manner. During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are in waiting. Clever jugglers and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility.

His Majesty, on such occasions, addresses himself to many of those who have been presented, impressing all with the correctness of his intentions, the unbiasedness of his mind, the humility of his disposition, the magnanimity of his heart, the excellence of his nature, the cheerfulness of his countenance, and the frankness of his manners; his intelligence pervades the whole assembly, and multifarious matters are easily and satisfactorily settled by his truly divine power.

This vale of sorrows is changed to a place of rest; the army and the nation are content. May the empire flourish, and these blessings endure!

Āʼīn 74

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE *KORNISH* AND THE *TASLĪM*

Superficial observers, correctly enough, look upon a king as the origin of the peace and comfort of the subjects. But men of deeper insight are of opinion that even spiritual progress among a people would be impossible unless emanating from the king, in whom the light of God dwells; for near the throne, men wipe off the stain of conceit and build up the arch of true humility.[1]

With the view, then, of promoting this true humility, kings in their wisdom have made regulations for the manner in which people are to show their obedience. Some kings have adopted the bending down of the head. His Majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead and the head to be bent downwards. This

[1] Hence the presence of the king promotes humility, which is the foundation of all spiritual life. So especially in the case of Akbar, towards whom, as the head of the New Church, the subjects occupy the position of disciples. *Vide* Āʼīn 77 and the Note after it.

mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called *kornish*, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him

The salutation, called *taslīm*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering

His Majesty relates as follows "One day my royal father bestowed upon me one of his own caps, which I put on Because the cap of the king was rather large, I had to hold it with my [right] hand, whilst bending my head downwards, and thus performed the manner of salutation (*kornish*) above described The king was pleased with this new method, and from his feeling of propriety ordered this to be the mode of the *kornish* and *taslīm*

Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jāgīr*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslīms*, but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made

Such a degree of obedience is also shown by servants to their masters, and looked upon by them as a source of blessings Hence for the disciples of His Majesty, it was necessary to add something, viz, prostration[1] (*sijda*), and they look upon a prostration before His Majesty as a prostration performed before God, for royalty is an emblem of the power of God, and a light shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute

Viewed in this light, the prostration has become acceptable to many, and proved to them a source of blessings upon blessings

But as some perverse and dark minded men look upon prostration as blasphemous man worship, His Majesty, from his practical wisdom, has

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[illegible] the emperor because he looked with fondness upon every custom of the ancient Persian kings at whose courts the *προσκύνησις* had been the usual salutation It was [illegible] of Badakhshan who invented the prostration [illegible] (before 1586). The success of the [illegible] that I had been the inventor of t[illegible] Nizam or Ghazi Khan vide Abu [illegible] *sijda* as an article of Akbar's Div[illegible] referred to in the note to Ain 77

ordered it to be discontinued by the ignorant, and remitted it to all ranks, forbidding even his private attendants from using it in the *Darbār i ʿĀm* (general court days) However in the private assembly, when any of those are in waiting, upon whom the star of good fortune shines, and they receive the order of seating themselves, they certainly perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth, and thus participate in the halo of good fortune

In this manner by forbidding the people at large to prostrate, but allowing the Elect to do so, His Majesty fulfils the wishes of both, and shows the world a fitting example of practical wisdom

Āʾīn 75

ON ETIQUETTE

Just as spiritual leadership requires a regulated mind, capable of controlling covetousness and wrath, so does political leadership depend on an external order of things, on the regulation of the difference among men in rank, and the power of liberality If a king possess a cultivated mind, his position as the spiritual leader of the nation will be in harmony with his temporal office, and the performance of each of his political duties will be equivalent to an adoration of God Should anyone search for an example, I would point to the practice of *His Majesty*, which will be found to exhibit that happy harmony of motives, the contemplation of which rewards the searcher with an increase of personal knowledge, and leads him to worship this ideal of a king [1]

When His Majesty seats himself on the throne, all that are present perform the *kornish*, and then remain standing at their places according to their rank, with their arms crossed [2] partaking, in the light of his imperial countenance, of the elixir of life, and enjoying everlasting happiness in standing ready for any service

The eldest prince places himself, when standing, at a distance of one to four yards from the throne, or when sitting, at a distance from two to eight The second prince stands from one and one half to six yards from the throne, and in sitting from three to twelve So also the third, but sometimes he is admitted to a nearer position than the second prince, and at other times both stand together at the same distance But His Majesty generally places the younger princes affectionately nearer

Then come the Elect of the highest rank, who are worthy of the spiritual guidance of His Majesty, at a distance of three to fifteen yards, and in sitting from five to twenty After this follow the senior grandees from three and a half yards, and then the other grandees, from ten or twelve and a half yards from the throne

All others stand in the *Yasal*[1] One or two attendants[2] stand nearer than all

Āʾīn 76

THE MUSTER OF MEN

The business which His Majesty daily transacts is most multifarious; hence I shall only describe such affairs as continually recur

A large number of men are introduced on such days, for which an *Anjuman i Dād o Dihish*, or assembly of expenditure, has been announced Their merits are inquired into, and the coin of knowledge passes current Some take a burden from their hearts by expressing a wish to be enrolled among the members of the Divine Faith, others want medicines for their diseases[3] Some pray His Majesty to remove a religious doubt, others again seek his advice for settling a worldly matter[4] There is no end to such requests, and I must confine myself to the most necessary cases

The salaries of a large number of men[5] from Tūrān and Īrān, Turkey and Europe, Hindustān and Kashmir, are fixed by the proper officers in

[1] *Yasal* signifies the wing of an army, and here, the two wings into which the assembly is divided The place before the throne remains free One wing was generally occupied by the grandees of the Court and the chief functionaries, on the other wing stood the *Qur* (*vide* p 116), the Mullās and the ʿUlamā, etc

[2] The servants who hold the *sāya bān* Āʾīn 19 or the fans.

[3] This is to be taken literally The water on which Akbar breathed, was a universal remedy *Vide* next Āʾīn.

[4] As settling a family feud, recommending a matrimonial alliance, giving a new born child a suitable name, etc

[5] Abu l Fazl means men who were willing to serve in the several grades of the standing army The standing army consisted of cavalry, artillery, and rifles. There was no regular infantry Men who joined the standing army in the beginning of Akbar's reign brought their own horse and accoutrements with them, but as this was found to be the cause of much inefficiency (*vide* Second Book, Āʾīn 1) a horse was given to each recruit on joining for which he was answerable

a manner described below, and the men themselves are taken before His Majesty by the paymasters. Formerly it had been the custom for the men to come with a horse and accoutrements, but nowadays only men appointed to the post of an Ahadi[1] bring a horse. The salary as proposed by the officers who bring them is then increased or decreased, though it is generally increased, for the market of His Majesty's liberality is never dull. The number of men brought before His Majesty depends on the number of men available. Every Monday all such horsemen are mustered as were left from the preceding week. With the view of increasing the army and the zeal of the officers, His Majesty gives to each who brings horsemen, a present of two *dāms* for each horseman.

Special *Bitikchīs*[2] [writers] introduce in the same manner such as are fit to be Ahadis. In their case, His Majesty always increases the stipulated salary. As it is customary for every Ahadī to buy[3] his own horse, His Majesty has ordered to bring to every muster the horses of any Ahadis who may have lately died, which he hands over to the newly appointed Ahadis either as presents or charging the price to their monthly salaries.

On such occasions, Senior Grandees and other Amirs introduce also any of their friends, for whom they may solicit appointments. His Majesty then fixes the salaries of such candidates according to circumstances; but appointments under fifty rupees *per mensem* are rarely ever solicited in this manner.

Appointments to the Imperial workshops also are made in such assemblies, and the salaries are fixed.

Āʾīn 77

HIS MAJESTY[4] AS THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE

God, the Giver of intellect and the Creator of matter, forms mankind as He pleases, and gives to some comprehensiveness, and to others narrowness of disposition. Hence the origin of two opposite tendencies

newcomers.

[4] A note will be found at the end of this Āʾīn.

among men, one class of whom turn to religious (*dīn*) and the other class to worldly thoughts (*dunyā*) Each of these two divisions selects different leaders,[1] and mutual repulsiveness grows to open rupture It is then that men's blindness and silliness appear in their true light, it is then discovered how rarely mutual regard and charity are to be met with

But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty[2] which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet[3] which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which He has given it

> The Lover and the Beloved are in reality one,[4]
> Idle talkers speak of the Brahmin as distinct from his idol
> There is but one lamp in this house, in the rays of which,
> Wherever I look, a bright assembly meets me

One man thinks that by keeping his passions in subjection he worships God, and another finds self discipline in watching over the destinies of a nation The religion of thousands of others consists in clinging to an idea, they are happy in their sloth and unfitness of judging for themselves But when the time of reflection comes, and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness[5] break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness

But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge Again, although some are enlightened, many would observe silence from fear of fanatics, who lust for blood, but look like men And should anyone muster sufficient courage, and

[1] As prophets, the leaders of the Church, and kings, the leaders of the State

[2] God He may be worsh

former speculates

and does his duty

hes men how

that the light

The reader

[3] The world

[4] These Ṣufic lines illustrate the idea that "the same enrapturing beauty" is everywhere God is everywhere, in everything, hence everything ■ God Thus God the

openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts pious simpletons would call him a mad man and throw him aside as of no account, whilst ill starred wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him

Whenever from lucky circumstances the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth the people will naturally look to their king on account of the high position which he occupies and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well, for a king possesses, independent of men the ray of Divine wisdom [1] which banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting A king will therefore some times observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things or some times reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one, for he sits on the throne of distinction and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow

Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age and this book is a witness of it

Men versed in foretelling the future knew this when His Majesty was born [2] and together with all others that were cognizant of the secret, they have since been waiting in joyful expectation His Majesty how ever, wisely surrounded himself for a time with a veil as if he were an outsider, or a stranger to their hopes But can man counteract the will of God ? His Majesty, at first took all such by surprise as were wedded to the prejudices of the age, but he could not help revealing his inten tions, they grew to maturity in spite of him, and are now fully known He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth

But whether he checks men in their desire of becoming disciples or admits them at other times he guides them in each case to the realm of bliss Many sincere inquirers from the mere light of his wisdom or his holy breath obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors

[1] *Vide* Abu l Fazl s preface p iii l 10

[2] *This is an allusion to the wonderful event which happened at the birth of the emperor*

could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days. Numbers of those who have renounced the world, as *Sannāsīs, Jogīs, Sevrās, Qalandars, Hakīms,* and *Sūfīs,* and thousands of such as follow worldly pursuits as soldiers, tradespeople, mechanics, and husbandmen, have daily their eyes opened to insight, or have the light of their knowledge increased. *Men of all nations, young and old, friends and strangers,* the far and near, look upon offering a vow to His Majesty as the means of solving all their difficulties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire. Others again, from the distance of their homes, or to avoid the crowds gathering at Court, offer their vows in secret, and pass their lives in grateful praises. But when His Majesty leaves Court, in order to settle the affairs of a province, to conquer a kingdom, or to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, there is not a hamlet, a town, or a city that does not send forth crowds of men and women with vow offerings in their hands and prayers on their lips, touching the ground with their foreheads, praising the efficacy of their vows, or proclaiming the accounts of the spiritual assistance received. Other multitudes ask for lasting bliss, for an upright heart, for advice how best to act, for strength of the body, for enlightenment, for the birth of a son, the reunion of friends, a long life, increase of wealth, elevation in rank, and many other things. His Majesty, who knows what is really good, gives satisfactory answers to every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching *him* to breathe upon it. *He* who reads the letters of the divine orders in the book of fate, on seeing the tidings of hope, takes the water with his blessed hands, places it in the rays of the world-illuminating sun, and fulfils the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people[1] of broken hopes, whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

A more remarkable case is the following. A simple-minded recluse had cut off his tongue, and throwing it towards the threshold of the palace, said, "If that certain blissful thought,[2] which I just now have, has been put into my heart by God, my tongue will get well; for the sincerity of my belief must lead to a happy issue." The day was not ended before he obtained his wish.

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[1] *He [Akbar] showed himself every morning at a window in front of which multitudes* came and prostrated themselves, while women brought their sick infants for his benediction and offered presents on their recovery. From the account of the Goa Missionaries who came to Akbar in 1595, in *Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, p. [illegible]

[2] His thought was this: If Akbar is a prophet he must from his supernatural knowledge find out in what condition I am lying here.

Those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and the piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs,[1] remarkable as they may appear at first, and those who know His Majesty's charity and love of justice, do not even see anything remarkable in them. In the magnanimity of his heart he never thinks of his perfection, though he is the ornament of the world. Hence he even keeps back many who declare themselves willing to become his disciples. He often says, "Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided?" But when a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily enquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

At the above mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical,[2] and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast aside[3] conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shast*,[4] upon which is engraved 'The Great Name',[5] and His Majesty's symbolical motto, '*Allāhu Akbar*.' This teaches the novice the truth that

[1] [illegible]

Brahminical thread. Here a ring seems to be meant. Or it may be the likeness of the Emperor which, according to Badaoni, the members wore on their turbans.

[5] The *Great Name* is a name of God. Some say it is the word *Allah*; others say it is *Al Samad*, the eternal; others *Al Hayy*, the living; others *Al Qayyum*, the everlasting,

" The pure Shast and the pure sight never err

Seeing the wonderful habits of His Majesty, his sincere attendants are guided, as circumstances require it, and from the wise counsels they receive they soon state their wishes openly They learn to satisfy their thirst in the spring of divine favour, and gain for their wisdom and motives renewed light Others according to their capacities are taught wisdom in excellent advices

But it is impossible, while speaking of other matters besides, to give a full account of the manner in which His Majesty teaches wisdom, heals dangerous diseases, and applies remedies for the severest sufferings Should my occupations allow sufficient leisure, and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on this subject

Ordinances of the Divine Faith

The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other observe the following custom One says, "*Allāhu Akbar,*" and the other responds, "*Jallu Jallaluhu*" [1] The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance

It is also ordered by His Majesty that instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey

Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday,

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others *Ar Rahman, ar rahim* the clement and merciful, others *Al Muhaymin* the protector (*Ghiyas* Qazi Hamidu 'd Din of Nagor says the Great Name is the word *Hu* or He (God) because it has a reference to God's nature as it shows that He has no other at His side Again the word *Hu* is a root not a derivative All epithets of God are contained in it *Kashfu l Lughat*

[1] The ...

and arrange a sumptuous feast He is to bestow alms and thus prepare provisions for the long journey

His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh They may allow others to eat flesh without touching it themselves, but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain nor eat of it Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers fishers, and birdcatchers

Members should not cohabit with pregnant old and barren women, nor with girls under the age of puberty

Note by the Translator on the Religious Views of the Emperor Akbar

In connexion with the preceding Āīn it may be of interest for the general reader and of some value for the future historian of Akbar's reign to collect in form of a note the information which we possess regarding the religious views of the Emperor Akbar The sources from which this information is derived are besides Abū l Fazl's Āīn the *Muntakhabu t Tawārīkh* by ʿAbd l Qadir ibn i Muluk Shāh of Badaon—regarding whom I would refer the reader to p 110 and to a longer article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1869—and the *Dabistānu l Maẕāhib*[1] a work written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unknown Muhammadan writer of strong Pārsī tendencies Nor must we forget the valuable testimony of some of the Portuguese missionaries whom Akbar called from Goa a Rodolpho Aquaviva Antonio de Monserrato Francisco Enriques etc of whom the first is mentioned by Abū l Fazl under the name of *Padrī Radalf*[2] There exist also two articles on Akbar's religious views one by Captain Vans Kennedy published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society and another by the late Horace Hayman Wilson which had originally appeared in the *Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Magazine* Vol 1 1824 and has been reprinted in the second volume of Wilson's works London 1862 Besides a few extracts from Badāonī bearing on this subject will be found in Sir H Elliott's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India* p 243 ff The proceedings of the Portuguese missionaries at Akbar's Court are described in Murray's

[1] Printed at Cal[illegible] in 1809 with a short d[illegible] and reprinted at Bombay A H [illegible] [A D 18[illegible]] This work has also been translated into English at the cost of the Or[illegible] Tra[illegible]

[2] Not [illegible] [illegible] as in Elphinstone's history but [illegible] the letter [illegible] having been taken for a [illegible]

represented to the emperor that Shaykh Mubārak also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdī*,[1] belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of *permission to remove him, they dispatched police officers to* bring him before the emperor. But when they found that the Shaykh, with his two sons, had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit *in his* prayer-room. The Shaykh, at first, *took* refuge with Salīm Chishti at Fathpūr, who then was in the height of his glory, and requested him to intercede for him. Shaykh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrāt. Seeing that Salīm took no interest in him, Shaykh Mubārak applied to Mīrzā ʿAzīz Koka [Akbar's foster brother], who took occasion to praise to the emperor the Shaykh's learning and voluntary poverty, ... most

The emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaykh. In a short time matters took a more favourable turn, and Abū 'l Fazl when once in favour with the emperor (officious as he was, and time serving, openly *faithless, continually studying His Majesty's whims, a flatterer beyond* all bounds) took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated,[2] *and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced* people, but also of the ruin of all servants of God, especially of Shaykhs, pious men, of the helpless, and the orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down.

He used to say, openly and implicitly —

> O Lord send down a proof [3] for the people of the world!
> Send these Nimrods [4] a gnat as big as an elephant!
> *These Pharaoh like fellows have lifted up their heads*,
> Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!

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[1] ... p. 113, note 2.

A few years ... extract shows ... allowed *to be*

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings, miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the ʿUlamās (who had persecuted him and his father) he applied the following *Rubāʿī* to them —

> I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
> As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
> No one is my enemy but myself,
> Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands.

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict of any *Mujtahid*,[1] he used to say, "Oh don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat seller and that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaykhs and ʿUlamās.

Commencement of the Disputations [Badaoni II, p 200]

"During the year 983 A H, many places of worship were built at the command of His Majesty. The cause was this. For many years previous to 983 the emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day, everything turned out well and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of the Muʿiniyyah sect, and passed much of his time in discussing the word of God (Qurʾan), and the word of the prophet (the *Hadīs* or Tradition). Questions of Sufism, scientific discussions, inquiries into philosophy and law, were the order of the day. His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God, he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yā Hu* and *Yā Hādī*, which had been mentioned to him[2] and his heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest and gathering the bliss of early hours."

In his religious habits the emperor was confirmed by a story which he had heard of Sulaymān[3] ruler of Bengal, who in company with 150

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[1] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Muhammadan law. There are few Mujtahids. Among the oldest there were several who plied a trade at the same time. The preceding *Rubāʿī* is translated by Sir H Elliot in the *Muhammadan Historians of India* p 244

[2] [illegible] *Hadī* O Guide. The frequent [illegible] Some faqirs repeat them several [illegible]

[3] [illegible] He is sometimes called *Karani* [illegible] from [illegible] to 980 or A D 1563 to 1573

"Other tricks also, in comparison with which the tricks of the children of Moses are nothing, and rumours of his meanness and shabbiness his open cheating and worldliness, and his cruelties said to have been practised on the Shaykhs and the poor of the whole country, but especially on the Aimadars and other deserving people of the Panjāb—all came up, one story after the other His motives, 'which shall be revealed on the day of resurrection' (Qur LXXXVI, 9), were disclosed, all sorts of stories, calculated to ruin his character and to vilify him, were got up, till it was resolved to force him to go to Makkah

"But when people asked him whether pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances, he said *No*, [1] for Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabi had risen to power, whilst the star of the Mawlana was fast sinking"

But a heavier blow was to fall on the ʿUlamās [Bad II p 207]

"At one of the above mentioned meetings, His Majesty asked how many *freeborn* women a man was legally allowed to marry (by *nikāh*) The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the prophet The emperor thereupon remarked that from the time he had come of age, he had not restricted himself to that number, and in justice to his wives, of whom he had a large number, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case Most expressed their opinions, when the emperor remarked that Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabi had once told him that one of the Mujtahids had had as many as nine wives Some of the ʿUlamas present replied that the Mujtahid alluded to was Ibn Abi Layā, and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the Qurʿan verse (Qur, Sūr IV, 3), 'Marry whatever women ye like, two and two, [2] and three and three, and four and four,' but this was improper His Majesty then sent a message to Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabi, who replied that he had merely wished to point out to Akbar that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwa* in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings This annoyed His Majesty very much 'The Shaykh,' he said, 'told me at that time a very different thing from what he now tells me' He never forgot this

"After much discussion on this point the ʿUlamās, having collected

every tradition on the subject, decreed, *first*, that by *mutʿah* [not by *nikāh*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased, and, *secondly*, that *mutʿah* marriages were allowed by Imam Malik The Shiʿahs, as was well known, loved children born in *mutʿah* wedlock more than those born by *nikah* wives, contrary to the Sunnis and the Ahl i Jamaʿat

"On the latter point also the discussion got rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work entitled *Najātᵘ 'r-rashīd* [*vide* note 2, p 104] in which the subject is briefly discussed But to make things worse Naqīb Khan fetched a copy of the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imam had cited as a proof against the legality of *mutʿah* marriages

"Another night Qazi Yaʿqūb, Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl Haji Ibrahim and a few others were invited to meet His Majesty in the house near the *Anūptala o* tank Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl had been selected as the opponent and laid before the emperor several traditions regarding *mutʿah* marriages, which his father (Shaykh Mubarak) had collected, and the discussion commenced His Majesty then asked me, what my opinion was on this subject I said, 'The conclusion which must be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarians customs, is this —Imām Malik and the Shiʿahs are unanimous in looking upon *mutʿah* marriages as legal, Imam Shafiʿi and the Great Imam (Hanifah) look upon *mutʿah* marriages as illegal But, should at any time a Qazī of the Maliki sect decide that *mutʿah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shafiʿi's and Hanafis Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk' This pleased His Majesty very much

The unfortunate Shaykh Yaʿqūb, however, went on talking about the extent of the authority of a Qazī He tried to shift the ground, but when he saw that he was discomfited, he said, "Very well, I have nothing else to say—just as His Majesty pleases"

"The Emperor then said, 'I herewith appoint the Maliki Qazi Hasan ʿArab as the Qazi before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you, Yaʿqūb, are from to-day suspended.' This was immediately obeyed, and Qazi Hasan on the spot gave a decree which made *mutʿah* marriages legal

"The veteran lawyers, as Makhdumᵘ 'l Mulk, Qazī Yaʿqūb, and others, made very long faces at these proceedings.

"This was the commencement of 'their sere and yellow leaf'

"The result was that, a few days later, Mawlanā Jalalᵘ 'd Din of Multan, a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred,

was ordered from Āgra (to Fathpūr Sīkrī) and appointed Qāzī of the realm. Qāzī Ya'qūb was sent to Gaur as District Qāzī.

"From this day henceforth, 'the road of opposition and difference in opinion' lay open, and remained so till His Majesty was appointed Mujtahid of the empire." [Here follows the extract regarding the formula *Allāh^u Akbar*, given on p. 175, note 1.]

[Badaonī II, p. 211.]

"During this year [983], there arrived Hakīm Abū 'l Fath, Hakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Hakīm Humām), and Nūr^u 'd Dīn, who as poet is known under the name of *Qarārī*. They were brothers, and came from Gīlān, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendency over the Emperor; he flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of Akbar.

"Soon after there came from Persia, Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yazīdī, and attaching himself to the emperor, commenced openly to revile the *Sahābah* (persons who knew Muhammad, except the twelve Imāms), told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make the emperor a Shī'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Bar—that bastard!—and by Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl and Hakīm Abū 'l Fath, who successfully turned the emperor from the Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company.

"At the same time, His Majesty ordered Qāzī Jalāl^u 'd Dīn and several 'Ulamās to write a commentary on the Qur'ān; but this led to great rows among them.

"Deb Chand Rāja Manjhola—that fool—once set the whole court in laughter by saying that Allah after all had great respect for cows, else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter (*Sūrat^u 'l baqarah*) of the Qur'ān.

"His Majesty had also the early history of the Islām read out to him, and soon commenced to think less of the *Sahābah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the prophet, were put down as *taqlīdī*, or religious blindness, and man's reason was acknowledged to be the basis of all religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty inquired into the articles of their belief which are based upon reason."

[Badāoni II, p 245]

"In the beginning of the next year [984], when His Majesty was at Dipalpūr in Malwah, Sharif of Āmul arrived This apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to the other, he went on wrangling till he became a perfect heretic For some time he had studied Sūfic nonsense in the school of Mawlāna Muhammad Zahid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, and had lived with derwishes But as he had little of a derwish in himself, he talked slander, and was so full of conceit that they hunted him away The Mawlānā also wrote a poem against him, in which the following verse occurs —

"There was a heretic, Sharif by name,
Who talked very big, though of doubtful fame

"In his wanderings he had come to the Dakhin, where he made himself so notorious, that the king of the Dakhin wanted to kill him But he was only put on a donkey, and shown about in the city Hindustan, however, is a nice large place, where anything is allowed, and no one cares for another, and people go on as they may He therefore made for Malwah, and settled at a place five *kos* distant from the Imperial camp Every frivolous and absurd word he spoke was full of venom, and became the general talk Many fools, especially Persian heretics (whom the Islam casts out as people cast out hairs which they find in dough—such heretics are called *Nuqtawīs*, and are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist) gathered round him, and spread, at his order, the rumour that he was the restorer of the Millennium The sensation was immense As soon as His Majesty heard of him, he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer room, which had been made of cloth, and in which the emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and stood still with his arms crossed, and you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour [1] is a sign of hostility to our prophet) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself in worship, and sat down *du-ānū* (*vide* p 168, note 2), like an Indian camel He talked privately to His Majesty, no one dared to draw near them, but I sometimes heard from a distance the word *ʿilm* (knowledge) because he spoke pretty loud He called his silly views 'the truth of truths', or 'the

"A fellow ignorant of things external and internal,
From silliness indulging idle talk
He is immersed in heresies infernal,
And prattles—God forbid !—of truth eternal

"The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Mahmūd of Basakhwān (a village in Gilān), who lived at the time of Tīmūr Mahmūd who had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such hypocrisy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but *tītāl*, which name he had given to the 'science of expressed and implied language' The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr o Kūza* (the Ocean and the Jug), and contains such loathsome nonsense, that on listening to it one's ear vomits How the devil would have laughed in his face, if he had heard it, and how he would have jumped for joy ! And this Sharif—the dirty thief—had also written a collection of nonsense, which he styled *Tarashshuh i Zuhūr*, in which he blindly follows Mir ʕAbdᵘ 'l Awwal This book is written in loose, deceptive aphorisms, each commencing with the words *mīfarmūdand* (the master said), a queer thing to look at, and a mass of ridiculous, silly nonsense But notwithstanding his ignorance, according to the proverb, 'Worthies will meet,' he has exerted such an influence on the spirit of the age, and on the people, that he is now [in 1004], a commander of One Thousand and His Majesty's apostle for Bengal, possessing the four degrees of faith, and calling, as the Lieutenant of the emperor, the faithful to these degrees "

The discussions on Thursday evenings were continued for the next year In 986, they became violent, in as far as the elementary principles of the Islam were chosen as subject, whilst formerly the disputations had turned on single points The ʕUlamās, even in the presence of the emperor, often lost their temper, and called each other *Kāfirs*, or *accursed*

[Bad II, p 255]

"[illegible] Nabī, in [illegible] who was [illegible] he had ordered to be killed for heresy But he also said in the pamphlet that it was wrong to say prayers with ʕAbdᵘ 'n Nabī, because he had been undutiful towards his father, and was, besides, afflicted with piles Upon this, Shaykh ʕAbdᵘ 'n Nabī called Makhdūm a fool, and cursed him The ʕUlamās now broke up into two parties, like the Sibtis and Qibtis gathering either round the Shaykh or round Makhdumᵘ 'l Mulk, and the heretic innovators used this opportunity, to mislead the emperor

by their wicked opinions and aspersions, and turned truth into falsehood, and represented lies as truth

"*His Majesty till now* [986] *had shown every sincerity, and was diligently searching for truth But his education had been much neglected; and surrounded as he was by men of low and heretic principles, he had been forced to doubt the truth of the Islām Falling from one perplexity into the other, he lost sight of his real object, the search of truth, and when the strong embankment of our clear law and our excellent faith had once been broken through His Majesty grew colder and colder, till after the short space of five or six years not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart Matters then became very different*"

[Bad II, p 239]

' In 984 the news arrived that Shah Ṭahmāsp of Persia had died, and Shāh Ismāʿīl II had succeeded him The Tarikh of his accession is given in the first letters of the three words دولت ,نیم, and طفر [د + ن + ط = 984] Shah Ismaʿil gave the order that any one who wished to go to Makkah could have his travelling expenses paid from the royal exchequer Thus thousands of people partook of the spiritual blessing of pilgrimage, whilst here you dare not now [1004] mention that word, and you would expose yourself to capital punishment if you were to ask leave from court for this purpose"

[Bad II, p 241]

"In 985, the news arrived that Shāh Ismaʿil, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had been murdered, with the consent of the grandees, by his sister *Parī Jān Khānum* Mir Haydar, the riddle writer, found the Tarikh of his accession in the words *Shahinshāh i rū zamīn* [984] 'a king of the face of the earth' and the Tarikh of his death in *Shahinshāh i zer-i zamīn* [985] 'a king below the face of the earth'[1] At that time also there appeared in Persia the great comet which had been visible in India (p 240) and the consternation was awful, especially as at the same time the Turks conquered Tabriz, Shirwān, and Mazandaran Sultān Muhammad Khudabanda, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, but by another mother, succeeded, and with him ended the time of reviling and cursing the *Sahābah*

"*But the heretical ideas had certainly entered Hindūstān from Persia*"

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[1] As Ṭahmāsp in his short Memoirs (Pers. Ms. 782, As. Soc. Bengal) gives the word ظل [930] as the Tārikh of his accession we have —

Ṭahmāsp from 930 to 984 Ismāʿīl II, 984 to 985

Prinsep's Tables (IInd edition, p. 308) give —Ṭahmāsp 932 to 983, Ismāʿīl II, from 983 to 985.

Badā,onī's Summary of the Reasons which led Akbar to Renounce the Islam

[Bad II, p 256]

The following are the principal reasons which led His Majesty from the right path I *shall not give all, but only some*, according to the proverb, "That which is small, guides that which is great, and a sign of fear in a man points him out as the culprit"

The principal reason is the large number of learned men of all denominations and sects that came from various countries to court, and received personal interviews Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate, profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition and ran counter to his wishes. *From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his* manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, *with a talent* of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every [Islamitic] principle Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, they grew, gradually as the outline of a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islâm, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old, why should one sect assert what another denies and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself

Moreover, Sumanis[1] and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty As they surpass other learned men in their *treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach* a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs based on reason and testimony,

[1] Explained in Arab dictionaries as a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tanasukh*) Akbar, as will be seen from the following was convinced of the transmigration of souls, and therefore rejected the doctrine of resurrection

for the truth of their own and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly and so skilfully represented things as quite self evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islamitic revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our prophet He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed, and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands

How wise was the advice which the guardian gave a lovely being,

"Do not smile at every face, as the rose does at every zephyr" [1]

When it was too late to profit by the lesson,

She could but frown, and hang down the head

For some time His Majesty called a Brahmin, whose name was Purukhotam, author of a commentary on the ,[2] whom he asked to invent particular Sanscrit names for all things in existence At other times, a Brahmin of the name of Debī was pulled up the wall of the castle,[3] sitting on a *chārpāe*, till he arrived near a balcony where the *emperor used* to sleep Whilst thus suspended, he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahma, Mahadev, Bishn, Kishn, Râm, and Mahāmāī, who are supposed to have been men, but very likely never existed, though *some*, in their idle belief, look upon them as gods, and others as angels His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, commenced to look upon them with affection The doctrine of the transmigration of souls especially took a *deep root in his* heart, and he approved of the saying—"There is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root" Insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to fix the evidence *for this doctrine*, and as His Majesty relished inquiries into the sects of these infidels (who cannot be counted, so numerous they are, and who have no end of

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[1] Just as Akbar liked the zephyr of inquiry into other religious systems. But zephyrs are also destructive, they scatter the petals of the rose.

[2] The text has a few unintelligible words.

[3] Perhaps in order not to get polluted or because the balcony belonged to the Harem.

revealed books, but nevertheless, do not belong to the *Ahl i Kitāb*, Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans), not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence

Sometimes again, it was *Shaykh Tāj^u 'd Dīn* of Dihlī who had to attend the emperor This Shaykh is the son of Shaykh Zakariya of Ajodhan The principal ʿUlamas of the age call him *Tāj^u 'l ʿĀrifīn*, or crown of the Sufis He had learned under Shaykh Zamān of Panipat, author of a commentary on the Lawaʾih, and of other very excellent works was in Sūfism and pantheism second only to Shaykh Ibn ʿArabi, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Nuzhat^u 'l-Arwāh* Like the preceding, he was drawn up the wall of the castle His Majesty listened whole nights to his Sufic trifles As the Shaykh was not over strict [1] in acting according to our religious law, he spoke a great deal of the pantheistic presence, which idle Sūfīs will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy He also introduced polemic matters, as the ultimate salvation by faith of Pharaoh —God's curse be upon him!—which is mentioned in the *Fusus^u 'l Hikam*,[2] or the excellence of hope over fear,[3] and many other things to which men incline from weakness of disposition, unmindful of cogent reasons, or distinct religious commands, to the contrary The Shaykh is therefore one of the principal culprits who weakened His Majesty's faith in the orders of our religion He also said that infidels would, of course, be kept for ever in hell, but it was not likely, nor could it be proved, that the punishment in hell was eternal His explanations of some verses of the Qurʾan or of the Tradition of our prophet, were often far fetched Besides, he mentioned that the phrase *Insān i Kāmil* (perfect man) referred to the ruler of the age, from which he inferred that the nature of a king was holy In this way, he said many agreeable things to the emperor, rarely expressing the proper meaning, but rather the opposite of what he knew to be correct Even the *sijdah* (prostration), which people mildly call *zamīnbos* (kissing the ground), he allowed to be due to the Insan i Kamil, he looked upon the respect due to the king as a religious command, and called the face of the king *Kaʿba yi Murādāt*, the sanctum of desires,

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[1] As long as a Sūfi conforms to the Qurʾān he is *sharʿi*, but when he feels that he has drawn nearer to God and does no longer require the ordinances of the *profanum vulgus* he is *āzād* free and becomes a heretic

[2] Pharaoh claimed divinity, and is therefore *malʿūn*, accursed by God. But according to some books, and among them the *Fusus* Pharaoh repented in the moment of death, and acknowledged Moses to be a true prophet

[3] The Islām says, *Al īmān bayn^a 'l khawf^i wa 'r rijāʾ* Faith stands *between* fear and hope Hence it is sin to fear God's wrath more than to hope for God's mercy, and so reversely

and *Qibla yı hājāt*, the cynosure of necessities Such blasphemies [1] other people supported by quoting stories of no credit, and by referring to the practice followed by disciples of some heads of Indian sects And after this, when . [2]

Other great philosophical writers of the age also expressed opinions, for which there is no authority Thus Shaykh Yaʿqūb of Kashmir, a well known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some opinions held by ʿAynᵘ 'l Quzat of Hamadān, that our prophet Muhammad was a personification of the divine name of *Al hādī* (the guide), and the devil was the personification of God's name of *Al-muzill* (the tempter),[3] that both names, thus personified, had appeared in this world, and that both personifications were therefore necessary

Mullā Muhammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the wall of the castle, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the first three Khalifahs, called the whole Sahābah, their followers and next followers, and the saints of past ages, infidels and adulterers, slandered the Sunnis and the *Ahl ı Jamāʿat*,[4] and represented every sect except the Shiʿah, as damned and leading men into damnation.

The differences among the ʿUlamās, of whom one called lawful what the o[illegible]
apost[illegible]
super[illegible] and rank to Imam ı Ghazzālī and Imâm-ı Razı,[5] and knowing from experience the flimsiness of his ʿUlamās, he judged those great men of the past by his contemporaries, and threw them aside

Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of *Pādre* [6] They have an infallible head, called *Papā* He can change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority These monks brought the gospel, and mentioned to the emperor their proofs for the Trinity His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of

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[1] As the *zaminbos*, or the use of holy names as *Kaʿbah* (the temple of Makkah) or *Qiblah* (Makkah, in as far as people turn to it their face when praying)

[2] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[3] According to the Islām God leads (*hādī*) men to salvation, but also to sin and damnation. God created also wickedness.

[4] *Ahl-ı jamāʿat* is a term which is often joined with the word *Sunnat* All religious ordinances are either based upon the Qurʾan, or upon the Tradition, or upon the opinion (*qiyās*) of famous *Sahābis*, or lastly, upon *ijmāʿ* agreement, or the custom generally followed during the first century of the *Hijrah* Hence *Ahl ı jamāʿat* comprises all such as believe *ijmāʿ* binding.

[5] Two famous authorities in religious matters The most popular books of *Imām Ghazzālī* are the *Ihyāʾ l-ʿulūm* and the *Kimiyā yı saʿādat* which, according to [illegible] 103, was one of the few books which Akbar liked.

[6] The text has پادری.

Jesus, ordered Prince Murad [1] to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abū 'l Fazl to translate the Gospel Instead of the usual *Bism' 'llāh' 'r-rahmān' 'r-rahīm'*, [2] the following lines were used—

Ay nām i tu Jesus o Kiristū

(O thou those names are Jesus and Christ)

which means, "O thou whose name is gracious and blessed", and Shaykh Fayzī added another half, in order to complete the verse

Subhāna kᵃ lā siwā kᵃ Yā hū

(We praise Thee, there is no one besides Thee, O God !)

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muhammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house !—a thing which even devils would not do

Bīr Bar also impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything The ripening of the grain in the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary, and people in praying should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets For similar reasons, said Bīr Bar, should men pay regard to fire and water, stones, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their dung, to the mark on the forehead and the Brahminical thread

Philosophers and learned men who had been at Court, but were in disgrace, made themselves busy in bringing proofs They said the sun was "the greatest light", the source of benefit for the whole world, the nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power

This was also the cause why the Nawrūz i Jalālī [3] was observed, on which day since His Majesty's accession, a great feast was given His Majesty also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours,

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[1] Prince Murad was then about eight years old Jahangir (Salim) was born on Wednesday ... [illegible]
Khānum ... [illegible]
Shah Mu... [illegible]
Sikri ... [illegible]
10th the Jumada I awwal 97[illegible]

[2] The formula *Bism llah* etc is said by every schoolboy before he commences to read from his text book

The words *Ay nām i tu Jesus o Kiristo* are taken from the Dabistān, the edition of [illegible]

each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the seven colours of the seven planets

The emperor also learned from some Hindus, formulæ to reduce the influence of the sun to his subjection, and commenced to read them mornings and evenings as a religious exercise He also believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindus worship, he looked upon cow dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef, and killed beautiful men (?) instead of cows The doctors confirmed the emperor in his opinion, and told him it was written in their books that beef was productive of all sorts of diseases and was very indigestible

Fire worshippers also had come from Nausarī in Gujrāt, and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines They called fire-worship "the great worship", and impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Pārsis, and ordered Abū 'l Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire temples it had been continually burning, for fire was one of the manifestations of God, and "a ray of His rays"

His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem

From the New Year's day of the twenty fifth year of his reign [988], His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace On the festival of the eighth day of Virgo, he put on the mark on the forehead, like a Hindu, and appeared in the Audience Hall, when several Brahmins tied, by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels on it round his hands, whilst the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their circumstances, pearls and jewels as presents The custom of Rakhi (or tying pieces of clothes round the wrists as amulets) became quite common

When orders in opposition to the Islām were quoted by people of other religions, they were looked upon by His Majesty as convincing, whilst Hinduism is in reality a religion in which every order is nonsense The originator of our belief, the Arabian Saints, all were said to be adulterers and highway robbers, and all the Muhammadans were declared worthy of reproof, till at length His Majesty belonged to those of whom the Qur'an says (Sūr 61, 8) "They seek to extinguish God's light with their mouths But God will perfect his light though the infidels be averse

thereto" In fact matters went so far that proofs were no longer required when anything connected with the Islām was to be abolished

Akbar publicly assumes the spiritual leadership of the nation

[Bad II, p 268]

"In this year [987] His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church, for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one As he had heard that the prophet, his lawful successors and some of the most powerful kings as Amir Timūr Sahib qiran and Mirzā Ulugh Beg i Gurgan and several others had themselves read the *Khutba* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the Mujtahid of the age Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumada l awwal* 987, in the Jami' Masjid of Fathpur, which he had built near the palace His Majesty commenced to read the Khutba But all at once he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaykh Fayzi had composed, came quickly down from the pulpit and handed over the duties of the Imam (leader of the prayer) to Hafiz Muhammad Amin, the Court *Khatib* These are the verses —

> The Lord has given me the empire,
> And a wise heart, and a strong arm,
> He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
> And has removed from my thoughts everything but justice
> His praise surpasses man's understanding,
> Great is His power, Allahu Akbar!"

[p 269]

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Qur'ān, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans openly reviled our prophet, irreligious writers left out in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the prophet, and after saying something to the praise of God, wrote eulogies of the emperor instead.[1] It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (as Abū 'l Fazl, Fayzi, etc) did not like it This wicked innovation gave general offence, and sowed the seed of evil throughout the country,[2] but notwithstanding this, a lot of low and mean fellows

[1] As Abu l Fazl has done in the Ā'in "But Fayzi added the usual praise of the prophet (na't) to his *Nal Daman*, a short time before his death, at the pressing request of some friends. *Bad I,own*

[2] Because books were sure to be copied hence many would see the innovation and imitate it. As the formula *Bism' llāh*, etc, had been changed to *Allāhu Akbar*, we also find *Allāhu Akbar* in the heading of books, as in the Ā'in.

put piously on their necks the collar of the Divine Faith, and called themselves disciples, either from fear or hope of promotion, though they thought it impossible to say our creed"

[pp 270 to 272]

"In the same year [987] a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdūmᵘ 'l Mulk, of Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, sadrᵘ ṣ sudūr, of Qāzī Jalālᵘ 'd Din of Multān, Qāziyᵘ 'l quzat of Sadr Jahan, the mufti of the empire, of Shaykh Mubārak, the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghazi Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences The objects of the document was to settle the superiority of the *Imām iʿādil* (just leader) over the *Mujtahid*, which was proved by a reference to an ill supported authority The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion, but the document was to do away with the possibility of disagreeing about laws, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves But before the instrument was signed, a long discussion took place as to the meaning of *ijtihād*, and as to whom the term *Mujtahid* was applicable, and whether it really was the duty of a just *Imam* who, from his acquaintance with politics, holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid*, to decide, according to the requirements of the times, and the wants of the age, all such legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly, others against their convictions

I shall copy the document *verbatim*

The Document

"'Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace—and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home Now we, the principal ʿUlamās, who are not only well versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qurʾān (Sūr. IV, 62), "*Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you,*" and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition, "*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imām i ʿĀdil: whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Me, and Whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me,*" and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sulṭān-i ʿādil* (a just ruler) is higher

heard all this Our faith in the same, whether a man hold high or broad views ' His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition, or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he once go away from India, and be a respectable man there, he might go at once Shāhbaz got excited, and took a part in the conversation, and when Bir Bar—that hellish dog—made a sneering remark at our religion, Shâhbâz abused him roundly, and said, 'You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you ' It got quite uncomfortable when His Majesty said to Shahbaz in particular, and to the others in general, 'Would that a shoeful of excrements were thrown into your faces ' "

[p 276]

"'In this year the *Tamghā* (inland tolls) and the *Jazya* (tax on infidels), which brought in several krors of *dāms*, were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire '

"In the same year a rebellion broke out at Jaunpūr, headed by Muhammad Maʿsūm of Kabul, Muhammad Maʿsūm Khan, Muʿizzu 'l Mulk, ʿArab Bahadur, and other grandees They objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters, in as far as these innovations led to a withdrawal of grants of rent free land The rebels had consulted Mulla Muhammad of Yazd (*vide* above, pp 184, 191), who was Qaziyu 'l quzat at Jaunpūr, and on obtaining his opinion that, under the circumstances, rebellion against the king of the land was lawful, they seized some tracts of land, and collected a large army The course which this rebellion took is known from general histories, *vide* Elphinstone, p 511 Mulla Muhammad of Yazd and Muʿizzu 'l Mulk, in the beginning of the rebellion were called by the emperor to Āgra, and drowned, on the road, at the command of the emperor, in the Jamnā

"In the same year the principal ʿUlamas, as Makhdūu 'l Mulk, Shaykh Munawwar, Mullā ʿAbdu 'sh Shukūr, etc, were sent as exiles to distant provinces "

[p 278]

"Haji Ibrāhīm of Sarhind (*vide* above, p 111) brought to court an old, worm eaten MS in queer characters, which, as he pretended, was written by Shaykh Ibn ʿArabi In this book, it was said that the *Sāhib-i Zamān* [1] was to have many wives, and that he would shave his beard Some of the characteristics mentioned in the book as belonging to him

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[1] *Sāhib-i Zamān*, or "Man of the Period", is a title frequently given to Imam Mahdi.

"All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else "[1]

[p 291]

" At one of the meetings, the emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of a man who could be considered the wisest man of the age , but they should not mention kings, as they formed an exception Each then mentioned that man in whom he had confidence Thus Hakīm Humām (*vide* above, p 184) mentioned himself, and Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl his own father

" During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed four degrees , and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree

" All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne "

[p 299]

" At this time (end of 989) His Majesty sent Shaykh Jamal Bakhtyār to bring Shaykh Qutbu d Din of Jalesar who though a wicked man pretended to be ' attracted by God When Qutbu 'd Din came the emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests and rationalists and some other great authorities of the age After a discussion the Shaykh exclaimed, ' Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion The fire was made the Shaykh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat and said to him ' Come on in the name of God ! ' But none of the priests had the courage to go

" Soon after the Shaykh was sent into exile to Bhakkar together with other faqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph

" A large number of Shaykhs and Faqirs were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahar, where they were exchanged for horses About the same time, the emperor captured a sect consisting of Shaykhs and disciples, and known under the name of *Ilāhīs* They professed all sorts of nonsense, and practised deceits His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities They replied, ' Repentance is our Maid ' And so they had invented similar names for the laws and religious commands of the Islam and for the fast At the command of His Majesty,

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[1] God.

A Dārogha and a clerk also were appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it But without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing girls to his house If any well known courtiers wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty and get his permission In the same way, boys prostituted themselves, and drunkenness and ignorance soon led to bloodshed Though in some cases capital punishment was inflicted, certain privileged courtiers walked about proudly and insolently doing what they liked

"His Majesty himself called some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were punished or censured, or confined for a long time in fortresses Among them His Majesty came across one whose name was Raja Bir Bar, a member of the Divine Faith, who had gone beyond the four degrees and acquired the four cardinal virtues[1] At that time he happened to live in his jagir in the Pargana of Karah, and when he heard of the affair, he applied for permission to turn Jogi, but *His Majesty ordered him to* come to Court, assuring him that he need not be afraid

[illegible] beef was considered defiling The

in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as some thing holy Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard,[2] which things His Majesty still avoids He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes, he abstained from every thing which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him Hence *this custom has become very general Pandering pimps also* expressed the opinion that the beard takes its nourishment from the testicles, for no eunuch had a beard, and one could not exactly see of what merit or

[1] *Faza'il i arbaʕa* or the four virtues viz *ḥikmat* wisdom, *shujaʕat* courage, *ʕiffat* chastity, *ʕadālat* justice Books on *Akhlaq* divide each into several kinds Compare the above with the cardinal virtues of the ancient justice prudence, temperance, and fortitude

[2] The last three things are inconvenient in kissing

importance it was to cultivate a beard Moreover, former ascetics had looked upon carelessness in letting the beard grow as one way of mortifying one's flesh, because such carelessness exposed them to the reproach of the world, and as, at present, the silly lawyers of the Islām looked upon cutting down the beard as reproachful, it was clear that shaving was now a way of mortifying the flesh, and therefore praiseworthy, but not letting the beard grow (But if any one considers this argument calmly, he will soon detect the fallacy) Lying, cheating Muftīs also quoted an unknown tradition, in which it was stated that 'some Qāzīs' of Persia had shaved their beards But the words *ka mā yafʿalū baʿzu 'l quzāt* (as *some Qazīs* have done), which occur in this tradition, are based upon a corrupt reading, and should be *ka-mā yafʿalū baʿzu 'l ʿuṣāt* (as some *wicked men* have done)

"The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross and [1] and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice The words *Kufr shāyiʿ shud*, or 'heresy became common', express the *Tārīkh* (985) Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these doings, matters had gone so far that wretches like Mirzā Jānī chief of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confessions on paper as follows —'I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected the Islam in all its phases, whether low or high as I have witnessed it in my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith of Shah Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion' And these papers—there could be no more effective letters of damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid (Abū 'l Fazl) of the new Creed, and were considered a source of confidence or promotion The Heavens might have parted asunder, and earth might have opened her abyss, and the mountains have crumbled to dust!

"In opposition to the Islam, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean A large number of these animals was kept in the Harem, and in the vaults of the castle, and to inspect them daily was considered a religious exercise The Hindus, who believe in incarnations, said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed

"'God is indeed Almighty—but not what they say'

"The saying of some wise men that a dog had ten virtues, and that a man, if he possesses one of them was a saint, was also quoted as a proof Certain courtiers and friends of His Majesty, who were known for their

[1] The text has *o balbalan* (?) [*cunabula* B] *kih Ibushgah i sebānast* which I do not understand

excellence in every department, and proverbial as court poets,[1] used to put dogs on a tablecloth and feed them, whilst other heretical poets, Persians and Hindustânîs, followed this example, even taking the tongues of dogs into their own mouths, and then boasting of it

"Tell the Mir that thou hast, within thy skin, a dog and a carcass[2]

"A dog runs about in front of the house, don't make him a messmate

"The ceremonial ablution after emission of *semen*[3] was no longer considered binding, and people quoted as proof that the essence of man was the *sperma genitale*, which was the origin of good and bad men It was absurd that voiding urine and excrements should not require ceremonial ablutions, whilst the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate ablution, it would be far better, if people would first bathe, and then have connexion

"Further, it was absurd to prepare a feast in honour of a dead person, for the corpse was mere matter, and could derive no pleasure from the feast People should therefore make a grand feast on their birthdays[4] Such feasts were called *Āsh i hayāt*, food of life[5]

"The flesh of a wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the courage which these two animals possess would be transferred to any one who fed on such meat

"It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love Boys were not to marry before the age of 16 nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages was weakly The wearing of ornaments and silk dresses at the time of prayer was made obligatory[6]

"The prayers of the Islam, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden Some bastards, as the son of Mulla Mubarak, a worthy disciple of Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl wrote treatises in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices of course with proofs His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors

" The era of the Hijrah was now abolished and a new era was introduced of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963) The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Nisāb' 's sibiyān*[7] Fourteen festivals also were

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[1] Fayzi
[2] I e that you are a dog
[3] According to the law bathing is required after *jimaʕ* and *iht lam*
[4] For the poor
[5] Provisions for the life to come
[6] The Muhammadan law enjoins Muslims to go to the Mosques simply dressed Silk is forbidden Muhammadans disapprove of our Sunday dresses and pewage
[7] *Vide* p 43 note 1

introduced, corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians, but the feasts of the Musalmāns, and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people [1] used to go to it. The new era was called *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī*, or 'Divine Era'. On copper coins and gold muhrs, the era of the Millennium [2] was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime; and Muhammadan law, the exegesis of the Qur'an, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, as the ث, ح, ح, ع, ص, ض, and ط, were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *ʿAbdu'llah*, people wrote ابدالله *Abdullah*, and for احدی *Aḥadī*, اهدی *Ahadī*, etc. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shāhnāma, which Firdawsī gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at court—

> From eating the flesh of camels and lizards
> The Arabs have made such progress,
> That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
> Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!

"Similarly other verses were eagerly seized, if they conveyed a calumny, as the verses from the . . . ,[3] in which the falling out of the teeth of our prophet is alluded to.

"In the same manner, every doctrine and command of the Islām, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of the Islām with reason, the doctrines of *Ru'yat*, *Taklīf*, and *Takwīn*,[4] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment—all were doubted and ridiculed.

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[1] The text has an unintelligible sentence.

[2] That is, the word *alf* (one thousand) was put on the coins. From this passage it would appear that coins with *alf* on it (*vide* Marsden, p. 599) were struck about 991.

[3] The word in the text is *Sajarāk* (?). In an engagement Muhammad lost two of his teeth.

[4] *Ru'yat*, or *dīdār-i Ilāhī dar jannat*, the actual seeing of God in Paradise, is a doctrine in high favour with the Sunnis. The Shīʿahs say there will be no actual seeing.

Taklīf. A man is called *mukallaf bi-sh-sharʿ*, bound by the law, *first*, if he belong to the *Islām*; *secondly*, if he have ʿ*aql* or a sound mind; *thirdly*, if he have reached *bulūgh*, i.e., if he be of age.

Takwīn means existence between two non-existences (ʿ*adamayn*). Thus a present event stands between a past and a future non-existence. This, the Islam says, is the case with the world, which will come to an end. But Akbar denied it, as he did not believe in a day of judgment.

And if anyone did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted But it is well known how little chance a man has who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands, for equality in condition is a *sine quâ non* in arguing

A man who will not listen if you bring the Qur'an and the Tradition
Can only be replied to by not replying to him

"Many a family was ruined by these discussions But perhaps 'discussions' is not the correct name we should call them meetings for arrogance and defamation People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many presents Thus Latif Khwaja who came from a noble family in Turkistan made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi s *Shama'il* [1] and asked how in all the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an *idol* Other remarks were passed on the straying camel [2] Some again expressed their astonishment that the Prophet in the beginning of his career, plundered the carvans of Quraysh that he had fourteen wives, that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband if the Prophet thought her agreeable etc At night, when there were social assemblies His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'The Forty',[3] and every one might say or ask what he liked If then any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said, You had better ask the Mullas about that, as we only settle things which appeal to man s reason' But it s impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the *Sahābah* when historical books happened to be read out especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Siffin [4] etc —would that I were

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deaf! The Shiʿahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis were defeated, the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof for his own infallibility, entirely forgetful of the proverb, 'Who slanders others, slanders himself' The ignorant vulgar had nothing on their tongues but '*Allāh*ᵘ *Akbar*', and they looked upon repeating this phrase, which created so much commotion, as a daily religious exercise Mullā Sheri, at this time, composed a *qitʿa* of ten verses, in which the following occur

It is madness to believe with the fool that love towards our prophet
Will ever vanish from the earth
I smile, if I think that the following verse, in all its silliness,
Will be repeated at the feast of the rich, and as a prayer by the poor.

'This year the emperor has claimed prophetship,
Next year, if God will, he will be god'

"At the new year's day feasts, His Majesty forced many of the ʿUlamās and the pious, nay even the Qazis and the Mufti of the realm, to drink wine And afterwards the Mujtahids of the Divine Faith, especially Fayzi, called out, 'Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!' On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharaf*ᵘ *'sh sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty), the grandees were promoted, or received new jagirs, or horses, or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion of the tribute they had brought'

'In this year Gulbadan Begum [Akbar's aunt] and Salima Sultān Begum returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah Soon after Shah Abū Turāb also, and Iʿtimād Khan of Gujrat, returned from the pilgrimage, and brought an immense stone with them, which had to be transported on an elephant The stone contained, according to Abū Turab, an impression of the foot of the Prophet Akbar—though it is difficult to guess the motive—went four *kos* to meet it, and the grandees were ordered to carry the stone themselves by turns, and thus it was brought to town"

[p 312]

"In this year, Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor said in the presence of the emperor to Bir Bar, 'Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are many in ours (Qurʾān), hence it is impossible to trust either'

"Some shameless and ill starred wretches also asked His Majesty, why

at the approaching close of the Millenium, he did not make use of the sword 'the most convincing proof,' as Shah Isma'il of Persia had done But His Majesty, at last, was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would have easily got most of the courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets

The following Ruba'i of Nasir i Khusraw was often quoted at court—

> I see in 992 two conjunctions,
> I see the sign of Mahdi and that of Antichrist
> Either politics must change or religion
> I clearly see the hidden secret

' At a council meeting for renovating the religion of the empire, Raja Bhagawan said, 'I would willingly believe that Hindūs and Musalmans have each a bad religion, but only tell us where the new sect is and what opinion they hold so that I may believe' His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Raja But the alteration of the orders of our glorious faith was continued The *Tārīkh* was found in the words *Ihdās i bid'at* the innovation of heresy (990)

" During those days also the public prayers and the *azan*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall were abolished Names like *Ahmad, Muhammad Mustafa*, etc, became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem till, after some time, those courtiers who had such names, changed them, and names as *Yār Muhammad Muhammad Khān*, were altered to *Rahmat* To call such ill starred wretches by the name of our blessed prophet would indeed be wrong and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names but it was even necessary to change them, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig'

" And this destructive fire all broke out in Āgra burnt down great and small families and did not even spare their family tombs—May God forsake these wretches!'

[p 315]

" In *Rabī'u 's sānī* 990, Mir Fathu 'llah came from the Dakhin (*vide* above, p 34) As he had been an immediate pupil of Mir Ghiyasu 'd Din Mansur of Shiraz, who had not been overstrict in religious matters, His Majesty thought that Fathu 'llah would only be too glad to enter into his religious scheme But Fathu 'llah was such a staunch Shi'ah, and at

the same time such a worldly office hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shi'ism Even in the state hall he said, with the greatest composure, his Shi'ah prayers—a thing which no one else would have dared to do His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but he connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge Once the emperor in Fath'u'llah's presence,[1] said to Bir Bar, 'I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could, in the space of a moment, leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm?' So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed 'Why,' said His Majesty, lifting up one foot, 'it is really impossible for me to lift up the other foot! What silly stories men will believe' And that wretch (Bir Bar) and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten—said, 'Yea, we believe! Yea, we trust!' This great foot experiment was repeated over and over again But Fath'u'llah—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say some thing for he was a new comer—looked straight before himself, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear"

Here Bada,oni mentions the translations from Sanscrit into Persian, which have been alluded to above, p 110 It is not quite certain whether the translations were made from Sanscrit or from Hindi translations, or from both Badā,oni clearly states that for some translations, as at the Atharban, Hindus were used as interpreters For other works as the Mahabharat, there may have been Hindi translations or extracts, because Akbar himself (*vide* p 111, note 2) translated passages to Naqib Khān Abū 'l Fazl also states that he was assisted by Pandits when writing the fourth book of the *Ā'īn* Compare Sir H Elliott's *Index to the Historians of India*, p 259

[p 321]

"In these days (991) new orders were given The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun, during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardin, the whole month of Ābān (the month in which His Majesty was born), and on several other days, to please the Hindus This order was extended over the whole realm, and capital punishment was inflicted on every one

[1] As Fath'u'llah was a good mechanic, Akbar thought that by referring to the weight of a man, and the following experiment with his foot, he would induce Fath'u'llah to make a remark on the Prophet's ascension (mi'rāj).

who acted against the command Many a family was ruined During the time of these fasts, His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether

"A second order was given that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanscrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning towards the sun, he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of the ears with his fists He also adopted several other practices connected with sun worship He used to wear the Hindu mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store rooms, or given to Hindu Chaukidars For the word *jamāʿat* (public prayer), His Majesty used the term *jimaʿ* (copulation), and for *ḥayya*[1] *ala*, he said *yalalā talalā*

"The cemetery within the town was ordered to be sequestered "

[p 324]

"In the same year (991) His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindus and Muhammadans, one of them being called *Khayr pūra* and the other *Dharmpūra* Some of Abū l Fazl s people were put in charge of them They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor As an immense number of *Jogīs* also flocked to this establish ment, a third place was built, which got the name of *Jogīpūra* His Majesty also called some of the Jogis and gave them at night private interviews, inquiring into abstruse truths, their articles of faith, their occupations, the influence of pensiveness, their several practices and usages, the power of being absent from the body, or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul His Majesty even learned alchemy, and showed in public some of the gold made by him Once a year also during a night called *Sivrat* a great meeting was held of all Jogis of the empire, when the emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogis, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men His Majesty fully believed it, and con necting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, he got quite convinced of it Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs

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[1] *Hayya ʿala* for *ḥayya ʿala s-salāh* [the *waqf* form of *ṣalāt*], Come quick to the prayer is a phrase which occurs in the *Aẕān*. *Yalalā talalā* is a phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth.

for the longevity of the emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn[1] was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years, whilst in Sanscrit books the ages of some men were put down as ten thousand years; and in Thibet there were even now a class of *Lamas*, or Mongolian devotees, and recluses and hermits, that live two hundred years, and more. For this reason His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lāmas, limited the time he spent in the harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hairs at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening[2] of the human body) under a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul, by metempsychosis, will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king.

'His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tawḥīd-i Ilāhī*, or 'Divine Monotheism.'

'He also called, according to the manner of the Jogis, a number of special disciples *Chelās* (slaves). A lot of vile, swindling, wicked birds, who were not admitted to the palace, stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared they had made vows not to rinse their mouths, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the emperor; and every evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindus and Muhammadans, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering, and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the 1,001 names of the 'Greater Luminary', and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmins collected another set of 1,001

[1] *Zuḥal* in Persian *Kaywān* Saturn. Th[illegible] wisdom. Niẓāmī says *sawad i safina ba k*[illegible] the power of writing. *Anwār Suhaylī* [illegible] *i dar naqta-dānī*. Saturn in wisdom is [illegible] Abū l Qāsim has the *laqab* (title) of *Ghul*[illegible] of years, over which each of the seven pla[illegible] during which the ages of men were long [illegible] people do not attain a very old age [illegible] says, *In chi shorist ki dar dawr i qamar m*[illegible] witness in the cycle [illegible] the moon?

[2] *Vide* my text edition, fourth book, p. 8 l. 9

names of 'His Majesty the Sun', and told the emperor that he was an incarnation like Ram Kishn and *other infidel kings* and *though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet* In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanscrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India who would honour Brahmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the emperor who believed every *word of it*

[illegible] *of*
[illegible] ed

"His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnis [illegible] ely from the Shi'ahs, when the Hindustanis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shi'ah side"

[p 336]

"*During this year [992] Mullā Ilahdād of Amrohah and Mullā Sheri* attended at Court in order to flatter the emperor, *for they had been* appointed to *sadrships* in the Duab of the Panjāb Mullā Sheri presented to His Majesty a poem made by him, entitled *Hazār Shuā'* or 'The Thousand Rays', which contained 1,000 *qiṭa's* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased"

At the feast of the emperor's accession in 992, numerous conversions took place [Bad II, p 338]

"*They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles, and to follow* the new religion *Instead of the usual tree*,[2] His Majesty gave his likeness, upon which the disciples looked as a symbol of faith and the advancement of virtue and prosperity They used to wrap it up in cloth studded with jewels, and wore it on the top of their turbans The phrase '*Allāh Akbar*' was ordered to be used as the heading in all writings Playing with dice, and taking interest, were allowed, and so in fact was everything else admitted which is forbidden in the Islām A play house was even

[1] *Qullatayn*, two large jars containing 1 200 *raṭl-i 'irāqī* ('Irāqī pounds) [illegible] water According to the Shi'ahs and the Shāfi'ī sect, water does not become *najis* or soiled, *from its being used, provided the quantity of water weigh not less than 1,200 raṭl*, or the [illegible] just deep enough that the hand in passing [illegible] made bad for its object

[illegible] but of discipleship as, [illegible] etc, ending with their [illegible] given.

built at Court, and money from the exchequer was lent to the players on interest (*vide* Second book, *Āīn* 15) Interest and *shatal* (money given at the end of the play to the bystanders) were looked upon as very satisfactory things

"Girls before the age of fourteen, and boys before sixteen, were not to marry, and the story of the marriage night of the Prophet with *Siddiqa*[1] was totally disapproved of. But why should I mention other blasphemies?—May the attention which any one pays to them run away like quicksilver—really I do not know what human ears cannot bear to hear!

"The sins which all prophets are known to have committed, were cited as a reason why people should not believe the words of the prophets So especially in the case of David[2] and the story of Uriah And if any one dared to differ from the belief of these men, he was looked upon as fit to be killed, or as an apostate and everlastingly damned, or he was called a lawyer and enemy of the emperor But according to the proverb, 'What people sow, that they shall reap,' they themselves became notorious in the whole world as the greatest heretics by their damnable innovations, and 'the infallible' authority got the nickname of *Abū-jahl*[3] Yes, 'If the king is bad, the Vizier is worse' Looking after worldly matters was placed before religious concerns, but of all things, these innovations were the most important, and everything else was accessory

"In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bāzārs, which are held on New Year's day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the Harem, and also for any other married ladies On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money, and the important affairs of harem people, marriage contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings

"The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office,

[1] *Siddiqa* is the title of ʿĀyisha, the daughter of Abu Bakr [illegible] She was [illegible] when she was engaged [illegible]
took place when [illegible]
when my mother [illegible]
[illegible]
so young she took [illegible]
that even in the [illegible]
caressed her and [illegible]
that she would be [illegible]

[2] David count[illegible]

[3] Properly *fa*[illegible] *father of wisdom.*

and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he *could not* get enough, for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable, to them belongs *half* the army and half the land Neither the Hindustānis nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not"

[p 340]

"In this year Sultān Khwāja died He also belonged to the elect disciples of His Majesty After burying him, they laid down a new rule They put a grate over his grave in such a manner that the light of the rising sun, which cleanses from all sins, could shine on the face of the corpse People said, they had seen fiery tongues resting over his mouth, but God knows best."

During the month of *Safar* (the second month of the year) 994, Akbar's troops were defeated by the Yūsuf zā,is Badā,onī says (p 350)

"Nearly 8 000 men, perhaps even more, were killed Bir Bar also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime During the last night attack, many grandees and persons of renown were killed, as Hasan Khān,[1] and Khwaja ʿArab paymaster (colonel) of Khān Jahān and Mulla Sheri, the poet, and many others whose names I cannot specify The words *az Khwāja ʿArab hayf*[2] express the Tārikh of the defeat, by one less Hakīm Abū 'l Fazl and Zayn Khān on the 5th Rabiʿ-i awwal, reached with their defeated troops the fort of Ātak . But His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bar He said, 'Alas! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned', but at last, he consoled himself with the thought that Bir Bar was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by fire"

New orders were given in the beginning of 995 [Page 356]

"No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness, but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, and one wife' Women,

[1] *Vide* List of grandees, Text edition of the Āʾin p 227, No 220 where for *Husayn* read *Hasan* In the MSS. of the Āʾin he is called سبی or ضبی My MS of the Tabaqāt reads سبی اسانی *Patanī Afghān*, and calls him a *Hazāri* The edition of Badā,onī has wrong سبی His biography is not given in the *Maʾāsir-i umarā*

[2] The letters give 993, hence one more = 994.

on reaching the limit of their period of fertility, when their courses stop, should no longer wish for the husband If widows liked to re-marry, they might do so, though this was [1] against the ideas of the Hindus A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt If, however, the Hindus thought this a hardship, they should not be prevented (from burning the girl); but then a Hindu widow should take the girl . . [2]

"Again, if disciples meet each other, one should say '*Allāh*ᵘ *Akbar*', and the other should respond '*Jall*ᵃ *Jallālu h*ᵘ'. These formulas were to take the place of our *salām*, and the answer to the *salām* The beginning of counting Hindu months should be the 28th day, and not the 16th, because the latter was the invention and innovation of Bikramājit The Hindu feasts, likewise, were to take place in accordance with this rule But the order was not obeyed, though farmāns to that effect, as early as 990, had been sent to Gujrāt and Bengal

"Common people should no longer learn Arabic, because such people were generally the cause of much mischief Cases between Hindus should be decided by learned Brahmins, and not by Musalmān Qāzīs If it were necessary to have recourse to oaths they should put heated irons into the hands of the accused, who was guilty if his hands were burnt, but innocent if not, or they should put the hands of the accused into hot, liquid butter, or the accused should jump into water, and if he came to the surface before an arrow had returned to the ground, which had been shot off when the man jumped into the water, he was guilty.

"People should be buried with their heads towards the east and their feet towards the west [3] His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position"

[p 363]

"In the same year the prohibition of the study of Arabic was extended to all People should learn astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy The *Tārīkh* of this order is *Fasād i fazl* (995) . .

"On the 10th day of Muharram 996, His Majesty had invited the Khan Khanān, and Mān Singh (who had just been appointed governor of Bahār, Hajipur and Patna), and whilst they were drinking, His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Man Singh He said without reserve, 'If Your Majesty mean by the

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[1] The text has *was not against the ideas of the Hindus* (?).
[2] The ... of the whole passage is doubtful The ...

term of membership, willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have given pretty clear proofs, and Your Majesty might dispense with examining me, but if the term has another meaning, and refers to religion, surely I am a Hindu And if I am to become a Muhammadan, Your Majesty ought to say so—but besides Hinduism and Islam I know of no other religion' The emperor then gave up urging him

"During the month of *Ṣafar* 996, Mirza Fulad Beg Barlas managed to get one night Mulla Aḥmad of Thathah on some pretext out of his house, and stabbed at him, because the Mulla openly reviled [as Shiʿahs do] the companions of the prophet The *Tārīkh* of this event is expressed by the words *Zihe khanjar i Fūlād*, 'Hail steel of Fulad,' or by *Khuk i saqarī*, 'hellish hog!' And really, when this dog of the age was in his agony, I saw that his face looked just like the head of a pig [1] and others too witnessed it—O God! we take refuge with Thee against the evil which may befall us! His Majesty had Mirza Fulad tied to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lahor for when Hakim Abū Fath, at the request of the emperor, had asked the Mirza whether he had stabbed at the Mulla from religious hatred he had said, 'If religious hatred had been my motive, it would have been better to kill a greater one [2] than the Mulla' The Hakim reported these words to His Majesty who said, 'This fellow is a scoundrel, he must not be allowed to remain alive,' and ordered his execution, though the people of the harem asked the emperor to spare him for his general bravery and courage The Mulla outlived the Mirza three or four days The Shiʿahs at the time of washing his corpse, say that, in conformity with their religion they put a long nail into the *anus*, and plunged him several times into the river [3] After his burial Shaykh Fayzi and Shaykh Abu l Fazl put guards over his grave, but notwithstanding all precaution during the year His Majesty went to Kashmir, the people of Lāhor one night took the hideous corpse of the Mulla from the grave and burned it [4]

[pp 375, 376, 380]

'In 999 the flesh of oxen buffaloes goats, horses and camels was forbidden If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband they should not prevent her but she should not be forced Circumcision was

[1] Sunni s assert that this transfiguration into an animal (*maskh*) happens very often

forbidden before the age of twelve, and was then to be left to the will of the boys If any one was seen eating together with a butcher, he was to lose his hand, or if he belonged to the butcher's relations, the fingers which he used in eating

" In 1000, the custom of shaving off the beard was introduced "

" In 1002 special orders were given to the *kotwāls* to carry out Akbar's commands They will be found in the Third book of the *Ā'īn*, *Ā'īn* 5. The following are new —

" If any of the *darsaniyya*[1] disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was But this order is based upon a fundamental rule, which His Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention

" If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her, and if a young girl was found running about town, whether veiled or not, or if a woman was bad, or quarrelled with her husband, she should be sent to the quarter of the prostitutes, to do there what she liked "

[p 391]

" At the time of famines and distress, parents were allowed to sell their children, but they might again buy them, if they acquired means to pay their price Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmāns, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family People should not be molested if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples."

[p 398]

" In this year Aczam Khan returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharīfs,[2] and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined, immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijda* and following all other rules of discipleship, he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith

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[1] From *darsan* for which vide p 165

[2] This is the title of the rulers of Makkah.

from the Reverend Master Abū 'l Fazl, and got Ghāzīpūr and Hājīpur as *jāgīr*"

[p 404]

"During the Muharram of 1004, Ṣadr Jahān, muftī of the empire, who had been promoted to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two over ambitious sons, and having taken the *Shast* [1] of the new religion, he ran into the net like a fish, and got his *Hazārīship* He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be On the same day, Mullā Taqī of Shushtar [2] joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of all learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the Shahnama into prose, according to the wishes of the emperor, using the phrase *jalla ʿazmatu hu wa ʿazza shānu hu*, [3] wherever the word *Sun* occurs Among others that joined were Shaykhzāda Gosāla Khan of Banaras, Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shāhabad [4], and Ṣufi Ahmad, who claimed to belong to the progeny of the famous Muhammad Ghaws They all accepted the four degrees of faith, and received appointments as Commanders from One Hundred to Five Hundred, gave up their beards agreeably to the rules, and thus looked like the youths in Paradise The words *mu-tarāsh i chand*, or 'several shavers', express the *tārīkh* of this event (1004) The new candidates behaved like Hindus that turn Muhammadan [5] or like those who are dressed in red clothes, and look in their joy towards their relations who say to them 'My dear little man these rags will be old to morrow, but the Islam will still remain on your neck' This Ahmad, 'the little Sufi,' is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor, of Shaykh Ahmad of Egypt He said that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age, he had come to India and the Shaykh had frequently told him to assist the Sultan of India, should he commit an error, and lead him back from everlasting damnation But the opposite was the case"

So far, Bada,oni We have therefore, the following list of members of the Divine Faith With the exception of Bir Bar, they are all Muhammadans, but to judge from Bada,oni s remarks the number of those that took the *Shast* must have been much larger

1 Abū 'l Fazl

2 Fayzī, his brother, Akbar's court poet

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[1] *Shast* which has been explained on p. 174 also means *a fish hook*

[2] *Vide* List of Grandees Second Book No 352

[3] Because Muhammadans use such phrases after the name of God

[4] *Vide* p [illegible] note [illegible]

[5] That [illegible] over zealous

3 Shaykh Mubārak, of Nāgor, their father.
4 Jaʿfar Beg Āsaf Khān, of Qazwin, a historian and poet
5 Qāsim i Kāhī, a poet
6 ʿAbdu 's Samad, Akbar's court-painter, also a poet
7 Aʿzam Khān Koka, after his return from Makkah
8 Mulla Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābad, a historian
9. Sūfī Ahmad
10 to 12 Sadr Jahān, the crown lawyer, and his two sons
13 Mir Sharif of Āmul, Akbar's apostle for Bengal
14 Sultan Khwaja, a sadr
15 Mirzā Janī, chief of Thathah
16 Taqī of Shustar, a poet and commander of two hundred
17 Shaykhzāda Gosāla of Banāras
18 Bīr Bar

Nos 4 to 6 are taken from the *Āʾin*, the others are mentioned in the above *extracts from Badāoni The literary element is well represented* in the list

The above extracts from Badāoni possess a peculiar value, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islām to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pārsis This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the *Āʾin*, nor to the longer article in the Dabistān

As the author of the latter work has used Badāonī, it will only be necessary to collect the few remarks which are new

The following two miracles are connected with Akbar's birth [*Dabistān*, p 390 [1]]

" Khwāja Masʿūd, son of Khwāja Mahmūd, son of Khwaja *Murshidu 'l Haqq*, who was a gifted *Sāhib i hāl*,[2] said to the writer of this book, " My father related, he had heard from great saints, that the Lord of the faith and the world 'reveals himself' I did not know, whether that august personage had appeared, or would appear, till, at last, one night I saw that event, and when I awoke, I suddenly arrived at that place, where the blessed [2] Lord was born, namely on a Sunday of the month of Rajab of the year 949, the lord Jalālu 'd Din Akbar, the august son of Humāyūn Padishah and Hamida Bānū Begum "

The second miracle has been related above, on p 172, note 2 These two miracles make up the first of the four chapters, into which the author

[1] Vide also Shea and Troyer's English translation of the Dabistān, III, p. 49
[2] Vide p. 171, note 2.

of the Dabistān has divided his article on the "Divine Faith" The *second chapter contains religious dialogues, and extracts from Badā,onī,* which are rather conjecturally rendered in Shea's Translation The third chapter contains remarks on the worship of the sun and stars, chiefly with reference to the sun worship of the Tātārs [1] The last chapter contains extracts from the third and fifth books of the *Āʼīn*

p 410 "His Majesty also sent money to Īrān, to bring to India a wise Zoroastrian of the name of Ardsher" [2]

p 412 Abū 'l Fazl wrote, *as a counterpart to his commentary on the Āyatᵘ 'l kursī* (p 177), a preface to the translation of the Mahābharat (*vide* p 111) of two *juz*

p 413 "When Sultān Khwaja,[3] who belonged to the members of the Divine Faith, was near his death, *he said that he hoped His Majesty would not have him buried like a mad man* He was therefore buried in a grave *with a peculiar lamp,* and a grate was laid over it, so that the greater luminary, whose light cleanses from all sins, might shine upon him

"Should a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and be converted to the Islām, she would be taken away by force and handed over to her family, *but so should also a Musalmān woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism*" [4]

p 414 "I heard from Mulla Tarson of Badakhshan, who was a Hanafī by sect, that once during the year 1058 he had gone on a pilgrimage to Sikandrah, the burial place of Akbar 'One of my companions,' he said, 'declined to enter the pure mausoleum, and even abused the Representative of God [Akbar] My other companions said, 'If Akbar possesses hidden knowledge, that man will certainly come to grief' Soon after a piece of a broken stone fell down, and crushed his toe"

p 431 "In Multān I saw *Shāh Salāmᵘ 'llah,* who has renounced the world, and is a *muwahhid* (Unitarian) He is very rigid in discipline and avoids the society of men He said, he had often been in company with Jalalᵘ 'd Din Akbar, and had heard him frequently say 'Had I

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[4] The words in italics are not in Bada,onī The object of the other was evidently to prevent a woman from doing what she liked for according to the Muhammadans, women are looked upon as *naqisᵘ 'l 'aql*

formerly possessed the knowledge which I now have, I would never have chosen a wife for myself, for upon old women I look as mothers, on women of my age as sisters, and on girls as daughters' A friend of mine said, he had heard Nawāb ʿAbdu 'l Hasan called Lashkar Khān of Mash,had, report the same as having been said by Akbar

"Salamu 'llāh also said that God's Representative (Akbar) had often wept and said, 'O that my body were larger than all bodies together, so that the people of the world could feed on it without hurting other living animals'

"A sign of the sagacity of this king is this, that he employed in his service people of all classes,[1] Jews, Persians, Tūrānīs, etc, because one class of people, if employed to the exclusion of others, would cause rebellions, as in the case of the Uzbaks and Qizilbashes (Persians), who used to dethrone their kings Hence Shah ʿAbbas, son of Sultan Khuda banda yi Safawī, imitated the practice of Akbar, and favoured the Gurjis (Georgians) Akbar paid likewise no regard to hereditary power, or genealogy and fame, but favoured those whom he thought to excel in knowledge and manners"

The passages in the Āʾīn which refer to Akbar's religious views are the following —p III, 11, 50, 51, 56, 59, 60, 61, ll 20 to 24, Āʾīn 26, p 64, p 96, notes 3 and 4, the Sanscrit names being very likely those which were alluded to by Badā,onī, *vide* above p 189, l 19, p 103, note 3, p 110, note 1, 111–113, p 115, l 4 because the "making of likenesses" is as much forbidden by the Islām as it was interdicted by the Mosaic law, Āʾīn 72, p 162, 168, Āʾīn 77, p 162, Āʾīn 81, p 226 In the Second Book, Āʾīns 18, 19, 22–5, in the Third Book, end of Āʾīn 1 (Tarikh Ilahi), Āʾīns 2, 5, 9, 10, and lastly, the greater part of the Fifth Book

It will be observed that the remarks on Akbar's religious views do not extend beyond the year 1596, when the greater part of the Āʾīn had been completed Bada,oni's history ends with A H 1004, or A D 1595, but his remarks on Akbar's religion become more and more sparing towards the end, and as subsequent historians, even Jahangir in his "Memoirs", are almost entirely silent on the religious ideas of the emperor [illegible] after 1596 Akbar, in [illegible] and reta ned all other [illegible] dying as he had lived The story related in that edition of Jahāngīr's Memoirs, which has been translated by Major Price that Akbar died as a good Musalmān, and

[1] *Vide* the notes of Āʾīn 30 of the Second Book

repented on his death bed is most untrustworthy as every other particular of that narrative[1]

With Akbar's death[2] the Divine Faith died out Akbar solely relying on his influence and example had established no priesthood and had appointed no proper person for propagating his faith If we except the influence which his spirit of toleration exerted the masses had remained passive Most of the members mentioned on p 219 had died before Akbar such as were still alive as Sharif of Āmul took again to sophistry, and tried to create sensations under Jahangir[3] As Jahangir did not trouble himself about any religion Akbar's spirit of toleration soon changed to indifference and gradually died out when a reaction in favour of bigotry set in under Awrangzeb But people still talked of the Divine

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[1] The story of Akbar's conversion is also repeated in Elphinstone's History [illegible]

we adopt our mode of [illegible] le p 64 note 1 [illegible]

[illegible] died at midnight [illegible] (p 40) fix the [illegible] or [illegible] of [illegible] or the 10th [illegible] 8 days after [illegible]

[illegible] Jahangir says that Akbar [illegible] Sha[illegible] Chah[illegible] 13th Ju[illegible] and Sayyid Ahmad [illegible] of the Tuzuk [illegible] the Jul[illegible] to Th[illegible] day the [illegible] but the word [illegible] of en[illegible] confounded in MSS with [illegible]

[3] [illegible] Tuzuk p [illegible]

Faith in 1643 or 1648, when the author of the Dabistān collected his notes on Akbar's religion.[1]

Ā'īn 78

THE MUSTER OF ELEPHANTS

The beginning of the musters is made with this animal The *Khāṣa* elephants with their furniture and ornaments are the first which are daily brought before His Majesty, namely, ten on the first day of every solar month After this, the *Halqa* elephants are mustered, according to their number On Tuesdays from ten to twenty are mustered The Bitikchī, during the muster, must be ready to answer any questions as to the name of each animal (there are more than five thousand elephants, each having a different name His Majesty knows to which section most of the elephants belong—ten elephants form a section of ten (*dahā,ī*), and are in charge of an experienced officer), as to how each elephant came into the possession of His Majesty, the price, the quantity of food, the age of the animal, where it was born, the period of heat, and the duration of that state each time, the date when an elephant was made *khāsa*, its promotion in the *halqas*, the time when the tusks are cut, how many times His Majesty has mounted it, how many times it was brought for riding out, the time of the last muster, the condition of the keepers, the name of the Amir in charge For all other elephants eight things are to be reported, viz, the change of its name (?), the repetition of it, its price, how it came into the possession of His Majesty, whether it is fit for riding, or for carrying burdens, its rank, whether it has plain furniture or not, which rank the Fawjdār has assigned to it The rule is, that every Fawjdar divides his elephants into four classes, separating those that are best from those that are worst, whether they are to remain with him or whether he has to give some to other Fawjdars

Each day five *tahwīlī* (transferable) elephants are inspected by an

[1] Only one of Akbar's innovations the *Sijda* was *formally* abolished by Shahjahan. D[illegible] the [illegible] *Padishahnama* I, p 110 [illegible] p. 166 I. 5]

experienced man The following custom is observed When new elephants arrive for the government, they are handed over in fifties or hundreds to experienced officers, who fix their ranks Such elephants are called *Tahvīlī* elephants When His Majesty inspects them, their rank is finally settled, and the elephants are transferred to the proper sections Every Sunday one elephant is brought before His Majesty, to be given away as a present to some deserving servant Several *halqas* are set apart for this purpose The rank of the *Khāsa* elephants formerly depended on the number of times they had been inspected by His Majesty, but now their precedence is fixed by the number of times His Majesty has mounted them In the *halqas*, the precedence of elephants is determined by the price When all elephants have been mustered, the *khāsa* elephants are again examined, ten every day Then come the elephants of the princes, who mostly march them past themselves After them come the *halqas* As they are arranged in sections according to the price, some elephants have, at every muster, their value either enhanced or lowered, and are then put among their equals For this reason many Fawjdars are anxious to complete their sets, and place themselves for this purpose in a row at the time of the musters His Majesty then gives the elephants to whomsoever he likes If the number of the elephants of any Fawjdār is found correct, some more are put in his charge, for such officers are thought of first Fawjdārs, whose elephants are found to be lean, are preferred in making up the complements to such as bring less than their original number Each Fawjdar receives some, provided he musters all his elephants The Mushrif (accountant) receives orders where to keep the elephants

The elephants of the grandees also though not belonging to the fixed establishment, are almost daily brought before His Majesty, who settles their rank, and orders them to be branded with a peculiar mark Elephants of dealers also are brought before His Majesty, who fixes their rank and value

Ā*īn 79

THE MUSTER OF HORSES

They begin with the stables of forty, then come the stables of the princes, then the *Khāsa* courier horses, then the country bred, and all other stables When the ten muhr horses have been inspected, they bring the *Guts, Qirrāqs*, the horses on which the hunting leopards ride, and the *Bārgīr* horses (*vide* p 146 l 25, p 143, l 10 from below, and Ā*īn 54, p 147) The place of the horses at the musters, is determined

by their value, and in the case of horses of the same value, the precedence is determined by the time of service Before the musters, the horses are inspected by clever officers, who again fix their value, and divide them into three classes When the rank of a horse has been put higher or lower, it is placed among his proper class fellows Those horses which belong to the third class, form separate stables, and are given away as presents If horses have their value raised, they are given over to such keepers as bring to the musters either the full complement of their horses, or at least a complement not more deficient than by two Incomplete stables are daily filled up during the musters, or if not filled up, they are put in charge of separate keepers Twenty horses are daily mustered On Sundays, horses are the first that are mustered Double the usual number are then inspected Several horses are also kept in waiting at Court, viz, one from each of the sixty to the forty muhr stables, and one more from each of the thirty to the ten muhr stables They are given away as presents or as parts of salaries The precedence at musters of bazār-horses is fixed according to the price According to the number of horses available, from twenty to a hundred are daily mustered Before the musters, experienced officers fix the prices, which are generally enhanced at the time of the parades Horses above thirty muhrs, have their value fixed in the presence of His Majesty A cash keeper attached to the State hall is entrusted with money, so that horse dealers have not to wait long for payment of their claims When horses have been bought they are marked with a peculiar brand, so that there may be no fraudulent exchange

From foresight, and on account of the large profits of the horse-dealers, His Majesty enforces a tax of three rupees for every ʿIrāqī, *Mujannas* (*vide* p 147, note 3), and Arab imported from Kābul and Persia, two and a half rupees for every Turkish and Arabian horse imported from Qandahar, and two from Kabul horses, and Indian Arab bred

Āʾīn 80

THE MUSTER OF CAMELS

The beginning is made with country bred camels, of which five *qatārs* are daily inspected Those *pansadīs* (officers in charge of five hundred camels) come first who are oldest The Head Dārogha has the permission to parade before His Majesty a *qatār* of excellent Bughdis and Jammazas Then come the Bughdis, and after them the Jammāzas, the Ghurds, the Loks, and all other camels The commencement of the muster takes place

on Fridays on which day double the usual number marches past The precedence of camels is determined by their value

Áin 81

THE MUSTER OF CATTLE

Cattle are mustered according to their value ten yokes daily The muster commences on Wednesdays on which day double the usual number is inspected

On the day of the *D[illegible]li*—an old festival of this country on which the Hindus pray to the cow as they look upon reverence shown to cows as worship— several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty People are very fond of this custom

Áin 82

THE MUSTER OF MULES

The muster of this beast of burden commences on Thursdays when six *qatars* are inspected in order of their value Mules are mustered once a year

Formerly all musters took place as above described But now horses are inspected on Sundays camels cows and mules on Mondays the soldiers on Tuesdays on Wednesdays His Majesty transacts matters of finance on Thursdays all judicial matters are settled Fridays His Majesty spends in the Harem on Saturdays the elephants are mustered

Áin 83

THE *PAGOSHT* REGULATION[1]

His Majesty has taught men something new and practical and has made an excellent rule which protects the animals guards the stores

[1] The object of this curious regulation was to determine the amount of the fines which Abl[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] a maximum fatness (A) wh[illegible] corresponded to a maximum quantity of [illegible] food (a) similarly he determined a fatness (B) resulting from a daily quantity of food (b) though Ab[illegible]l Fazl does not specify how this was done The quantities A B etc

of the grain, and the driver for the share of the grass In the case of oxen used for carriages, the Dārogha is fined for the part of the grass and the grain, but the driver is not liable In case of heavy carriages, half the fine is remitted

Āʾīn 84

ON ANIMAL FIGHTS REGULATIONS FOR BETTING

His Majesty is desirous of establishing harmony among people of different classes He wishes to arrange feasts of friendship and union, so that everything may be done with propriety and order But as all men do not possess a mind capable of selecting that which is true, and as *every ear is not fit to listen to wisdom, His Majesty* holds social meetings for amusement, to which he invites a large number of people Through the careful arrangements of His Majesty, the court has been changed from a field of ambitious strife to a temple of a higher world, and the egotism and conceit of men have been directed to the worship of God Even superficial, *worldly people thus learn zeal and attachment, and* are induced by these gatherings to inquire after the road of salvation [1]

Deer [2] fights

The manner of fighting of this animal is very interesting, and its method of stooping down and rising up again is a source of great amusement Hence His Majesty pays much attention to this animal, and has succeeded in training this stubborn and timid creature One hundred and one deer are *khasa*, each has a name, and some peculiar qualities A keeper is placed over every ten There are three kinds of fighting deer, *first,* those which fight with such as are born in captivity and with wild ones, *secondly* such as fight best with tame ones, and *thirdly*, such as fiercely attack wild deer The fights are conducted in three different ways *First* according to number, the first fighting with the second, the third with the fourth, and so on, for the whole At the second go, the first fights with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on If a deer runs away, it is placed last, and if it is known to have run away three times, it ceases to be *khāsa* Betting on these fights is allowed, the stake does not exceed 5 *dams* *Secondly*, with those belonging to the princes Five *khasa* pair fight with each other and afterwards, two *khasa* pair from His Majesty's hunting ground, then *five other khāsa* pair At the

[1] To join Akbar's Divine Faith

[[2] The text has *āhu* which is the Persian name of the *chikara* (H) the ravine deer of Anglo Indian sportsmen —P]

same time two pair from the deer park of His Majesty's hunting ground fight, and afterwards five *khāsa* deer engage with five deer of the eldest prince Then fourteen *khāsa* pair engage with each other, and fight afterwards with the deer of the prince, till the fight with the deer of the prince is finished Upon this, the deer of princes fight with each other, and then *khāsa* deer The betting on such fights must not exceed one muhr *Thirdly*, with the deer of other people

His Majesty selects forty two from his nearer friends, and appoints every two of them as opponents, forming thus one and twenty sets The first winners receive each thirty deer, and all others get one less, so that the last get each eleven To every set a *Mal*,[1] a water buffalo, a cow, a *quchqār* (fighting ram), a goat, and a cock, are given Fights between cows[2] and goats are rarely mentioned to have been held in ancient times Before the fighting commences, two *khāsa* deer are brought in trimmed up, and are set against two deer belonging to people of various sets First, with a deer belonging to a powerful grandee, and then the fight takes place before His Majesty If a general assembly is announced, the fight may also take place, if the deer belongs to a commander of One Thousand The betting on *khāsa* deer is eight muhrs, and on deer belonging to one of a set, five muhrs, if it be an *Atkal*, and four, if an *Anīn* As deer have not equal strength and impetuosity of attack, the rule among deer keepers is, once to select each of their deer in turn and take it to the arena Such deer are called *Anīn* Another then estimates its strength, and brings a deer as opponent The latter is called *Atkal* In case of *Mals*, the betting is five muhrs, for water buffaloes and cocks, four, for cows[2] and fighting rams, and goats, two A commander of One Thousand is allowed to bet six muhrs on a *khāsa* deer, and with one of his own rank,[3] 3¾ muhrs, if the bet is on an *Atkal*, and three on an *Anīn*, and so also in the same proportion on *Mals*, water buffaloes, and cocks, but on cows,[4] fighting rams, and goats, two A commander of Nine Hundred may bet on a *khāsa* deer 50 rupees, and with one of his own rank, 30¼ *R* on an *Atkal*, and 25 *R* on an *Anīn*, on a *Mal* 3½ muhrs, on a water buffalo and a cock 3¼ *M*, and on all other animals, 1½ *M* A commander of Eight Hundred is allowed to bet 48 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank, 30 *R* on an *Atkal*, and 24 *R* on an *Anīn*,

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[1] *Mal* [illegible]

on a *Mal* 3⅓ *M*, on a water buffalo and cock, 2½ *M*, and on other animals as before A commander of Seven Hundred is allowed to bet 44 *R* on a *khāṣa* deer, with one of his own rank on an *Atkal* 27½ *R*, on an *Anīn* 22 *R*, on a *Mal* 3 *M*, on other animals as before A commander of Six Hundred may bet 40 *R* on a *khāṣa* deer, with one of his own rank, 25 *R* on an *Atkal*, 20 *R* on an *Anīn*, on other animals as before A commander of Five Hundred may bet 4 *M* [36 *R*] on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank 2½ *M* on an *Atkal*, and 2 *M* on an *Anīn*, on other animals, as the preceding A commander of Four Hundred may bet 34 *R* on a *khāṣa* deer, with one of his own rank 21½ *R* on an *Atkal*, 17 *R* on an *Anīn*, on a *Mal* 2⅞ *M*, on a water buffalo and cock, 2 *M*, on a cow, a fighting ram, and goat, 1 *M* A commander of Three Hundred may bet 30 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank, 18¾ *R* on an *Atkal* 15 *R* on an *Anīn*, 2½ *M* on a *Mal*, on other animals as the preceding commander of Two Hundred may bet 24 *R* on a *khāṣa* deer, with one of his own rank 15 *R* on an *Atkal*, 12 *R* on an *Anīn*, and on other animals as before A commander of One Hundred may bet 2 *M* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank 1½ *M* on an *Atkal*, 1 *M* on an *Anīn*, and on other animals as before A commander of Eighty may bet 16 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank 10 *R* on an *Atkal*, 8 *R* on an *Anīn*, 17 *R* on a *Mal*, 1½ *M* on a water buffalo and a cock, on other animals as before A commander of Forty may bet 12 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of his own rank 7½ *R* on an *Atkal*, 6 *R* on a *Anīn*, on other animals as before A commander of Twenty may bet 10 *R* on a *khāṣa* deer, 6¼ *R* with one of his own rank on an *Atkal*, 5 *R* on an *Anīn*, on other animals as before A commander of Ten may bet 8 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, and 5 *R* on an *Atkal*, with one of his own rank, 4 *R* on an *Anīn*, on other animals as before People who hold no *mansabs*, bet 4 *R* on a *khāsa* deer, with one of their own rank 2½ *R* on an *Atkal*, 2 *R* on an *Anīn*, 15 *R* on a *Mal*, on other animals as before

But if the opponent hold a less rank, the amount of the bet is determined according to the amount which the opponent is allowed to bet on an *Anīn* When the last pair comes, the betting is everywhere on the deer A fourth part of what people take from each other in *Mal* fights, is given to the victorious wrestler The presents which His Majesty makes on such occasions have no limits

The rule is that every one of such as keep animals brings on the fourteenth night of the moon one deer to the fight The Bitikchī of this department appoints half the number of deer as *Anīns*, and the other half as *Atkals* He then writes the names of the *Atkals* on paper slips,

folds them up, and takes them to His Majesty, who takes up one The animal chosen has to fight with an *Anin* As such nights are clear, fights are generally announced for that time

Besides, there are two other classes of deer, *kotal* and *half kotal* The number of each is fixed As often the number of *khāsa* deer decreases, the deficiency is made up from the *kotal* deer, and the deficiency in the number of *kotals* is made up from *half kotals* One pair of *kotals* also is brought to the fight, so that they may be tried Hunters supply continually wild deer, and bring them to His Majesty, who fixes the price A fat superior deer costs [illegible] *M*, a thin superior one, 1 *M* to 15 *R*, a fat middling one, 12 *R*, Do lean, 8 *R*, a third class fat one, 7 *R*, Do thin, 5 *R*, a fourth class fat one, 4 *R*, Do lean, 2 to 2½ *R*

Deer are kept and fed as follows, *Khāsa* deer selected for fighting before His Majesty, get 2 *s* grain, ½ *s* boiled flour, ¼ *s* butter and 1 *d* for grass Such as are kept on His Majesty's hunting-grounds *kotals*, and fighting deer of the sets, get 1¾ *s* of grain, and flour and butter as before The grass is supplied by each amateur himself All *khāsa*, home-bred, *kotal* deer, and those of His Majesty's hunting ground, have each one keeper The fighting deer of the sets have one keeper for every two, the single last one has a keeper for itself Nothing is given for grass Deer which are given to people to have them fattened get 1¾ *s* grain, and ½ *d* for grass They have one keeper for every four, but one for every two if they are fit to become *khasa* Some deer are also sent to other towns, they get 1½ *s* grain, and have each one keeper If deer are newly caught, they get no regular food for seven days, after which they get ½ *s* of grain for a fortnight They then get 1 *s* and when one month is over, 1½ *s*

In the deer park, Mansabdars, Ahadis and other soldiers are on staff employ The pay of foot-soldiers varies from 80 to 400 *d*

His Majesty has 12 000 deer, they are divided into different classes, and proper regulations are made for each of them There is also a stud for deer, in which new results are obtained A large female gets 1½ *s* grain and ½ *d* for grass A new born deer drinks the milk of the dam for two months, which is reckoned as equivalent to ¼ *s* of grain Afterwards, every second month, the allowance is increased by a quarter *ser* of grain, so that after a period of two years, it gets the same as its dam. For grass, ¼ *d* is given from the seventh to the tenth month Young males also get weaned after two months, when they get ⅜ *s* of grain, which is increased by that quantity every second month, so that, after two years, they get 2¼ *s* From the fifth to the eighth month they get ½ *d* for grass, after which period they get ½ *d* for grass

I have given a short description of animal fights as announced for general assemblies His Majesty announces them also for day time, but as often a more important act of worship is to be performed, he announces them for the night Or else His Majesty thinks of God, and seeks for wisdom in self-examination, he cares neither for cold nor heat, he spends the time which others idle away in sleep, for the welfare of the people, and prefers labour to comfort

Á'in 85

ON BUILDINGS

Regulations for house building in general are necessary, they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government People that are attached to the world will collect in towns without which there would be no progress Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious, and please the obedient Delightful villas, and imposing towers have also been built They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which is so necessary for worldly power

Everywhere also *Sarā,e* have been built, which are the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers Many tanks and wells are being dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil Schools and places of worship are being founded, and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned

His Majesty has inquired into every detail connected with this depart- [illegible]

men

Á'in 86

THE PRICES OF BUILDING MATERIAL, ETC

Many people are desirous of building houses, but honesty and conscientiousness are rare, especially among traders His Majesty has carefully inquired into their profits and losses, and has fixed the prices of articles in such a manner, that both parties are satisfied

Red sandstone costs 3 *d* *per man* It is obtainable in the hills of Fathpūr Sīkrī, His Majesty's residence, and may be broken from the rocks at any length or breadth Clever workmen chisel it so skilfully, as no turner could do with wood, and their works vie with the picture book of *Mānī* [the great painter of the Sassanides] Pieces of red sandstone (*sang i gulūla*), broken from the rocks in any shape, are sold by the *pharī*, which means a heap of such stones, without admixture of earth 3 *gaz* long, 2½ *g* broad and 1 *g* high Such a heap contains 172 *mans*, and has a value of 250 *d*, i e at the rate of 1 *d* 11¼ *j* *per man*

Bricks[1] are of three kinds, burnt, half burnt, unburnt Though the first kind are generally made very heavy, they weigh in the average three *sers* and cost 30 *d* *per* thousand The second class cost 24 *d*, and the third 10 *d* *per* thousand

Wood Eight kinds of wood are in general use 1 *Sīsan*,[2] unrivalled for its beauty and durability A block 1 *Ilāhī gaz* long, and [illegible] *Tassūj* broad and high, costs 15 *d* 6 *j* But if the height be only 5 or 6 *T*, 11 *d* 10¾ *j* Other sizes according to the same proportion 2 *Nāzhū*, called in Hindi *Jīdh*[3] A beam, 10 *T* broad and high, costs *per gaz* 5 *d* 13¾ *j*, and a half size beam from 7 to 9 *T* broad and high, costs *per gaz* [illegible] *d* 3¾ *j* 3 *Dasung* (?) called in Hindi *Karī*[4], a beam 3 *T* broad and 4 *gaz* long costs 5 *d* 17½ *j* 4 *Ber*,[5] 1 *T* broad and high, 4 *gaz* long, 5 *d* 17¾ *j*, so also *Tut*, or Mulberry 5 *Mughīlān* (Babūl) of the same cubic contents as No 4, 5 *d* 2 *j* 6 *Sirs*, size as before, 10 *d* 4 *j* 7 *Dayāl*, same size, first quality 8 *d* 22½ *j*, second quality, 8 *d* 6½ *j* 8 *Bakāyin*, same size, 5 *d* 2 *j*

Gaj-i shīrīn, or sweet limestone There is a quarry near Bahirah When a merchant brings it, it costs 1 *R* *per three mans*, but if any one sends his own carriers, only 1 *d*. *Qal'ī yi sangīn*, *per man* [illegible] *d* 5 *j* *Sadafī* 5 *d* *Chūna*, or quicklime, [illegible] *d* *per man*, it is mostly boiled out of *kangur*, a kind of solid earth resembling stone in hardness

Iron cramps, if tinned, 13 for 18 *d*, plain ones for 6 *d*

Iron door knockers, from Persia and Tūrān tinned, large ones, 8 *d* *per pair*, small ones, 4 *d* Indian do, tinned, 5½ *d*, plain ones, 4 *d* 12 *j*

Gul mekh (large nails with broad heads), 1[illegible] *d* *per ser* *Dīnārīn* nails,

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[[1] *Khisht* in text. In modern Persian this word means a sun dried brick as opposed to *ājur*, a kiln burnt brick.—P]

[[2] In Platt's *sisō*.—P]

[3] This word is spelt *Chīdh* in Āʾīn 90 No. 59

[[4] *Karī*.—P]

[5] "The *Ber* was in great request in Akbar's time as a building timber but is now little used, except for kingposts and tiebeams as the direct cohesion of its fibres is equal to that of Salwood" *Balfour's Timber Trees of India*

d per ser *Goga*, or small nails, tinned, first quality 7 *d* for one hundred, second quality, 5 *d*, smallest, 4 *d*

Screws and nuts, chiefly used for doors and boxes Tinned, 12 *d per ser*, plain, 4 *d*

Rings, tinned, 6 *d per ser*, plain, 4 *d*

Khaprel, or tiles They are one hand long and ten fingers broad, are burnt, and are used for the roofs of houses, as a protection against heat and cold Plain ones 86 *d per* thousand, enamelled, 30 *d* for ten

Qulba, or spouts, to lead off water Three for 2 *d*

Bās, or bamboo It is used for spears First quality, 15 *d* for twenty pieces, second quality, 12 *d* for do, third quality, 10 *d* for do The price of some kinds of bamboo is much higher Thus a peculiar kind is sold at 8 *Ashrafīs* [muhrs] *per* piece They are used for making thrones [1] Bamboo, at a rupee *per* piece, is common *Patal*, is made of the reed which is used for *qalams* (pens) It is used for covering ceilings First quality, cleaned, 1½ *d per* square *gaz*, second quality, 1 *d* Sometimes they sell *patal* at 2 *d* for pieces 2 *gaz* long and 1½ *g* broad *Sirkī* is made of very fine *qalam* reeds, looks well, and is very smooth, it is sold at the rate of 1½ *d per* pair, 1½ *g* long and 16 *girihs* broad The ceilings and walls of houses are adorned with it

Khas [2] is the sweet smelling root of a kind of grass which grows along the banks of rivers During summer, they make screens of it, which are placed before the door and sprinkled with water This renders the air cool and perfumed Price 1½ *R per man*

Kāh i chappar [3] (reeds for thatching) is sold in bundles, which are called in Hindi *pula*, *per ser* from 100 to 10 *d*

Bhus, or wheat straw, used for mixing with mortar, 3 *d per man*

Kāh i dabh, straw, etc, which is put on roofs, 4 *d* for a load of 2 *mans*

Mūnj, the bark of *qalam* reeds used for making ropes to fasten the thatching, 20 *d per man*

San [4] is a plant Peasants mix it with quicklime People also make ropes of it for well buckets, etc, 3 *d per man*

Gum, of an inferior quantity, is mixed with quicklime 70 *d per man*

Sirīsh i kāhī, or reed glue, is mixed with sweet limestone, 4 *d per ser*

Lukh is the flower bunch of the reed which is used for matting People burn it and use it as a candle It is also mixed with quicklime and *qalʿī* Price 1 *R per man*

[1 سکاس ?—P]
[2 Or Hindi *khas khas* —P]
[3 For *chhappar*, H —P]
[4 *San* H, hemp, flax ?—P]

Sīmgil (silver clay) is a white and greasy clay, 1 *d* *per man* It is used for white washing houses It keeps a house cool and looks well *Gil i surkh*, or red clay, called in Hindi, *gerū*,[1] 40 *d* *per man* There is a quarry of it in the hills of Gwāliār

Glass is used for windows, price, 1 *R* for 1¼ *s* or one pane for 4 *d*

*Ā*ʾ*īn* 87.

ON THE WAGE OF LABOURERS

Gilkārs (workers in lime), first class workmen, 7 *d*, second class, 6 *d*, third class, 5 *d*

Sang-tarāsh (stone masons) The tracer gets 6 *e* for each *gaz*, one who does plain work, 5 *d* A labourer employed in quarries gets for every *man* he breaks, 22 *j*

Carpenters, first class, 7 *d*, second do, 6 *d*, third do, 4 *d*, fourth do, 3 *d*, fifth do, 2 *d* For plain job work, a first class carpenter gets 1 *d* 17 *j* for one *gaz*, second class do, 1 *d* 6 *j*, third class do, 21 *j*

Pinjara sāz (lattice worker and wicker worker) *First*, when the pieces are joined (fastened with strings), and the interstices be dodecagonal, 24 *d* for every square *gaz*, when the interstices form twelve circles, 22 *d*, when hexagonal, 18 *d*, when *jaʿfarī* [or rhombus like, one diagonal being vertical, the other horizontal], 16 *d*, when *shatranjī* [or square fields, as on a chess board], 12 *d* for every square *gaz*

Secondly, when the work is *ghayr waslī* (the sticks not being fastened with strings, but skilfully and tightly interwoven), for first class work, 48 *d* per square *gaz*, for second class do, 40 *d*

Arra kash (one who saws beams) For job work, *per square gaz* 2½ *d*, if *sīsaū* wood, if *nāzhū* wood, 2 *d* A labourer employed for the day, 2 *d* There are three men for every saw, one above, two below

Bildārs (bricklayers),[2] first class, daily 3½ *d* second class do, 3 *d* If employed by the job, for building fortress walls with battlements, 4 *d* per *gaz*, for laying foundations, 2½ *d*, for all other walls, 2 *d* For digging ditches, ½ *d* *per gaz*

The *gaz* of a labourer contains 32 *tassuj*

Chāh kan, or well-diggers, first class workmen, 2 *d* *per gaz*, second class do, 1¾ *d*, third class, 1½ *d*

[[1] *Geru* H. Armenian bole.—P]
[[2] *Bel dār* a digger, a pioneer —P]

Ghota khur, or divers They clean wells In the cold season, 4 *d* *per diem*, in the hot season, 3 *d* By the job 2 *R* for cleaning a depth of 1 *gaz*

Khisht[1] *tarāsh* or tile makers for 100 moulds, smoothened, 8 *d*

Surkhī kob (pounders of old bricks), 1½ *d* for a heap of 8 *mans*

Glass-cutters, 100 *d* *per gaz*

Bamboo-cutters, 2 *d* *per diem*

Chappar-band,[2] or thatchers, 3 *d* *per diem*, if done by the job, 24 *d* for 100 *gaz*

Patal-band (*vide* p 234), 1 *d* for 4 *gaz*

Lakhīra They varnish reeds, etc, with lac Wages, [illegible] *d* *per diem*

Ābkash, or water-carriers First class, 3 *d* *per diem*, second class do, 2 *d* Such water carriers as are used for furnishing house builders with water for mortar and quicklime, get 2 *d* *per diem*

Āʾīn 88

ON ESTIMATES OF HOUSE BUILDING

Stonebuildings For 12 *gaz*, one *pharī* (*vide* above *Āʾīn* 86) is required; also 75 *mans* of *chūna*, but if the walls be covered with red stone, 30 *mans* of *chūna* are required *per gaz*

Brickbuildings For every *gaz* there are required 250 bricks of three *ser* each, 8 *mans chūna*, and 2 *m* 27 *s* pounded brick (*surkhī*)

Claybuildings 300 bricks are required for the same, each brick-mould contains 1 *s* of earth and ½ *s* of water

Astarkārī work For every *gaz*, 1 *man chūna*, 10 *s* *qalʿī*, 14 *s* *surkhī*, and ½ *s* *san* (*vide* p 234) are required

Ṣandalakārī work For every *gaz*, 7 *s* of *qalʿī*, and 3 *s* *surkhī* are required

Safīdkārī work 10 *s* of *qalʿī* are required *per gaz*

Gajkārī work (white-washing) For walls and ceilings, 10 *s* *per gaz*, for pantries, 6 *s*, chimneys, 10 *s*

Windows require [illegible] *s* of lime, 2½ *s* of glass, 4 *s* of *sirīsh i kāhī* (putty)

Plaster for walls, for 14 *gaz* 1 *m* of straw, and 20 *m* earth, for roofs and floors, do for 10 *gaz* For ceilings, and the inside of walls, do for [illegible] *gaz*

Lac (varnish work) used for *chighs*[3] [sliced bamboo sticks, placed

[[1] See note 1 to Āʾīn 86.—P]
[[2] Chhappar band.—P]
[[3] Chiq T., f.—P]

horizontally, and joined by strings, with narrow interstices between the sticks They are painted, and are used as screens] If red, 4 *s* of lac, and 1 *s* of vermilion, if yellow, 4 *s* of lac, 1 *s* of *zarnīkh* (auripigment) If green, ½ *s* of indigo is mixed with the lac, and *zarnīkh* is added, if black, 4 *s* of lac and 8 *s* of indigo

Āʼīn 89

RULES FOR ESTIMATING THE LOSS IN WOOD CHIPS [1]

One *gaz*=24 *ṭassūj*

1 *ṭassūj*=24 *tiswānsa*

1 *tiswānsa*=24 *khām*

1 *khām*=24 *zarra*

Whatever quantity of wood be used, the chippings (?) are reckoned at one eighth (?) In *Sīsaū* wood, *per ṭassūj*, 26¼ *sers* 15 *tānks*, *Babūl* wood, 23½ *s* 5 *d.*, *Sirs* wood, 21½ *s* 15 *tānks*, *Nāzhū* wood, 20 *s*, *Ber* wood, 18½ *s*, *Dayāl* wood, 17 *s* 20 *tānks*

Āʼīn 90

THE WEIGHT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOOD

His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has for several reasons experimented on the weight of different kinds of wood, and has thus adorned the market place of the world One cubic *gaz* of dry wood of every kind has been weighed, and their differences have thus been established *Khanjak* wood has been found to be the heaviest, and *Safīdār* the lightest wood I shall mention 72 kinds of wood

The weight of one cubic *gaz* of

			Mans	Sers	Tanks
1	Khanjak	is	27	14	—
2.	Amblī (*Tamarindus indica*)		24	8¾	25
3	Zaytūn (*Gyrocarpus asiaticus* [2] ?)		21	24	—
4	Balūṭ (Oak)				
5	Kher (*Acacia catechu*)		21	16	—
6	Khirnī (*Mimusops*)				
7	Parsiddh		20	14	17
8	Ābnūs (Ebony)		20	9	20

[1] I am not sure whether this Āʼīn has been correctly translated

[2] So according to Watson's Index. But Voigt, in his *Hortus Bengalensis* says the wood of *Zaytun*, or *Gyrocarpus*, is very light, and is used for boats. Abu l Faẓl puts *Zaytun* among the heaviest woods.

		Man	Sers	Tanks
9	Sain (*Acacia suma*)	19	32	10
0	Baqam (*Caesalpina sappan*)	19	22½	10
11	Kharhar	19	11½	5
12	Mahwa (*Bassia latifolia*)	18	32½	2
13	Chandani	18	20½	10
14	Phulahi			
15	Red Sandal in Hindi *Rakt Chandan* (*Pterocarpus santalinus*)	18	4½	10
16	Chamri	18	2	7½
17	Chamar Mamri	17	16½	—
18	ʿUnnab (*Zizyphus sativus*)	17	5	4
19	Sisaū Patang (*vide* No 40)	17	1¾	7
20	Sandan	17	1	28
21	Shamshad (*Buxus sempervirens*)	16	10	25
22	Dhau (*Grislea tomentosa*)	16	1	10
23	Āmla *Hind* Ānwlah (*Emblica officinalis*)	16	1½	1
24	Karil (*Sterculia fetida*)	16	1	10
25	Ṣandal	15	17	20
26	Sal (*Shorea robusta*)	15	4¾	7
27	Banaus His Majesty calls this tree *Shah Ālu* but in Kabul and Persian it is called *Ālu Balu*[1] (Cherry)	14	36½	10
28	Kailas[2] (Cherry tree)	14	35½	—
29	Nimb (*Azadirakhta indica*)	14	32½	31
30	Darhard (*Berberis aristata*)	14	32½	19
31	Main	14	22¾	—
32	Babul (*Acacia arabica*)			
33	Sagaun	14	10	20
34	Bijaysar	13	34	—
35	Pilu			
36	Mulberry	13	28½	15
37	Dhaman	13	25	20
38	Ban Baras	13	10	29
39	Sirs (*Acacia odoratissima*)	12	38	21
40	Sisaū (*Dalbergia sissoo* *vide* No 19)	12	34½	5
41	Finduq	12	26	4

[[1] *Ālū bālū* is a sour dark cherry —P]
[[2] Gīlās in Persia and Kashmir is a sweet cherry —P]

No.	Name	Mans	Sers	Tanks
42	Chhaukar	12	17½	22
43	Duddhi			
44	Haldi	12	13½	32
45	Kaim (*Nauclea parviflora*)	12	12½	30
46	Jaman (*Jambosa*)	12	8	20
47	Taras			
48	Bar (*Ficus indica*)	12	3¼	[illegible]
49	Khandu	11	29	—
50	Chanar[1]			
51	Charmaghz (Walnut tree)	11	9¼	17
52	Champa (*Michelia champaca*)			
53	Ber (*Zizyphus jujuba*)	11	4	—
54	Āmb (Mango *Mangifera indica*)	11	2	20
55	Papari (Ulmus)			
56	Diyar (*Cedrus deodar*)	10	20	—
57	Bed (Willow)			
58	Kunbhir (*Gunbhir* (?) *gmelina arborea*)	10	19½	[illegible]
59	Chidh (*Pinus longifolia*)			
60	Pipal The Brahmins worship this tree (*Ficus religiosa*)	10	10¼	21
61	Kathal (Jacktree *Artocarpus integrifolia*)	10	7½	34
62	Gurdain			
63	Ruhera (*Terminalia belerica*)	10	7	30
64	Palas (*Butea frondosa*)	9	31	—
65	Surkh Bed	8	25	20
66	Āk (*Calotropis gigantea*)	8	19¼	25
67	Senbal (*Cotton tree*)	8	13	34
68	Bakayin (*Melea composita*)	8	9	30
69	Lahsora (*Cordia mixa*)	8	[illegible]	20
70	Padmakh (Cerasus caproniana)			
71	And	7	7	31
72	Safidar	[illegible]	7	22½

In the above weights the *ser* has been taken at 28 *dams*

[[1] *Chanār* the Plane.—P.]

End of the First Book

BOOK SECOND.

THE ARMY.

Aʿīn 1

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ARMY

His Majesty guides the Imperial Army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country

With some tribes, His Majesty is content, if they submit, he does not exact much service from them, and thus leads many wild races towards civilization

The Zamindārs of the country furnish more than four million, four hundred thousand men, as shall be detailed below (Third Book)

Some troopers are compelled by His Majesty to mark their horses with the Imperial brand They are subject to divisions into ranks, and to musters

Some soldiers are placed under the care and guidance of *one* commander They are called *Ahadīs*, because they are fit for a harmonious *unity* His Majesty believes some capable of commanding, and appoints them as commanders

A large number are worthy but poor, they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand Turanīs and Persians get 25 *Rupees*, and Hindūstānis, 20 *R* If employed to collect the revenue, they get 15 *R* Such troopers are called *Barāwardī*

Some commanders, who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand Such troops are called *Dakhilīs*

In the contingent of a commander (*manṣabdār*) of Ten Thousand, other *manṣabdars* as high as *Hazārīs* (commanders of One Thousand) serve, in the contingent of a commander of Eight Thousand, Mansabdārs up to *Hashtṣadīs* (commanders of Eight Hundred) serve, in the contingent of a commander of Seven Thousand, Mansabdārs up to Haftṣadis (commanders of Seven Hundred) serve, in the contingent of

a commander of Five Thousand, other Mansabdars as high as *Panṣadīs* (commanders of Five Hundred) serve, and in the contingent of a *Panṣadī*, Mansabdars as high as *Sadīs* (commanders of One Hundred) serve Mansabdars of lower ranks do not serve in the contingents of high Mansabdars

Some commanders also receive auxiliaries Such reserves are called *Kumakīs*

At the present time, those troopers are preferred whose horses are marked with the Imperial brand This class of soldiers is superior to others His Majesty's chief object is to prevent the soldiers from borrowing horses (for the time of musters) or exchanging them for worse ones, and to make them take care of the Imperial horses, for he knows that avarice makes men so short sighted that they look upon a loss as a gain In the beginning of the present reign, when His Majesty was still " behind the veil ", many of his servants were given to dishonest practices, lived without check, and indulged, from want of honour, in the comforts of married life [1] Low, avaricious men sold their horses, and were content to serve as foot soldiers, or brought instead of a superior horse, a *ṭāṭū* [2] that looked more like an ass They were magniloquent in their dishonesty and greediness of pay, and even expressed dissatisfaction, or rebelled Hence His Majesty had to introduce the Descriptive Roll System, and to make the issue of pay dependent upon the inspection of these rolls (*vide* below Āʼīn 7) This stopped, in a short time, much lawlessness, and regenerated the whole military system But at that time the regulations regarding the Imperial brand were not issued, as His Majesty had adopted the advice of some inexperienced men, who look upon branding an animal as an act of cruelty, hence avaricious men (who cannot distinguish that which is good from that which is bad, having neither respect for themselves nor their master, and who think to promote a cause by ruining it, thus acting against their own interest) adopted other vicious practices, which led to a considerable want of efficiency in the army Horse borrowing was then the order of the day His Majesty, therefore, made the branding of the horses compulsory, in addition to the Descriptive Roll System Easy minded idlers thus passed through a school of discipline and became worthy men, whilst importunate, low men were taught honourableness and manliness The unfeeling and avaricious learned the luxury of magnanimity The army resembled a newly irrigated garden Even for the Treasury the new regulations proved

[[1] In text برگسمه مهار زیستی —P]
[[2] For *ṭaṭṭū* H. pony —P]

beneficial Such are the results which wisdom and practical knowledge can produce! Branding a horse may indeed inflict pain, but when viewed from a higher point, it is the cause of much satisfaction to the thinking man

Āʾīn 2

ON THE ANIMALS OF THE ARMY

In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty introduced the branding system [*vide* p 147, note 2] The ranks of the men were also laid down in the best manner, and the classification of the animals belonging to the army was attended to The requirements for each were noted down, and excellent regulations were issued The maximum and minimum prices were inquired into by His Majesty, and average prices were fixed A proper check by accounts was enforced, and regulations on this subject were laid down The Ba<u>kh</u>shīs were also freed from the heavy responsibility of bringing new men, and everything went on smoothly

1 *Horses* They have been divided into seven classes The rate of their daily food has also been fixed These seven classes are *Arabs*, *Persian horses*, *Mujannas*, *Turkī horses*, *Yabūs*, *Tāzīs*, and *Jangla horses*

The *first* class are either Arab bred, or resemble them in gracefulness and prowess They cost 720 *dāms per mensem*, and get daily 6 *s* of grain (the price of which, in the estimates for each animal, is put down at 12 *d per man*), 2½ *d* of *ghī*, 2 *d* for sugar, and 3 *d* for grass Also, for a *jul*, *artak*, *yālposh*, girth [1] (His Majesty does not call it *tang*, but a *farā<u>kh</u>ī*),[1] *gaddī na<u>kh</u>taband*,[2] *qayza* (which the vulgar pronounces *qāyiza*), *magassān*, curry-comb, *hatthī* (a bag made of horse hair for washing the horse), towel, *pāy band*, nails, etc [*vide* p 144] 70 *d per mensem*, which outlay is called *<u>kh</u>arj-i yarāq-i asp* (outlay for the harness of the horse) Besides, 60 *d* for the saddle, and an *apchī* (?) every second month, 7 *d per mensem* for shoes, and 63 *d* for a groom, who gets double this allowance if he takes charge of two horses Total, 479 *d* But as His Majesty cares for the comfort of the army, and inquires into the satisfactory condition of the soldiers, he increased, in the very beginning, this allowance of 479 *d* by 81 *d*, and when the value of the Rupee was increased from 35 to 40 *dāms*, His Majesty granted a second additional allowance of 80 *d* This coin [the Rupee] *is always counted at 40 d in salaries* Afterwards a third additional allowance of 2 *R* (80 *d*) was ordered to be given for

[[1] *Tang* is girth, but *farā<u>kh</u>ī* is a body roller not a girth —P]
[[2] *Na<u>kh</u>ta-band* for *nuktā-band* headstall?—P]

each class of horses, except *Janglas*, which horses are nowadays entirely left out in the accounts

The *second* class are horses bred in Persia,[1] or such as resemble Persian [2] horses in shape and bearing Monthly allowance, 680 *d* Of this, 458 *d* are necessary expenses, being 21 *d* less than the former, viz, 10 *d* for the *yarāq* 10 *d* for saddle and bridle, and 1 *d* for shoes The first increase which was given amounted to 67 *d*, the second to 75 *d*, the third to 80 *d* Total 680 *d*

The *third* class, or *Mujannas* horses, resemble Persian horses [*vide* p 147, note 3], and are mostly Turki, or Persian geldings [3] Monthly cost 560 *d* Of this, 353 *d* are for necessaries The allowance for these horses is 100 *d* less than the preceding, viz, 30 *d* less for sugar, 30 *d* less for saddle, bridle, etc, 15 *d* less in *ghī*, 3 *d* less for the groom, 2 *d* less for shoeing First increase sanctioned by His Majesty, 72 *d*, second, 50 *d*, third, 80 *d*

The *fourth* class are horses imported from Turān, though strong and well formed, they do not come up to the preceding Monthly allowance, 480 *d* Of this, 298 *d* are for necessaries The allowance is 60 *d* less than for *Mujannas* horses, viz, 30 *d* less for sugar, 30 *d* less for grass, 10 *d* less for the *yarāq*, 4 *d* less for the saddle, bridle, etc, 2 *d* less for shoeing, 2 *d* less for *ghī* But the daily allowance of grain was increased by 2 *sers* (which amounts to 18 *d* *per mensem*), as the sugar had been left out First increase, 52 *d*, second, 50 *d*, third, 80 *d*

The *fifth* class (*yābū* horses) are bred in this country, but fall short in strength and size Their performances also are mostly bad They are the offspring of Turki horses with an inferior breed Monthly cost 400 *d* Of this, 239 *d* are for necessaries The allowance is 59 *d* less than the preceding, viz, 28 *d* for *ghī*, 15 *d* less for the groom, 10 *d* less for the *yarāq*, and 6 *d* less for the saddle, bridle, etc First increase, 41 *d*, second increase, 40 *d*, third 80 *d*

The last two classes also are mostly Indian breed The best kind is called *Tāzī*, the middling *Janglas*, the inferior ones, *Tatū* [4]

Good mares are reckoned as *Tāzīs*, if not, they are counted as *Janglas*

1 *Tāzī* Monthly cost, 320 *d*, of which 188 *d* are for necessaries The allowance is 51 *d* less than for the *Yābu*, viz, 18 *d* less for grain, as they only get 6 *sers per diem*, 15 *d* less for grass, 10 *d* less for *ghī* and sugar, 8 *d* less for *yarāq* First increase 22 *d*, second, 30 *d*, third, 80 *d*

[1 ʿIrāq i ʿAjam.—P]

[2 ʿIrāqī horses'—P]

[3 Ikdish does not mean gelding but of mixed breed —P]

[4 For *ṭaṭṭū* H —P]

2 *Jangla* Monthly cost, 240 *d*, of which 145½ *d* are for necessaries. The allowance is 42½ *d* less than for *Tāzīs*. The daily allowance of grain has been fixed at [illegible] *sers*. Hence there are 15 *d* less for grass, 9 *d* less for grain, 6 *d* less for *ghī* and molasses,[1] 4½ *d* less for the *yarāq*, 2 *d* less for shoeing. First increase 29½ *d*, second, 25 *d*, third, 40 *d*.

Formerly mules were reckoned as *Tāzī* horses, but nowadays, as *Jangla*.

For *Tatus*[2] the monthly expenditure is 160 *d*, but this animal is now altogether thrown out.

Note by the Translator. We may arrange Abu l Fazl's items in a tabular form. From several remarks in Badāonī, we may conclude that the horses of the Imperial army were mostly fourth and sixth class horses. The exportation of horses from Hindūstan was strictly prohibited by Akbar, who made the kotwals responsible for it. *vide Bad.* II p. 390 l. 5 from below. Many recruits on joining the contingent of a *Mansabdār* brought horses with them, for which the *Mansabdar* received from the treasury an allowance according to the following table —

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
	Arabs	Persian Horses	Mujannas Horses	Turkī Horses	Yābus	Tāzīs	Janglahs	Tātūs
Grain	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	54 *d*	45 *d*	
Ghī						10 *d*	4 *d*	
Sugar						10 *d*	4 *d*	
Grass						45 *d*	30 *d*	Not specified
Yaraq	70 *d*	60 *d*	40 *d*	30 *d*	20 *d*	12 *d*	7½ *d*	
Saddle &c	60 *d*	50 *d*	20 *d*	16 *d*	10 *d*	10 *d*	[illegible] *d*	
Shoes	7 *d*	6 *d*	4 *d*	2 *d*	2 *d*	2 *d*	—	
Groom	63 *d*	63 *d*	60 *d*	60 *d*	45 *d*	45 *d*	45 *d*	
Original Allowance	479 *d*	4[illegible]8 *d*	358 *d*	298 *d*	239 *d*	188 *d*	145½ *d*	
1st Increase	81 *d*	67 *d*	72 *d*	52 *d*	41 *d*	22 *d*	29½ *d*	Not specified
2nd Ditto	80 *d*	75 *d*	30 *d*	50 *d*	40 *d*	30 *d*	25 *d*	
3rd Ditto	80 *d*	80 *d*	80 *d*	80 *d*	80 *d*	80 *d*	40 *d*	
Total monthly cost in *dams*	7[illegible]0 *d*	680 *d*	[illegible]60 *d*	480 *d*	400 *d*	320 *d*	2[illegible] *d*	160 *d*

The allowance of sugar or molasses according to Abu l Fazl ceases from Class IV, but as he goes on mentioning it in the inferior classes, I have made brackets. *Ghī* and molasses were generally given together. *vide* p. 142.

[1 *Qand i siyah* is probably *gur*. H.—P.]
[2 See footnote 4, p. 244.—P.]

3 *Elephants* The branded elephants of the army are divided into *seven* classes *Mast, Shergīr, Sāda, Manjhola, Karha, Phandurkiya,* and *Mokal,* elephants, but there are no subdivisions, as in His Majesty's elephant stables [*vide* p 131, l 27]

The monthly allowance for *Mast* elephants is 1,320 *dāms* [33 Rupees] Daily allowance of grain, 2½ *māns* No elephant has more than three servants, a *Mahāwat,* a *Bho,ī,* and a *Meth,* of whom the first gets 120 *d*, and the two last 90 *d* An increase of 120 *d* was given From the beginning, elephants were branded, but now certain differences are made

Shergīr elephants Monthly cost, 1,100 *d*, which is 220 *d* less than the former Grain, 2 *m per diem,* which makes 180 *d* less *per mensem*, also 15 *d* less for the *Mahāwat* and the *Bho,ī* His Majesty increased the allowance by 110 *d*

Sāda elephants Monthly cost, 800 *d*, which is 300 *d* less than the preceding Grain 1½ *m per diem,* which gives 180 *d* less *per month* Besides 30 *d* less for the *Meth,* and 15 *d* less for the *Mahāwat* and the *Bho,ī* An increase of 50 *d* was sanctioned

Manjhola elephants Monthly cost, 600 *d* Grain 1 *m* The decrease is the same as in the preceding, but an additional allowance of 90 *d* was sanctioned

Karha elephants Monthly cost, 420 *d*, grain, 30 *s* Hence there is a decrease of 30 *d* on this account, and of 15 *d* for the *Mahāwat* No *Bho,ī* is allowed The additional grant is 60 *d*

Phandurkiya elephants Monthly cost, 300 *d* Grain, 15 *s per diem,* which gives a decrease of 135 *d per mensem* Only one servant is allowed at 60 *d per month* An additional grant of 105 *d* was sanctioned

Mokal elephants were formerly not counted Now they are considered worthy of entering the classes Monthly allowance, 280 *d*

In all payments on account of elephants, *dāms* are taken, not rupees, so that there is no possibility of fluctuation

4 *Camels* Monthly cost, 240 *d* Grain 6 *s*, grass, 1 *d*, furniture, 20 *d*, the driver, 60 *d* An addition of 58 *d* was sanctioned, and when the value of the Rupee was fixed at 40 *dams,* 20 *d* more were allowed

5 *Oxen* Monthly allowance, 120 *d* Grain, 4 *s*, grass, 1 *d*, furniture, 6 *d* Additional grant, 38 *d* At the time when the value of the rupee was raised, 10 *d* more were given

6 *Oxen for the waggons* For each waggon, the monthly expenditure is 600 *d*, viz 480 *d* for four oxen, 120 *d* for grease, repairs, and additional comforts

Elephants and waggons are only allowed to Manṣabdārs, and to those who bring good horses and camels, and middling oxen to be branded

Āʼīn 3

THE MANSABDĀRS[1]

Wise inquirers follow out the same principles, and the people of the present age do not differ in opinion from those of ancient times They all agree that if that which is numerous be not pervaded by a principle of harmony, the dust of disturbances will not settle down, and the troubles of lawlessness will not cease to rise It is so with the elements, as long as the uniting principle is absent, they are dead, and incapable of exhibiting the wonders of the kingdoms of nature Even animals form unions among themselves, and avoid wilful violence, hence they live comfortably and watch over their advantages and disadvantages But men, from the wickedness of their passions, stand much more in need of a just leader round whom they may rally, in fact, their social existence depends upon their being ruled by a monarch, for the extraordinary wickedness of men and their inclination to that which is evil teach their passions and lusts new ways of perversity, and even cause them to look upon committing bloodshed and doing harm as a religious command[2] To disperse this cloud of ignorance, God chooses one, whom he guides with perfect help and daily increasing favour That man will quell the strife among men by his experience, intrepidity, and magnanimity, and thus infuse into them new vigour

But as the strength of one man is scarcely adequate to such an arduous

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[1] The Arabians say *manṣib* in Persia and India the word is pronounced *manṣab* It means a post, an office hence *manṣabdār* an officer, but the word is generally restricted to high officials.

[2] [illegible] reproached the Muhammadans for converting with the sword. Thus, he said, was inhuman. And yet, he allowed the suttee

undertaking, he selects, guided by the light of his knowledge, some excellent men to help him, appointing at the same time servants for them For this cause did His Majesty establish the ranks of the Mansabdars, from the *Dahbāshī* (Commander of Ten) to the *Dah Hazārī* (Commander of Ten Thousand), limiting, however, all commands above Five Thousand to his august sons

The deep-sighted saw a sign and inquirers got a hint from above when they found the value of the letters of God's holy name,[1] they read in it glad tidings for the present illustrious reign and considered it a most auspicious omen The number of Mansabs is sixty six, the same as the value of the letters in the name of *Allāh*, which is an announcement of eternal bliss

In selecting his officers His Majesty is assisted by his knowledge of the spirit of the age, a knowledge which sheds a peculiar light on the jewel of his wisdom His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance,[2] and confers upon them high rank Sometimes he increases the mansab of a servant, but decreases his contingent He also fixes the number of the beasts of burden The monthly grants made to the Mansabdars vary according to the condition of their contingents An officer whose contingent comes up to his manṣab, is put into the first class of his rank, if his contingent is one half and upwards of the fixed number, he is put into the second class, the third class contains those contingents which are still less, as is shown in the table below

Yūzbāshīs (Commanders of One Hundred) are of eleven classes The *first* class contains such as furnish one hundred troopers Their monthly salary is 700 Rupees The *eleventh* class contains such as have no troops of their own, in accordance with the statement made above, that *Dakhilī* troops are nowadays preferred This class gets 500 Rupees The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from 700 Rupees by 20 Rupees for every ten troopers which they furnish less

In the live stock accounts of the *Du bistis*, the fixed number of *Turkī* and *Jangla* horses, and of elephants, is not enforced For Commanders of Thirty and Twenty, four horses are reckoned generally *Mujannas*, rarely

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[1] *Jalālah.* This curious word is according to Bahar i ʿAjam an abbreviation of the phrase *Jalla jalālu-hu* May His glory shine forth It is then used in the sense of *God*, thus the dual *jalalatayn* saying *Allah! Allah!*; and *khatm-i jalāla* saying the word *Allah* 125 000 times. Similarly here the 66 *mansabs* correspond to the value of the letters of *Jalālah*, i.e. الله = 1+30+30+5 = 66 Abū l Fazl makes much of the coincidence for Akbar's name was *Jalālu d Dīn* and Akbar was a divinity Perhaps I should not say *coincidence* because of the sixty six *mansabs* only one half existed.

[2] Abū l Fazl often praises Akbar as a good physiognomist Bada,onī says Akbar learnt the art from the Jogīs.

Yābūs, and *Dahbāshīs* are excused the *Turkī* horse, though their salaries remain as before

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR ON THE MANṢABS

The sixty six Mansabs, detailed by Abū 'l Fazl in the following table, appear to be the result of a minute classification rather than a representation of the Mansabs which actually existed at the time of Akbar. The table may represent Akbar's plan, but the list of grandees, as given by Abū 'l Fazl himself in the 30th Ā*in of this Book only mentions *thirty-three*—the three commands of the three Princes from 10,000 to 7,000; and thirty commands of the Mansabdārs, namely commands of 5,000, 4,500, 4,000, 3,500, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,250, 1,000, 900 ?, 800, 700, 600, 500, 400, 350, 300 ?, 250, 200, 150, 120, 100, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10 On the last thirty commands, two are somewhat doubtful (the commands of 900 and 300), as not given in all MSS. of the Ā*īn, though the List of Grandees of Shāh Jahān's time (*Pādishāhnāma*, II, p 717) mentions a command of 900 It does not specify a command of 300, because no Mansabs under 500 are enumerated in that list.

Abū 'l-Faẓl specifies below the names of all of Akbar's Commanders up to the Mansabdārs of 500, he then gives the names of the Commanders of 500 to 200, who were living, when he made the list Of the Commands below 200, he merely gives the numbers of those that were alive, viz .—of Commanders of

150	53
120	1
100 (*Yūzbāshīs*)	250
80	91
60	204
50	16
40	260
30	39
20	250
10	224

in all, 1,388 commanders from 150 to 10 The number of the higher Mansabdārs from 5,000 to 200 is 412, of which about 150 may have been dead, when Abū 'l Fazl made his list

As Abū 'l Fazl's List (Ā*īn 30), according to the testimony of Nizām i Harawī is a complete list [1] it is certain that of the 66 Manṣabs of the

following table, only 33 existed in reality The first eighteen of these 33 are commands down to 500, which corresponds to the List of Shāhjahān's grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma*, which likewise gives 18 commands to 500

The commands as detailed in the *Pādishāhnāma* are —Four commands of the princes (Dārā Shikoh, 20,000, Shāh Shujā', 15,000, Awrangzeb, 15,000, Murād Bakhsh, 12,000) and commands of 9,000, 7,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4 000, 3,000, 2,500, 2,000, 1,500, 1,000, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500

From the fact that Abū 'l Fazl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the *Pādishāhnāma* up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Manṣabs under 200, and at Shāhjahān's time, Manṣabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of *Amīr* To judge from *Nizām's Ṭabaqāt* and the *Ma'āsir i Raḥīmī*, Manṣabdārs from the Hazārī (Commander of 1,000) were, at Akbar's time, styled *umarā'-i kibār*, or *umarā i 'izām*, great Amīrs, and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to Manṣabdārs from the *Hazārīs* upwards Niẓam does restrict his phrases *ba-martaba yi imārat rasīd*, or *dar jarga* (or *silk*, or *zumra*)-*yi umarā muntaẓim gasht*, to commanders from Hazārīs

The title *Amīr*[u] *'l-umarā* (the Amīr of the Amīrs, principal Amīr), which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at the time, seems to have been held by several simultaneously Nizam gives his title to Adham Khān, Khizr Khwāja Khān, Mīr Muhammad Khān Atkah, Muzaffar Khān, Quṭb[u] 'd Dīn Muhammad Khān, and to the three commanders in chief, Bayrām Khān, Mun'im Khan, and Mīrzā 'Abd[u] 'r Raḥīm, the three latter being styled *Khān Khānān* [1] or *Khān Khānān i Sipahsālār*

In the *Pādishāhnāma*, however, the title of *Amīr*[u] *'l Umarā* is restricted to the first living grandee ('Alī Mardān Khān)

It is noticeable that Nizam only mentions commanders of 5,000, 4,000, 3 000, 2 500, 2 000 1,500, and 1 000—for lower Mansabs he does not specify names Abū 'l Fazl gives three intermediate Manṣabs of 4,500, 3 500, and 1,250, but as he only gives five names for these three ranks we may conclude that these Mansabs were unusual This agrees also with the salaries of the commanders, for if we leave out the commands of 4,500, 3 500 and 1,250, we have, according to Ā'īn 30, *twelve* steps from 5 000 to 500 and the monthly salary of a commander of 500 (Rs 2,500) is the *twelfth* part of the salary of a commander of 5 000 (Rs 30 000) The *Pādishāhnāma* gives *fourteen* steps between the

[1] For *Khan i Khānan* the Khān of the Khāns. In such titles the Persian *Iẓāfat* is left out.

commanders of 7,000 and 500, and fixes the salary of a commander of 7,000 at one *kror* of *dāms per annum*, or 250,000 Rs, stating at the same time that the salaries decrease in proportion The Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ghiyās*' *'l lughāt*, states that the salary of a commander of 5,000 is one *kror*, or 250,000 *Rs*, and that the salary of a *Pansadī*, or commander of 500, is 20,000 Rs *per annum*, the 12½th part of the former

It would thus appear that the salaries of the Mansabdārs, as given by Abū 'l Fazl in the following table, are somewhat *higher* than those given in the *Pādishāhnāma* and the *Ghiyās*, whatever may have been the source of the latter

The salaries appear to be unusually high, but they would be considerably reduced if each Manṣabdār had to keep up the establishment of horses, elephants, camels, carts, etc, which Abū 'l Fazl specifies for each rank Taking the preceding Āʼīn and the table in the note as a guide, the establishment of horses, etc, mentioned in the following table, would amount, for a commander of

5,000 (monthly salary 30,000 *R*) to 10,637 *R*.
1,000 („ „ 8,200 *R*) to 3,015½ *R*
100 („ „ 700 *R*) to 313 *R*

The three classes which Abū 'l Fazl mentions for each Mansab differ very slightly, and cannot refer to p 249, l 23

A commander of 5,000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5,000 men In fact, the numbers rarely even approach the number expressed by the title of a Manṣabdār Thus Nizām says of Todar Mall and Quṭbᵘ 'd Dīn Muhammad Khān, as if it was something worth mentioning, that the former had 4,000 cavalry, and the latter 5,000 *naukars*, or servants, i e, soldiers, though Todar Mall was a commander of 4 000 (Nizām says 5,000), and Quṭbᵘ 'd Dīn a commander of 5,000 Of ʿAbdul majīd Āṣaf Khān, a commander of 3,000 (*vide* Āʼīn 30, No 49), Nizām says, "he reached a point when he had 20,000" In the *Pādishāhnāma*, where more details are given regarding the number of men under each commander, we find that of the 115 commanders of 500 under Shāhjahān, only six had contingents of 500, whilst the last had only 50 troopers This also explains the use of the word ذات *zāt* after the titles of Mansabdārs, as *panj hazārī i zāt sihhazār suwār*, "a commander of 5,000, personally (*zāt*, or by rank), and in actual command of 3,000 cavalry" Sometimes we meet with another phrase, the meaning of which will be explained below, as *Shāyista Khān panjhazārī, panj hazār suwār-i duaspa sihaspī*, "Shāyista Khān, a commander of 5 000, contingent 5,000 cavalry, *with two horses, with three horses*" A trooper

is called *duaspa*, if he has two horses, and *sihaspa*, if three, in order to change horses during *elghārs* or forced marches But keeping *duashpa sihaspa* troopers was a distinction, as in the *Pādishāhnāma* only the senior Manṣabdars of some ranks are so designated, viz , [illegible] (out of 20) Panjhazārīs, 1 Chahārhazārī, 2 Sihhazārī, 2 Duhazārī, [illegible] Hazār [illegible] panṣadī; 1 Hazārī, and 1 Haftṣadī

The higher Manṣabdārs were mostly governors of Ṣūbas The governors were at first called *sipahsālārs*, towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hākims*, and afterwards *Sāhib Sūbah*, or *Sūba-dārs*, and still later merely *Sūbas* The other Mansabdārs held *Jāgīrs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed The Mansabdārs are also called *taʿīnatiyān* (appointed), whilst the troops of their contingents are called *tābīnān* (followers), [1] hence *tābīnbāshī*, the Manṣabdār himself, or his *Bakhshī* (pay master, colonel)

The contingents of the Manṣabdārs, which formed the greater part of the army, were mustered at stated times, and paid from the general or the local treasuries, *vide* Āʾīns 6, 7, 8 Akbar had much trouble with these musters, as fraudulent practices were quite common The reform of the army dates from the time when Shāhbāz Khan (*vide* pp 148, 197) was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* The following passage from Badā,oni (II, p 190) is interesting —

"The whole country, with the exception of the *Khālisa* lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as *jāgīr*, and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops or take an interest in the people In cases of emergency, they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war, but really useful soldiers there were none Shāhbāz Khān,[2] the Mīr Bakhshī, introduced the custom and rule of the *dāgh o mahallī*, which had been the rule of ʿAlaʾ ʾd Din Khilji,[3] and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh It was settled that every Amīr should commence as a commander of twenty (*bīstī*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard and ,[4] as had

[1] تعیناتیان, pl. of تعینی, from تعین taʿin the Indian pronunciation of تعیین taʿyīn, [illegible]

been ordered, and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadī*, or commander of 100 or more They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their Mansabs, according to the same rule When they had brought to the musters their new contingent complete they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazārī*, *Duhazārī*, and even *Panjhazārī*, which is the highest Mansab, but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be put down. But notwithstanding this new regulation, the condition of the soldiers got worse, because the Amirs did what they liked, for they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers' clothes (*libās-i sipahī*), brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties But when they got their *jagirs*, they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose Hence while the income and expenditure of the Mansabdar remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers, and cotton-cleaners (*naddaf*), carpenters, and greengrocers, Hindu and Musalman, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a Manṣab, or were made *Kroris* (*vide* p 13, l 7 from below), or Ahadis, or Dakhilis to some one (*vide* p 231), and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot Many times it happened at the musters, before the emperor himself in the *Dīwān khāna-yi khāṣṣ*, that they were weighed in their clothes, with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *man*, more or less (?) and after inquiry, it was found that all were hired and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles His Majesty then used to say, 'With my eyes thus open I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on' After some time had passed away, His Majesty divided the Ahadis into *du aspa*, *yakaspa* (having one horse), and *nīmaspa* (having half a share in a horse), in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees [1]

Weigh well these facts, but put no question!

These were things of daily occurrence , [2] but notwithstanding

[1] So according to one MS. The passage is not quite clear

[2] Here follows a sentence which I do not know how to translate.

all this, His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not so very necessary, and the Amīrs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their servants "

Hence the repeated musters which Akbar held, both of men and of animals, carts, etc , the minuteness of some of the regulations recorded in the Āīn, and the heavy fines imposed on neglectful servants (pp 226–7, note) The carefulness with which Akbar entered into details (*kasrat*), in order to understand the whole (*wahdat*)—an unusual thing for rulers of former times—is the secret of his success [1]

We have not sufficient data to form an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's army We may, however, quote a statement in the *Pādishāhnāma* regarding the strength of Shāhjahān's army, *vide Pādishāhn* II, p 715

" The paid army of the present reign consists of 200,000 cavalry, according to the rule of branding the fourth part, as has been mentioned above This is exclusive of the soldiers that are allowed to the Fawjdars, Krorīs, and tax collectors, for the administration of the Parganas These 200 000 cavalry are made up as follows —

8,000 Mansabdars

7,000 mounted *Ahadī* and mounted *Bargandāz*

185,000 cavalry, consisting of the contingents (*tābīnān*) of the princes, the chief grandees, and the other Mansabdārs

" Besides these 200,000 cavalry, there are 40,000 foot, musketeers, artillery, and rocket bearers Of these 40 000, 10 000 accompany the emperor, and the remaining 30,000 [2] are in the subas and the forts "

The " Rule of branding the fourth part " is described among the events of the year 1056 as follows (II, p 506) —

" The following law was made during the present reign (Shāhjahan) If a Mansabdar holds a jagir in the same sūba, in which he holds his mansab, he has to muster *one third* of the force indicated by his rank [3] Accordingly a *Si Hazarī yi zāt sih hazār suwār* (a commander of 3,000, personal rank, contingent 3 000 cavalry) has to muster (bring to the brand) 1 000 cavalry But if he holds an appointment in another sūba, he has only to muster *a fourth* part Accordingly, a *Chahārhazārī chahār hazār suwār* (a commander of 4 000, contingent, 4,000) has only to muster 1,000 cavalry

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[1] *Vide* p 11, note

[2] The edition of the *Padishahnama* has wrongly 3 000

[3] Literally *he has to bring his followers (troopers) to the brand (dagh) according to the third part*

" At the time the Imperial army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarqand [1055], His Majesty, on account of the distance of those countries, gave the order that as long as the expedition should last, each Manṣabdār should only muster one fifth Accordingly a *Panjhazārī panjhazār suwār* (a commander of 5,000, contingent, 5,000) mustered only 1,000, viz, 300 *sihaspa* troopers, 600 *du-aspa* troopers, 100 *yak-aspa* troopers [i e, 1,000 men with 2 200 horses], provided the income (*hāṣil*) of his jagir was fixed at 12 months, or 250 *sihaspa* troopers, 500 *du-aspa* troopers, and 250 *yak aspa* troopers [i e, 1,000 men with 2,000 horses] provided the income of his jāgir was fixed at 11 months, or 800 *du-aspa* troopers, and 200 *yak aspa* troopers [i e, 1,000 men and 1,800 horses], if the income of his jāgir was fixed at 10 months, or 600 *du-aspa* troopers and 400 *yak aspa*, if at 9 months, or 450 *du-aspa* and 550 *yak-aspa* troopers, if at 8 months, or 250 *du aspa* and 750 *yak aspa* troopers, if at 7 months, or 100 *du-aspa* and 900 *yak-aspa* troopers, if at 6 months, or 1,000 *yak aspa*, if at 5 months

' But if the troopers to a mansab had all been fixed as *si-aspa du aspa* [in other words, if the commander was not a *Panj hazārī, panj hazār suwār*, but a *Panj hazārī panj hazār suwār i du aspa si aspa*] he musters, as his proportion of *duaspa* and *sihaspa* troopers, double the number which he would have to muster, if his mansab had been as in the preceding Accordingly, a *Panj hazarī panj hazar tamām du-aspa si aspa* (a commander of 5,000, contingent only *du-aspa* and *si-aspa*) would muster 600 troopers with three horses, 1,200 troopers with two horses, and 200 troopers with one horse each [i e, 2,000 men with 4,400 horses], provided the income of his jagir be fixed at 12 months and so on "

From this important passage, it is clear that one fourth of that number of troopers, which is indicated by the title of a Mansabdār, was the average strength of the contingents at the time of Shahjahān Thus if a commander of 1,000 troopers had the title of *Hazārī hazār suwār*, the strength of his contingent was $\frac{1000}{4} = 250$ men with 650 horses, viz, 75 *si aspa* 150 *du-aspa* and 25 *yak aspa*, and if his title was *Hazārī hazār suwār-i du aspa si aspa*, the strength of his contingent was 500 men with 1 300 horses viz 150 *si-aspa*, 300 *du aspa*, and 50 *yak aspa*, if the income of his jagir was drawn by him for every month of the year The above passage also indicates that the proportions of *si-aspa*, and *du aspa*, and *yak aspa* troopers was for all mansabs as 300 600 100, or as 3 6 1

As the author of the *Padishāhnāma* does not mention the restriction as to the number of months for which the Mansabdars drew the income,

we may assume that the difference in strength of the contingents mentioned after the name of each grandee depended on the value of their jāgīrs

From an incidental remark (*Pādishāhnāma*, I, p 113), we see that the pay of a commander of *sihaspa du-aspa* troopers was double the pay allowed to a commander of *yak aspas* This agrees with the fact that the former had double the number of men and horses of the latter

The strength also of ʿAwrangzeb's army, on a statement by Bernier, was conjectured to have been 200,000 cavalry, *vide* Elphinstone's *History*, second edition, p 546, last line

Akbar's army must have been smaller It is impossible to compute the strength of the contingents, which was continually fluctuating, and depended rather on emergencies We can, however, guess at the strength of Akbar's *standing* army At the end of Āʾīn 30, Abū 'l Fazl states that there were alive at the time he wrote the Āʾīn

250	Commanders of	100	(Yūzbāshīs)
204	,, ,,	60	,,
260	,, ,,	40	,,
250	,, ,,	20	,,
224	,, ,,	10	,,

As these numbers are very uniform, the regular army could not have been larger than 250 × 100, or 25,000 men (troopers, musketeers, and artillery) The Imperial stables contained 12,000 horses (*vide* p 132, l 6 from below) which were under the immediate charge of Mirzā ʿAbdu 'r Rahīm Khān Khanān, Akbar's Commander in Chief Hence there may have been about 12,000 standing cavalry The rest were matchlock-bearers and artillery In Āʾīn 6, Abū 'l Fazl states that there were 12,000 matchlock bearers The number of Ahadis, of which Shāhjahān had 7,000, cannot have been very large Many of them were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops, others were *employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders* They were, at Akbar's time, gentlemen rather than common soldiers, as they had to buy their own horse on joining Badā,onī mentions an Ahadī of the name of Khwaja Ibrahīm Husayn as one of his friends (II, p 394) The number of Mansabdars, which under Shahjahān amounted to 8,000, was also much less Of the 415 Mansabdars whose names are given in Āʾīn 30, about 150 were dead when Abū 'l Fazl wrote it,[1] so that there would be about

[1] [illegible] ... which do not go beyond [illegible]

Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Manṣabdārs [1]

Number.	Commanders of	Horses.						Elephants.					Beasts of Burden and Carts.			Monthly Salaries		
																Classes.		
		'Irāqī.	Mujannas.	Turkī.	Yābū.	Tāzī.	Jangla.	Shergir.	Sāda.	Manjhola.	Karha.	Phandurkiya.	Qatārs of Camels.	Qatārs of Mules.	Carts.	1st Rs.	2nd Rs.	3rd Rs.
1	10,000	68	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	—	—
2	8,000	54	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	50,000	—	—
3	7,000	49	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	20	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	—	—
4	5,000	34	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	[illegible]																	
6	[illegible]																	
7	[illegible]																	
8	[illegible]																	
9	[illegible]																	
10	[illegible]																	
11	[illegible]																	
12	[illegible]																	
13	[illegible]																	
14	[illegible]																	
15	[illegible]																	
16	[illegible]																	
17	[illegible]																	
18	[illegible]																	
19	[illegible]																	
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43	[illegible]																	
44	[illegible]																	
45	[illegible]																	
46	[illegible]																	
47	[illegible]																	
48	[illegible]																	
49	[illegible]																	

[1] For differences in reading I must refer the reader to my Text edition, p. 185.

Number	Commanders of	Horses						Elephants					Beasts of Burden and Carts			Monthly Salaries — Classes		
		ʿIraqi	Mujannas	Turki	Yābu	Tazi	Jangla	Shergir	Sada	Manjhola	Karha	Phandurkiya	Qatars of Camels	Qatars of Mules	Carts	1st Rs	2nd Rs	3rd Rs
50	500	4	6	8	8	4	—	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2 500	[illegible] 300	2,100
51	400	3	4	5	6	2	—	2	2	2	2	1	5	—	12	2,000	1 751	1 500
52	350	3	4	4	4	2	—	1	1	2	3	1	4^3	—	11	1 450	1,305	1,350
53	300	3	3	3	4	2	—	1	1	2	2	1	4	—	10	1,400	1,250	1,200
54	250	3	3	3	4	1	—	1	1	2	2	—	3[illegible]	—	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55	200	2	3	3	3	1	—	1	2	1	2	—	3	—	7	975	950	900
56	150	2	3	3	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	—	[illegible]	875	850	800
57	125	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	2¼	—	6	780	760	750
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	2¼	—	5	745	[illegible]40	[illegible]30
59	100	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	5	700	600	500
60	80	2	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	3	410	380	3[illegible]0
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	1⅝	—	2	301	28[illegible]	2[illegible]0
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	1⅝	—	2	250	240	230
[illegible]	40	1	2	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1⅞	—	1	223	200	185
64	30	—	1	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	1¼	—	1	185	165	155
65	20	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	1¼	—	1	135	125	115
66	10	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	82½	75

250 higher Manṣabdars, to which we have to add 1,388 lower Mansabdārs, from the Commanders of 150 downwards, hence altogether about 1,600 Mansabdārs

But Akbar's Mansabdars, on the whole, had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mansabdārs of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (*ẕat*) were multiplied.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, Mansabdârs had even to furnish men with four horses (*chahār aspa*) A *Dahbāshī*, or Commander of ten, had to furnish 10 men with 25 horses, but in later times (*vide* Āʾīn 5) the *Chahār-aspas* were discontinued, and a *Dahbāshī* furnished 10 men with 18 horses As the other ranks had to furnish horses in proportion, one of Akbar's Hazārīs would have had to bring 1,800 horses, whilst a Hazārī at the time of Shāhjahān only furnished 650

Of non commissioned officers a *Mīrdaha* is mentioned, *vide* note 1, p 116 The pay of a Mīrdaha of matchlock bearers varied from 7½ to 6½ *R per mensem* Common matchlock bearers received from 6¼ to 2¾ *R* As they were standing (household) troops, Abū 'l Fazl has put them into the first book of this work (Āʾīns [illegible] to 40), and, generally, the reader will have to bear in mind that the second book, relating to the army, treats chiefly of the contingents of the Manṣabdārs

Badā,onī, in the above extract, p 253, speaks of a *libās i sipahī*, or soldier's uniform (armour ?)

The distinctions conferred by the emperor on the Manṣabdars consisted in certain flags (*vide* p 52, l 6 from below), and the *gharyāl* or gong (*vide* in the beginning of the fourth book, *Āʾīn i Gharyāl*)

Āʾīn 4

THE AHADĪS

There are many brave and worthy persons whom His Majesty does not appoint to a Manṣab, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested As it is the aim of His Majesty to confer a spiritual meaning on that which is external, he calls such persons *Ahadīs* (from *ahad*, one) They are thus reminded of the *unity* of God

A new regulation regarding rank was given

For the sake of the convenience of the Aḥadis, a separate Dīwān and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amīrs is their chief A fit person has also been selected to introduce to His Majesty such as are candidates for Ahadiships Without partiality or accepting bribes, he takes daily several before His Majesty, who examines them When they have been approved of, they pass through the *Yād-dāsht*, the *Taʿlīqa*, the descriptive roll, and accounts [*vide* Āʾīn 10] The paymaster then takes security and introduces the candidate a second time to His Majesty, who generally increases his pay from an eighth to three fourths, or even to more than six sevenths [1] Many Ahadis have indeed more than 500 Rupees *per mensem* [2] He then gets the number *nine* as his brand [*vide* Āʾīn 7] In the beginning, when their rank was first established, some Ahadīs mustered eight horses , but now the limit is five On his *sar khat* [*vide* Āʾīn 11] each receives a *farmāncha* (rank and pay certificate), on which year after year the treasurer makes payments

Ahadis are mustered every four months when on a certificate signed by the Dīwān and the Bakhshi which is called nowadays *Taṣḥīḥa*,[3] the

[1] Or as we would say by 75 or even 85$\frac{5}{7}$ *per cent* *Vide* note 4 p 83

[2] This agrees with a statement which I have seen in some historian of Akbar's reign that a senior *Ahadi* was promoted to a *Yūzbāshīship* as the next step *Vide* p 20 note 1

[3] The *Taṣḥīḥa* corresponds therefore to a 'life certificate' Arabic Infinitives II take in modern Persian a final *s*, thus *taʿlīqa* [*vide* below, Āʾīn 10] *takhfīfa* [*vide* p 101, note 1] etc

clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be countersigned by the principal grandees This the treasurer keeps, and pays the claim Before the period (of four months) is over, he gets one month's salary in advance In the course of the year, he receives cash for ten months, after deducting from it one twentieth of the sum, the total stoppage being made on account of his horses and other expenses On joining the service, an Ahadi generally finds his own horse, but afterwards he gets it from the Government, and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqatnāma*,[1] explains the reason why the horse is not forthcoming he is held indemnified for his dead horse, but does not receive the money for keeping a horse until he gets a new one But if he has no *Saqatnāma* to show, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster Those who are in want of horses are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one half being reckoned as *irmās* money,[2] and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters, or if the Ahadī be in debt, in eight instalments

Āʾīn 5

OTHER KINDS OF TROOPERS

As I have said something about the Mansabdārs and the Ahadis, I shall give a few details regarding the third class of troopers

The horse dealer fixes the quality of the horses, which are carefully inspected by the Bakhshīs The description of the man is then taken down in writing If a trooper has more than one horse they add to his establishment a camel or an ox, for which he gets half the allowance usually given to troopers of a superior class, or if this be not given he gets an addition of two-fifths

A *Yak aspa* trooper is paid according to the following rates If his horse be an ʿIrāqi, he gets 30 *R* *per mensem*, if *mujannas*, 25 *R*, if *Turkī*, 20 *R*, if a *Yābū*, 18 *R*, if a *Tāzī*, 15 *R*, if a *Jangla*, 12 *R*

The revenue collectors of domain lands got formerly 25 *R*, but now only 15 *R*

Troopers of this kind mustered formerly up to four horses, but now the order is not to exceed three

[1] From *saqat* he fell.

[2] [illegible]

Every *Dah-bāshī* had to muster 2 *chahār-aspa*, 3 *si-aspa*, 3 *du-aspa*, and 2 *yak-aspa* troopers [i e, 10 troopers with 25 horses], and the other Mansabdārs in the same proportion But now a Dah bāshī's contingent consists of 3 *si aspa*, 4 *du-aspa*, and 3 *yak-aspa* troopers [i e, 10 troopers with 18 horses]

Āʼīn 6

THE INFANTRY

As I have said something about the Cavalry, I shall make a few remarks on foot soldiers They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner

The writer of these [1] is the *Awāra-navīs* Inasmuch as they are of importance, they are counted as belonging to the infantry There are several classes of them The first class gets 500 *dāms*, the second, 400 *d*, the third, 300 *d*, the fourth, 240 *d*

The *Bandūq-chīs*, or Matchlock bearers

There are 12,000 Imperial Matchlock bearers Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchī*, an honest treasurer, and an active *Dārogha* A few *Bandūq-chīs* are selected for these offices, the others hold the following ranks Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal, and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding The pay of these [non-commissioned] officers is of four grades, *first*, 300 *d*, *second*, 280 *d*, *third*, 270 *d*, *fourth* 260 *d*

Common *Banduq-chīs* are divided into *five* classes, and each class into three subdivisions *First class*, 250, 240, and 230 *d* *Second class*, 220, 210 200 *d* *Third class*, 190, 180, and 170 *d* *Fourth class*, 160, 150, and 140 *d* *Fifth class*, 130, 120 and 110 *d*

The *Darbāns*, or Porters

A thousand of these active men are employed to guard the palace The pay of the *Mirdahas* is five fold, 200, 160, 140, 130, and 120 *d*. Common *Darbāns* have from 100 to 120 *d*

The *Khidmatiyyas*

The *Khidmatiyyas* also belong to the infantry They guard the environs of the palace and see that certain orders are carried out *Panjāhīs*

[1] The text has a word which does not suit.

to *Bistīs* have 200 *d*, and a *Dah bāshī* gets 180 and 140 *d*. The others get 120, 110, and 100 *d*.

The caste to which they belong was notorious for highway robbery and theft; former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty have led them to honesty; they are now famous for their trustworthiness. They were formerly called *Māwīs*. Their chief has received the title of *Khidmat Rāī*. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called *Khidmatiyyas*.[1]

The *Mewras*[2]

They are natives of Mewat, and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies, and will perform the most intricate duties. There are likewise one thousand of them, ready to carry out orders. Their wages are the same as the preceding.

The *Shamsherbāz*, or Gladiators

There are several kinds of them, each performing astonishing feats. In fighting they show much swiftness and agility, and join courage to skill in stooping down and rising up again. Some of them use shields in fighting, others use cudgels. The latter are called *Lakrait*. Others again use no means of defence, and fight with one hand only; these are called *yak hath*. The former class come chiefly from the Eastern districts and use a somewhat smaller shield, which they call *chirwa*. Those who come from the southern districts make their shields large enough to conceal a horseman. This kind of shield they call *tilwa*.

Another class goes by the name of *Pharāits*. They use a shield not quite so large as to conceal a man, but a *gaz* broad.

Some again are called *Banāits*. They use a long sword, the handle of which is more than a *gaz* long, and seizing it with both hands, they perform extraordinary feats of skill.

The class which goes by the name of *Bankūlīs* are likewise famous. They use a peculiar sword which, though bent towards the point, is straight near the handle. But they do not make use of a shield. The skill which they exhibit passes all description. Others make various kinds of daggers and knives and perform with them the most extraordinary feats. Each class of these men has a different name; they also

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[1] They are called in the Tuzuk i Jahangiri *Piyadaha yi Khidmatiyya*. The name of their chief under Jahāngīr was *Rāi Mān*. He once picked up the young Shāh Shujāʿ who had fallen from an upper window to the ground. *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī* p 303.

[2] Among the innovations made by Akbar are the *Dāk Mewras* of whom some were stationed at every place. *Khāfī Khān* I, p 243. Hence the *Mewras* were chiefly postmen.

differ in their performances But it is really impossible to give a mere description of them nor would mere listening to my descriptions be sufficient

There are more than a hundred thousand of them At Court one thousand of them are always in readiness Their *Sadī* (commander of one hundred) holds the rank of an Ahadi and even a higher one Their salaries vary from 80 to 600 *d*

The *Pahluwans* or Wrestlers

There are many Persian and Turani wrestlers and boxers at Court, as also stone-throwers athletes of Hindustan clever *Mals* from Gujrat and many other kinds of fighting men Their pay varies from 70 to 450 *d* Every day two well matched men fight with each other Many presents are made to them on such occasions The following belong to the best wrestlers of the age—Mirza Khan of Gilan, Muhammad Quli of Tabriz, to whom His Majesty has given the name of *Sher hamla* or Lion attacker, Ṣadiq of Bukhara ʿAli of Tabriz, Murad of Turkistan Muhammad ʿAli of Turan Fulad of Tabriz, Qasim of Tabriz, Mirza Kuhna suwar of Tabriz Shah Quli of Kurdistan Hilal of Abyssinia Sadhu Daval, ʿAli, Sri Ram Kanhya Mangol, Ganesh, Anba, Nanka Balbhadr, Bajrnath

The *Chelas* or Slaves [1]

His Majesty from religious motives dislikes the name *banda* or slave for he believes that mastership belongs to no one but God He therefore calls this class of men *Chelas* which Hindi term signifies a *faithful disciple* [2] Through His Majesty's kindness many of them have chosen the road to happiness [3]

Various meanings attach to the term *slave* [4] *First* that which people in general mean by a slave Some men obtain power over such as do not belong to their sect and sell and buy them The wise look upon this as abominable *Secondly* he is called a slave who leaves the path of selfishness and chooses the road of spiritual obedience [5] *Thirdly* one s

[[1] Chela, H disciple, etc.—P]

[2] The word *Chela* is the same as the Arab *murid* a disciple who places implicit belief in his *murshid* or *pir* the head of the sect. And many of His Majesty s special disciples, in 991 called themselves *chelas* in imitation of the use of this term among Jogis."—*Badāonī* II p. 325.

The author of the pretty Tazkira, entitled *Kalimat ash-Shuʿarā* which contains [illegible] was called *Chela*. His real name is [illegible]

[5] Inasmuch as such a man blindly follows his *pir*

child *Fourthly*, one who kills a man in order to inherit his property *Fifthly*, a robber who repents and attaches himself to the man whom he had robbed *Sixthly*, a murderer whose guilt has been atoned by payment of money, in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him *Seventhly*, he who cheerfully and freely prefers to live as a slave

The pay of Chelas varies from 1 *R* to 1 *d* *per diem* His Majesty has divided them into several sections, and has handed them over to active and experienced people who give them instruction in several things Thus they acquire knowledge, elevate their position, and learn to perform their duties with propriety

His Majesty, who encourages everything which is excellent and knows the value of talent, honours people of various classes with appointments in the ranks of the army, and raises them from the position of a common soldier to the dignity of a grandee

The *Kuhārs*, or *Pālkī* bearers

They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India They carry heavy loads on their shoulders, and travel through mountains and valleys With their *pālkīs*, *singhāsans*, *chaudols*, and *dūlīs*, they walk so evenly that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting There are many in this country, but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal At Court, several thousand of them are kept The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *d* Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *d*

Dākhilī troops

A fixed number of these troops are handed over to the Mansabdārs, but they are paid by the State His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nīma suwārān*, or half troopers

The fourth part of Dākhilī troops are matchlock bearers, the others carry bows

Carpenters, workers in iron, water carriers, pioneers, belong to this class

A non commissioned officer of the matchlock bearers receives 160 *d* or 4 *R*, common matchlock bearers get 140 *d* The Mirdahas of the archers get from 120 to 180 *d*, common archers from 100 to 120 *d*

I could say much more on this subject, but I must content myself with having described the principal classes I have also given some details in speaking of the several workshops and offices of the Household

Āʼīn 7

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE BRANDING OF ANIMALS

When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and inquired into the quality of the horses, he ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling places, and race, were to be registered A Darogha also was appointed, whose duty it is to see that the men are not unnecessarily detained They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations

Every one who wishes to join the army is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Taʿlīqa* [*vide* Āʼīn 10]

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the Mansabdars

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is countersigned by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Darogha He takes them in the manner described above [*vide* Āʼīn 4] to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased His Majesty discerns the value of a man by the lineaments of his forehead, and can therefore increase or decrease his pay He also distinguishes a tradesman by the look of his face from a soldier, so much so that experienced people are astonished, and refer His Majesty's power of discernment to 'hidden knowledge'. When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wāqiʿa Nawīs* (Āʼīn 10), the *Mīr ʿArz*, and the officer commanding the guards On the strength of this certificate, the Darogha of the *dāgh* (brand) marks the horses.

When the brand was first introduced it was made in the shape of the head of the letter *sīn* (i e like this ٮ) and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse For some time, it was made in shape of two *alifs* intersecting at right angles, the heads of the *alif* being made heavy as in this figure ✢, and put on the right thigh For some time again, it was made like a bow with the string taken off At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided These new

signs are likewise put on the right thigh Formerly, each horse on being mustered for the first time, was marked with a 1, the second time with a 2, and so on, but now His Majesty has ordered that separate numerals should be used for the horses of the princes, the Mansabdārs, the governors of the provinces, and all other dignitaries attached to the Court

The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses, for when a soldier, after the introduction of the system of repeated marks (*vide next Āʾīn*) brought a horse which had been exchanged, he would demand his pay from the time he had last received his pay, whilst the Bakhshi commenced to count from the day he brought his (exchanged) horse But since the present mark was introduced, the rule was made that each horse with which, instead of with his old one, a trooper came to the muster, should be described, and should get the same mark as the dead one, the Bakhshis, at the subsequent musters held for repeating the marks, were to inspect it and go by the brand Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired and substituted for the old ones, but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest

Āʾīn 8

ON THE REPETITION OF THE MARK

The servants (Mansabdārs) of His Majesty have their horses every year newly marked, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavours unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty If a Mansabdar delays bringing his men to the muster, one tenth of his jāgir (*aqṭāʿ*) [1] is withheld Formerly, when the mark was repeated, they put the number on the muster of the horse, marking for example, a horse with a 2 when it was mustered the second time, and so on, but now, as each class of soldiers had a particular mark the mark is merely repeated at the subsequent musters In the case of Ahadis, the former custom was retained Some Bitikchis, and near servants of His Majesty, who have no leisure to look after jagirs receive their monthly salaries in cash, and

[1] Properly *iqṭāʿ* Inf IV, of *qaṭʿa* but in India the word is mostl[illegible]

muster their horses every eighteen months Grandees whose jâgîrs are very remote, do not bring their horses to muster before twelve years have elapsed, but when six years have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income is retrenched And if a Mansabdar has been promoted to a higher Mansab, and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at muster, he receives a personal (ذاتی) increase of salary, but draws the allowance for the increased number of his men after the first muster His old and his new men then get their assignments If at the renewal of the mark at subsequent musters, any soldier brings a superior horse in exchange for his old one, he is taken before His Majesty, who inspects and accepts it

Áʿin 9

RULES ABOUT MOUNTING GUARD

Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chaukī* There are three kinds of guards The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mansabdar Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as *Mīr ʿArz* All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the *Mīr ʿArz*, and the commander of the Palace) They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue In the evening, the Imperial *Qur* (*vide* p 116) is taken to the State hall The mounting guards stand on the right, the ranks of the guards to be relieved are drawn up on the other side His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers Both ranks salute His Majesty If His Majesty be prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the princes is ordered to inspect the guards From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties, as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays much attention to the guards If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand

The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts, each of which mounts guard for the space of one month This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court, and to partake of the liberality of His Majesty But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact

condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour

The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty

Ā'īn 10

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE WĀQI'A-NAWĪS [1]

Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government, it is even necessary for every rank of society Though a trace of this office may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were but recognized in the present reign His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight [2] Some other suitable men are selected as supernumeraries each of whom is appointed for one day, and if any of the fourteen be detained by an important business, this additional person acts for him Hence they are called *kotal* (supernumeraries)

Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report, what His Majesty eats and drinks when he sleeps and when he rises, the etiquette in the State hall, the time His Majesty spends in the Harem, when he goes to the general and private assemblies, the nature of hunting parties, the slaying of animals, [3] when he marches, and when he halts, the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation, vows made to him, his remarks (*vide* Fifth Book), what books he has read out to him, what alms he bestows, what presents he makes, the daily and monthly exercises [4] which he imposes on himself, appointments to mansabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagīrs, *Irmās* money (*vide* above, p 260, note 2), *sayūrghāls* (rent free land), the increase or decrease of

[1] From *wāqi'a* an event and *nawīs* a writer Instead of *wāqi'a-nawīs* we also find *majlis-nawīs*

[2] [illegible] as in the [illegible] so on.

[3] Akbar wished to restrict the slaying of animals *Vide* above p 200 l. 9

[4] Especially fasts

taxes, contracts, sales, money transfers, *peshkash* (tribute receipts), dispatch, the issue of orders, the papers which are signed by His Majesty, the arrival of reports, the minutes thereon, the arrivals of courtiers, their departures, the fixing[1] of periods, the inspection of the guards, battles, victories and peace, obituaries of well known persons, animal fights and the bettings on them, the dying of horses, capital punishments, pardons granted by His Majesty, the proceedings of the general assemblies, marriages, births, *chawgān* games (*vide* Āʾin 29), *chaupar nard*, chess, card games, etc, extraordinary phenomena, the harvests of the year, the reports on events

After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwānchī*, by the *Mīr ʿArz* and by that person who laid it before His Majesty The report in this state is called *yād-dāsht*, or memorandum

Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style They receive *yād-dasht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgement of it After signing it, they return this instead of the *yād-dasht*, when the abridgement is signed and sealed by the *Wāqiʿa-nāwīs* and the *Risāla-dār*,[2] the *Mīr ʿArz*, and the *Dārogha* The abridgement, thus completed, is called *Taʿlīqa*, and the writer is called *Taʿlīqa-nawīs*

The *Taʿlīqa* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of state

His Majesty's object is that every duty be properly performed, that there be no undue increase, or decrease in any department, that dishonest people be removed, and trustworthy people be held in esteem, and that active servants may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check

Āʾīn 11

ON SANADS

Every money matter will be satisfactorily settled, when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen and write down the

[1] *Taʿīn-i muddat*, the fixing of periodical inspections opp *be taʿīnī āmadan* to come at times not appointed beforehand, unexpectedly

[2] The text has *risāla* which stands for *risala-dār* as in later times, *Suba* for *Sūba-dar*

For *Mīr ʿArz* we find in the early historians *ʿārīz*

statement in legible handwriting Every written statement of accounts is called a *sanad* All classes of men adopt such a practice

The *sanad* is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims Honest experienced officers, upon whose forehead the stamp of correctness shines, write the agreement upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction cannot be forgotten These loose sheets into which all *sanads* are entered are called the *Daftar*.[1]

His Majesty has made himself acquainted with this department and brought it into proper working order He has appointed clever, honest, incorruptible, experienced writers, and entrusts the *daftar* to impartial officers, who are under his immediate control

The *Daftar* of the empire is divided into three parts —

1 The *Abwāb*ᵘ *l māl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, etc)

2 The *Arbāb*ᵘ *'t tahāwīl*[2] This part explains the manner in which the sums for the Household have been expended, it contains the debits and credits entered on account of the cashkeepers employed at Court, and lastly, contains the accounts of daily expenditure, etc, for things bought or sold

3 The *Tawjīh*[3] This part contains all entries referring to the pay of the army, and shows the manner in which the pay is given out

Some *sanads* are merely sealed with the imperial seal Other *sanads* are first signed and sealed by the ministers of State, and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature Many *sanads*, however, are only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court This will be explained in the following

The *Farmān i sabtī*

Farmān i sabtīs are issued for three purposes —

1 For appointments to a Mansab, to the Vakilship, to the post of *Sipāh sālar* (governor of a province and Commander in Chief) to the

[1] ... of the last century often refer to this system of keeping all documents

tutorship of the princes, to the rank of *Amīr*[u] *'l umarā* (*vide* p 250), to a *Nāhiyatī*, or districtship, to the post of *Vazīr*, or Finance Minister, to the *Bakhshīship* (Paymaster and Adjutant General), to the post of a *ṣadr*, or a judge

2 For appointments to *jāgīrs* without military service,[1] for taking charge of a newly conquered territory, sometimes [2]

3 For conferring *Sayurghāls* (*vide* Āʾīn 19), for grants on account of daily subsistence allowance, and for grants for beneficent purposes

When the *Taʿlīqa* has been made out, the *Dīwān i Jāgīr* (who keeps the Jagir accounts) pays the stipulated grant If the jagir is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the *Bakhshīs* for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back or the corner of the paper—*Khāsa, o mardum barāward numāyand, Kārgarān i īn shughl chihra nawīsī kunand* (this is special, the estimate for the salary may be made out The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls) When the horses are then branded at the time of the muster, the *Bakhshī general* takes the *Taʿlīqa* keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed

This paper, which the *Bakhshī* grants instead of the *Taʿlīqa*, is called *Sarkhat*

The *Sarkhats* are entered in the *daftars* of all *Sub-Bakhshīs*, and are distinguished by particular marks The Diwan then keeps the *Sarkhat* with himself prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it and reports the matter to His Majesty If His Majesty gives the order to confer a jagir on the person specified in the *Sarkhat*, the following words are entered on the top of the report *Taʿlīqa yi tan qalamī numāyand* (they are to write out a *Taʿlīqa yi tan* (certificate of salary)) This order suffices for the clerks, they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect The draft is then inspected by the Diwan who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numāyand* (ordered to be entered) The mark of the daftar and the seal of the Diwān the Bakhshi and the Accountant the Diwan, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is

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[1] *Jāgīrs* to which no military service attaches, appear to be called *bedāgh o maḥallī* i.e. the holder had nothing to do with the army and the musters, at which the Mansabdārs drew the [illegible] of the taxes of the several [illegible] salwar as his [illegible] 000 [illegible] has [illegible] order of One thousand

[2] The text has [illegible] which I do not understand.

written on the outside The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwân

The *Sāhib-i Tawjīh*, or military accountant, keeps the former *Taʿlīqa* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmān*, and seals and signs it It is then inspected by the *Mustawfī*, and is signed and sealed by him Afterwards the *Nāzir* and the *Bakhshīs* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwān, his accountant, and the *Vakīl* of the State

If His Majesty's order specifies a cash payment the *farmān* is made out in the same manner, but is generally called *barāt* (cheque) A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of it After the *Nāzir*, the *Dīwān i Buyūtāt* signs it, and when it has passed through the hands of the Bakhshīs and the Dīwān, it is sealed and signed by the *Khān Sāmān* The receipts and expenditure of the Imperial workshops, the deposits and payments of salaries to the workmen (of whom some draw their pay on [military] descriptive rolls, and others according to the services performed by them, as the men engaged in the Imperial elephant and horse stables, and in the waggon department) are all made by *barāts* The accountant of each workshop (or stable) writes out annually two *barāts*, one for the six months from *Farwardīn* (February–March) to *Shahrīwar*, and the other from *Mihr* (September) to *Isfandiyārmuz* He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, etc, both in shape of cash and stores, and the salaries of the workmen, and signs the statement The *Dīwān i Buyūtāt* inspects them, passes the order for payment, inquires into the increase or decrease, if any, and writes on the margin *az tahwīl i falānī barat nawīsand*, 'Let a *barāt* be made out showing the amount to be deposited with such and such a *Mushrif*' The Mushrif of the workshop or stable then takes it, writes out an order and the receipt, and seals and signs it In all cash payments, one fourth is deducted, as another *sanad* is given for this amount The *Dīwān i Buyūtāt* then gives the order to have it entered The Mushrif does so, signs and seals the *barāt* and the receipt It then passes through the hands of the military accountant, the Nāzir, the Diwan i Buyūtāt, the Diwan i Kul, the Khan Sāmān, the Mushrif of the Diwan, and the Vakīl who sign and seal it In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake When it has been laid before His Majesty, the Mushrif writes out the receipt, which is then in the same manner entered into the several *daftars* The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz, one fourth is to be paid in gold (*ashrafīs*), one half in silver (*rūpīs*), and one part in copper (*dāms*), according to the fixed values of the coins

ʿAbdu 'n-Nabī and Sultān Khwāja were Sadrs (*vide* note to Āʾīn 19), they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakīl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakīl, as Atka Khān did at the time of Munʿim Khān, and Adham Khān. The Mīr Māl, the Khān Sāmān, the Parwānchī, etc., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Dīwān, and the Bakhshī do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Dīwān i juz, the Bakhshī yi juz, and the Dīwān i buyūtāt put their seals on the third fold. The Mustawfī puts his seal on the fourth, and the Sāhib-i Tawjīh on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrā* lines on the top of the Farmān, where the princes also put their seals in *Taʿlīqas*.

Āʾīn 13

THE FARMĀN I BAYĀZĪ

Some matters connected with the Government do not admit of delay, or must not to be known to every one. Such an order receives only the Imperial seal, and is called a *Farmān i bayāzī*.[1] The farman is folded up, and two edges are made to meet, when a knot of paper is put over them, which is sealed up in such manner that the contents cannot be seen. The sealing wax is made of the gum[2] of the Kunār, the Bar, the Pīpal, and other trees. Like wax, it gets warm when exposed to fire, but gets afterwards cool and hard. When thus sealed the farman is put into a golden cover; for His Majesty looks upon the use of external signs of grandeur as an act of divine worship. Such farmans are carried by Mansabdars, Ahadīs, or common foot soldiers, to the parties concerned.

When an officer receives such an order he proceeds a proper distance to meet it, performs various acts of obeisance, puts it on the crown of his head, makes the *sijda*, and rewards the messenger according to the favour conferred upon himself, or according to his circumstances. According to His Majesty's wishes, the bags in which reports are sent, are secured in the same manner as a *Farmān i bayāzī*, so that no alterations are possible. In consequence of this, much trouble is avoided, and dishonest practices are put a stop to.

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[1] That is a *blank* farman.

[[2] *Lak*. The author probably means 'sap'. It is from the exudations from slits made overnight in the bark of the *bar* and the *pipal* tree that the best bird lime is made.—P.]

His Majesty's only object[1] is to teach propriety in transactions, else mutual esteem will never increase among men from the nature of their mercantile affairs

This regulation brought unprincipled usurers to the proper path, and thus prevented much impropriety

Á'in 16

ON DONATIONS

His Majesty, from his knowledge of man's nature, gives donations in various ways It looks as if he lends but in his heart, he makes a present; or he calls the donation a loan, but never asks it back The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality He gives away elephants, horses, and other valuable articles The Bakhshis read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything His Majesty gives them horses When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty *for the space of* a year for any other donation

Á'in 17

ON ALMS

His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries, winning the hearts of all in public or private Many enjoy daily, monthly, or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting It is impossible for me to detail the sums which some people receive in consequence of representations having been made of their circumstances by such as stand near the throne, and it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars, or the eating houses which have been established for the poor[2]

There is a treasurer always waiting[3] at Court, and every beggar whom His Majesty sees is sure to find relief

Á'in 18

THE CEREMONY OF WEIGHING HIS MAJESTY

From reasons of auspiciousness and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor, His Majesty is weighed twice a year Various articles are put into the scales

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[1] It is needless to remind the reader that charging interest on loans is against the Muhammadan law But Akbar was a Hindu in such matters

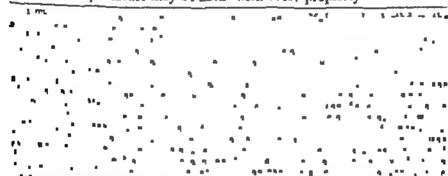
[2] *Vide* p 210 l 19 [3] *Vide* p 15 l. 1

On the first day of the month of Ābān [15th October], which is the solar anniversary of the emperor, His Majesty is weighed twelve times against the following articles gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, *rūh-i tūtiya*, drugs, *ghī*, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt, the order of these articles being determined by their costliness According to the number of years His Majesty has lived, there is given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people that breed these animals A great number of small animals are also set at liberty

His Majesty is weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab,[1] against eight articles, viz, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables On both occasions the festival of *Sālgirih* (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks

The Imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of His Majesty are weighed once in every solar year They are for the first time weighed when two years old, but only against one thing Every year, however, a new additional thing is put on the scales When grown up, they are generally weighed against seven or eight things, but not against more than twelve Animals are set free as usual

A separate treasurer and an accountant are appointed for this purpose, so that the expenditure may be made with every propriety [2]



The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the Harem, as there the string was kept, which numbered as many knots as the emperor numbered years, hence also *sālgirih* (or *sālgirah*, as the word is pronounced all over India) " the year's knot ", or birthday

Tying knots, or bits of string, or ribbon to the tombs of saints is considered by barren women as a means of obtaining a son, and the tomb of *Salīm-i Chishtī* in Fathpūr Sīkrī, in whose house Jahāngīr was born, is even nowadays visited by Hindu and Musalman women, who tie bits of strong to the marble trellis surrounding the tomb Similar vows are even placed on Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, near Āgra.

Akbar's regulation, as given in the above Āʾīn, appears to have been continued under Jahāngīr Shāhjahān made some alterations, in asfar as he was weighed on each feast first against gold and silver and then against other articles. The articles themselves were given away to the courtiers, or to pious men and beggars, as a means of keeping the royal

Āʾīn 19

ON SUYŪRGHĀLS[1]

His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considers doing so an act of divine worship.

His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers *lands and subsistence allowances on the following four classes of* men, *first*, on inquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching *after true knowledge; secondly, on such as toil and practise self denial*, and while engaged in the struggle with the selfish passions of human nature, have renounced the socie[illegible] as are weak and poor, and have *no strength f*[illegible] of gentle birth who from want [illegible] themselves by taking up a trade.

Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazīfa*; lands conferred are called *Milk*, or *Madad-i maʿāsh*. In this way krors are given away, and yet the grants are daily increasing in number.

As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed *for this office*. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called *Ṣadr*. The *Qāẓī* and the *Mīr ʿAdl are under his orders*. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is now-adays styled *Dīwān-i Saʿādat*.

His Majesty, in his mercy, orders his servants to introduce to him such

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person from all bodily and mental harm. The gold and the silver against which Jahāngīr [illegible] Rs. 33,000 [illegible] according to the *Tuzuk*, the money [illegible]
210½ lbs. 11oy.

Akbar, in accordance with his Hindu tendencies, used to give the money to Brahmins. [illegible] 5th of Rajab 973, which is the day on which the Emperor was born, the feast [illegible]

as are worthy of grants, and a large number receive the assistance they desire

When His Majesty commenced to inquire into this department, it was discovered that the former *Sadrs* had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices He therefore appointed, at the recommendation of near friends, Shaykh ʿAbdu 'n Nabī to this important office The lands which were then held by Afghans and Chandris were taken away, and became domain lands (*khalṣā*),[1] whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaykh who inquired into, and certified, their grants After some time it was reported that those who held grants had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khālṣa* lands or near the jāgirs of Mansabdars, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose This order proved beneficial for both parties The officers of the government, on receiving this order, told off certain villages for this purpose, those who were weak were protected, and the encroachments of the unprincipled were put a stop to

But when Time, according to his custom, commenced to tear the veil of secrets, rumours also regarding this *Sadr* [ʿAbdu 'n Nabī] came to the ears of His Majesty An order was therefore given that all those who held more than five hundred *bīghas* should lay their *farmāns* personally before His Majesty, and in default, should lose their lands As, however, the practices of these grant holders did not come up to the wise counsels of His Majesty, the order was passed that the excess of all lands above one hundred *bīghas*, if left unspecified in the *farmāns*, should be reduced to two-fifths of it, three-fifths of the excess being annexed to the domain lands Irani and Tūrānī women alone were excepted from this rule

As it was reported that impudent, avaricious people used to leave their old grounds and take possession of new places, it was ordered that every one who should leave his place, should lose one fourth of his lands and receive a new grant

Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qāzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men [the Qazis] who wear a turban as a sign of respectability, but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense He examined into the whole matter, and dismissed all Qazis, except those who had been appointed during the *Sadrship* of Sultan Khwaja The Īrānī and Tūrani

[1] This is the Indian pronunciation for the Arabic and Persian *khāliṣa*.

women also were convicted of fraud, and the order was passed that every excess of land above one hundred *bīghas* held by them should be inquired into, whether it was correctly held or not

During the *Sadrship* of ʿAzīz[u] 'd Dawla [Mīr Fath[u] 'llāh of Shiraz] the following order was given —If any one held a Suyūrghal together with a partner, and the farmān contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the *Sadr* should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further inquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the Crown, and remaining domain land till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty The new *Sadr* was at the same time prevented from granting, without previous reference to His Majesty, more than fifteen bighas

On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for Suyurghal holders, to demand revenue taxes, but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with

Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred bighas and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Sadr Jahān should bring these people before His Majesty, and afterwards it was determined that the Ṣadr with the concurrence of the writer of this work should either increase or decrease the grants The rule now followed is this, that all Suyūrghāl land should consist of one-half of tilled land, and of one-half of land capable of cultivation, if the latter half be not so (i e, if the whole be tilled land), one fourth of the whole should be taken away and a new grant be issued for the remainder

The revenue derived from each bigha varies in the several districts, but is never less than one rupee

His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and promoting true piety, pays much attention to this department, and appoints disinterested men as *Sadrs* of districts and *Sadr* of the realm

Note by the Translator on the Sadrs of Akbar's reign

In this Āʾīn—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chaghatāʾī word *suyūrghāl* is translated by the Arabic *madad*[u] *'l-maʿāsh*, in Persian *madad-i maʿāsh*, for which we often find in MSS *madad o maʿāsh* The latter term signifies "assistance of livelihood", and, like its equivalent *milk*, or property, it denotes *lands given for benevolent purposes*, as specified by Abū 'l Faẓl Such lands were hereditary, and differ for

this reason from *jāgīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time on Mansabdars in lieu of salaries

This Āʼin proves that Akbar considerably interfered with *suyūrghāl* lands, arbitrarily resuming whatever lands he liked, and increasing the domain, or *khāliṣa*,[1] lands to the ruin of many a Muhammadan (Afghān) family He also completely broke the power of the *Sadr*, whose dignity, especially before the Moghul dynasty, had been very great It was the *Sadr*, or as he was generally styled, *Ṣadr-i Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *julūs*, or accession, of a new king During the reign of Akbar also, he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire (*vide* end of Āʼin 30) Their power was immense They were the highest law-officers, and had the powers which Administrators General have among us, they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exercise the powers of High Inquisitors Thus ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī, during his *Ṣadrship*, ordered two men to be killed for heresy (*vide* p 186, l 7, from below)

In the times before the Moghuls, the terms *idrārāt*, *wazāif*, *milk*, *inʿām i dehhā*, *inʿām-i zamīnhā*, etc, occur for the word *suyūrghāl* (or *suyūrgāl*, or *suqhurghāl*, as some dictionaries spell it)

Among the former kings, ʿAlaʾᵘ 'd Dīn i Khilji is notorious for the disregard with which he cancelled the grants of former rulers He resumed the greater part of the *madad i maʿāsh* tenures, and made them domain lands He also lowered the dignity of the *Sadr* by appointing his keybearer to this high office (*Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, p 353) Qutbᵘ 'd Dīn Mubarakshah, however, during the four years and four months of his reign, reinstated many whom ʿAlaᵘ 'd Dīn had deprived (*T F*, p 382) Fīrūz Shah is still more praised for his liberality in conferring lands (*T F*, p 558)

That Sher Shāh has often been accused by Moghul Historians for his bounty in conferring lands, has been mentioned above (p 256, note), and this may have been one of the reasons why Akbar showed such an unexpected severity towards the grant holders of his time

Each *Subā* had a *Sadr i juz*, or provincial *Sadr*, who was under the orders of the Chief *Sadr* (*Sadr i Jahān*, or *Sadr i kul*, or *Sadr i Sudur*)

As in every other department, bribery was extensively carried on in the offices of the *Sadrs* The land specified in the *farmān* of a holder

[1] Regarding the turning out of *Altamghā* and *Madad i maʿāsh* holders *vide* Elliot's Glossary under *Altamghā* p 18.

rarely corresponded in extent to the land which he actually held, or the language of the *farmān* was ambiguously worded to enable the holder to take possession of as much as he could and keep it, as long as he bribed the *Qāzīs* and provincial *Sadrs* Hence Akbar had every reason, after repeated inquiries, to cancel grants conferred by former rulers The religious views of the emperor (*vide* p 176) and the hatred which he showed to the ʿUlamā, most of whom held lands, furnished him with a personal, and therefore stronger, reason to resume their grants, and drive them away to *Bhakkar* in Sind, or to Bengal, the climate of which in *those days was as notorious as, in later days, that of Gombroon After* the fall of ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī—*a man whom Akbar used once to honour by* holding the slippers before his feet—Sultān Khwāja, *a member of the Divine Faith* (*vide* p 214), was appointed as *Sadr*, and the *Sadrs* after him were so limited in conferring lands independently of Akbar, and had so few grants to look after, as to tempt Bada,onī to indulge in sarcastical remarks The following were Akbar's *Sadrs* —

1 Shaykh Gadaʾī, a Shīʿah, appointed at the recommendation of Bayrām Khān, till 968

2 Khwāja Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, till 971

3 Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n-Nabī, till 986

4 Sultān Khwāja, till his death in 993

5 Amīr Fathᵘ 'llāh of Shīrāz, till 997

[illegible] Ṣadr Jahān, whose name coincides with the title of his office

Abū 'l-Fazl also mentions a *Sadr* Mawlānā ʿAbdᵘ 'l Bāqī, but I do not know when he held office

I extract a few short passages from Bada onī

Page 29 Shaykh *Gadāʾī cancelled the Madad i maʿash lands*, and took away the *legacies*[1] *of the Khānzādas (Afghāns)* and gave a Suyūrghāl to any one that would bear up with humiliating treatment, but not otherwise Nevertheless, in comparison with the present time, when obstacles are raised to the possession of every *jarīb* of ground, nay, even less, you may call the Shaykh an ʿĀlambakhsh (one who gives away a world)

Page 52 After Shaykh Gadāʾī, Khājagī Muhammad Sālih was, in 968 appointed *Sadr*, but he did not possess such extensive powers in *conferring lands as madad i maʿāsh*, because he was dependent on the Diwāns

Page 71 In 972, or perhaps more correctly in 971, Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ [illegible] *Sadr* In giving away lands, he was to consult Muzaffar [illegible] on after the Shaykh acquired

[1] [illegible] *aught* For *bar* read *bārah*

such absolute powers that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistence allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if you place the grants of all former kings of Hindūstān in one scale, and those of the Shaykh into the other, his scale would weigh more But several years later the scale went up, as it had been under former kings, and matters took an adverse turn

Page 204 In 983, His Majesty gave the order that the *Aymas* of the whole empire should not be let off by the *kroris* of each Pergana, unless they brought the *farmāns* in which their grants, subsistence allowances and pensions were described, to the *Sadr* for inspection and verification. For this reason a large number of worthy people, from the eastern districts up to Bhakkar on the Indus, came to Court If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the grandees or near friends of His Majesty, he could manage to have his affair settled, but those who were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Rasūl, the Shaykh's head man or make presents to his farrāshes, darbāns (porters), syces (grooms), and mihtars (sweepers), " in order to get their blanket out of the mire " Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined Many of the *Aymas*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the emperor And when the Shaykh in all his pride and haughtiness, sat upon his *masnad* (cushion), and influential grandees introduced to him, in his office, scientific or pious men, the Shaykh received them in his filthy way, paid respect to no one,[1] and after much asking, begging, and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidāya* (a book on law) and other college books 100 Bighas, more or less, and though such a man might have been for a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaykh took them away But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindus, he gave primitive lands as marks[2] of personal favour Hence science and scientific men fell in estimation . At no time had a *Sadr* for so long a time exercised more tyrannical powers

The fate of ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabi has been related above Akbar gave him money for the poor of Makkah, and sent him on a pilgrimage When he came back, he was called to account for the money, was put in prison, and murdered " by some scoundrel " in 992

[1] Badāonī says that even in the State hall when before the time of prayer he washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt water on the grandees standing near him

[2] For *batafzil* in the text (p 205) one MS of Badāonī reads *zamīn i* [illegible] *ba-tafazzul az khud midād*

The next *Sadr* was Sultan Khwaja Matters relating to suyūrghals now took a very different course Akbar had rejected the Islam, and the new *ṣadr*, who had just returned from Makkah,[1] become a member of the Divine Faith The systematic persecution of the learned and the lawyers had commenced, and His Majesty inquired personally into all grants (*vide* p 199, second para) The lands were now steadily withdrawn, and according to Badā,onī, who had managed to get 1,000 bighas, at first to the great disgust of ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī, many a Muhammadan family was impoverished or utterly ruined

In 993, Fathᵘ 'llah of Shīrāz (*vide* p 34) was appointed *Ṣadr* As the *Suyūrghāl* duties, and with them the dignity of the *Sadr*, had dwindled down to nothing Fathᵘ 'llah, though *Sadr*, could be spared for missions to the Dakhin, *Bad*, p 343

" His Shīrāzī servant *Kamāl* officiated for him during his absence, and looked after these lacklands of Ayima dars,[2] who had a few spots here and there, for the dignity of the *Ṣadr* had approached its *kamāl* (perfection) Fathᵘ 'llah had not even the power of conferring five bighas, in fact he was an imaginary *Sadr*, as all lands had been withdrawn And yet, the lands which had been withdrawn became the dwelling places of wild animals, and thus belonged neither to the *Ayima dars* nor to farmers However, of all these oppressions, there is at least a record left in the books of the *Ṣadr*, though of the office of the *Sadr* the name only is left

Page 368 Fathᵘ 'llah [the *Sadr* himself] laid before His Majesty a bag containing the sum of Rs 1,000, which his collector by means of oppression or under the pretext that an Ayima dar was not forthcoming or dead, had squeezed out of the widows and unfortunate orphans of the Pargana of Basāwar [which was his jagir] and said " My collectors have this much collected from the *Ayima dars* as a *kifayat* (i e, because the collectors thought the Suyūrghal holders had more than *sufficient* to live upon)" But the emperor allowed him to keep the sum for himself

The next *Sadr*, Ṣadr Jahan was a member of the Divine Faith Though appointed *Sadr* immediately after the death of Fathᵘ llah, Bada,onī continues calling him *Muftī yi mamalik i mahrusa*, the Mufti of

[1] The same happened afterwards to Mirza ʿAziz Koka In fact several examples are on record that devout pilgrims returned so disappointed and fleeced from Makkah

the empire, which had been his title before Perhaps it was no longer necessary to have a separate officer for the *Sadr*ship Ṣadr Jahan continued to serve under Jahangir

A great portion of the Suyūrghal lands is specified by Abū 'l Fazl in the geographical tables of the Third Book

Āʾīn 20

ON THE CARRIAGES, ETC, INVENTED BY HIS MAJESTY

His Majesty has invented an extraordinary carriage, which has proved a source of much comfort for various people When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn [1]

His Majesty also invented a large cart, which is drawn by one elephant It is made sufficiently large so as to hold several bath rooms, and thus serves as a travelling bath It is also easily drawn by cattle

Camels and horses also are used for pulling carriages, and thus contribute to the comfort of mankind Finely built carriages are called *bahals*, [2] if used on even ground several may sit together and travel on

Water wheels and carts have also been so constructed that water may be fetched from far, low places Two oxen may pull four such wheels at the same time, or one ox two

Another machine exists which conveys water from a well, and moves at the same time a millstone

Āʾīn 21

THE TEN SER TAX (*DAHSERI*)

His Majesty takes from each *bīgha* of tilled land ten sers of grain as a royalty Store-houses have been constructed in every district They supply the animals belonging to the State with food, which is never bought in the bazars These stores prove at the same time of great use for the people, for poor cultivators may receive grain for sowing purposes, or people may buy cheap grain at the time of famines But the stores are only used to supply necessities They are also used for benevolent purposes, for His Majesty has established in his empire many houses [3]

[1] This was according to Nizam s Tabaqāt, an invention of Fath Ilah of Shiraz (*vide* p [illegible] note) Nizam says, He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart It turned itself and ground corn. He also invented a looking glass which whether seen near or at a distance showed all sorts of curious figures. Also a wheel which cleaned at once twelve barrels. The last mentioned wheel also is ascribed by Abuʿl Fazl to Akbar, *vide* Book I, Āʾin 38 p 122

[2] Regarding English carriages (*rath-i angrezi*) brought to India under Jahāngir *vide* Tuzuk, pp 167, 168.

[3] *Vide* pp 210 and 211

for the poor, where indigent people may get something to eat He also appoints everywhere experienced people to look after these store-houses, and selects for this purpose active Dārogahs and clever writers, who watch the receipts and charges

*Ā*ʼ*īn* 22

ON FEASTS

His Majesty inquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and *without looking* to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and *seeks for* occasions to make presents Thus, when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Parsī priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits The following are the most important feasts 1 *The New Year's Day feast*[1] It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month (Farwardin) Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents, the first day of the month of Farwardin, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the *Sharaf* Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pārsīs, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month[2] The following are the days which have the same name as a month 19th *Farwardīn*, 3rd *Urdībihisht*, 6th *Khūrdād*, 13th *Tir*, 7th *Amurdād*, 4th *Shahrīwar*, 16th *Mihr*, 10th *Ābān*, 9th *Āzar*, 8th, 15th, 23rd *Day*, 2nd, *Bahman*, 5th *Isfandārmuz* Feasts are actually and ideally held on each of these days People in their happiness raise the strain of inward joy In the beginning of each *pahr* the *naqqāras* (*vide* p 51, l 1) are beaten, when the singers and musicians fall in On the first of the above feasts coloured lamps are used for three nights, on the second for one night, and the joy is general

I have given a few particulars in the first book (Āʼīn 18)

*Ā*ʼ*īn* 23

THE *KHUSHROZ* OR DAY OF FANCY BAZĀRS

On the third feast day of every month, His Majesty holds a large assembly for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things

[1] Badāonī generally calls this day *Nauruz i Jalālī*, *vide* p 183, note 2
[2] Thus *Ābān* was the name of the eighth month (October–November), but the tenth day also of every month had the same name

found in this world The merchants of the age are eager to attend, and lay out articles from all countries The people of His Majesty's Harem come, and the women of other men also are invited, and buying and selling is quite general His Majesty uses such days to select any articles which he wishes to buy, or to fix the price of things, and thus add to his knowledge The secrets of the empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office and workshop, will then appear His Majesty gives to such days the name of *Khushrūz*, or the joyful day as they are a source of much enjoyment

After the fancy bāzārs for women, bāzārs for the men are held Merchants of all countries then sell their wares His Majesty watches the transactions, and such as are admitted to Court indulge in the pleasure of buying Bazār people, on such occasions, may lay their grievances before His Majesty, without being prevented by the mace bearers, and may use the opportunity of laying out their stores, in order to explain their circumstances For those who are good, the dawn of success rises, whilst wicked bāzār people are called to account

His Majesty has appointed for this purpose a separate treasurer and an accountant, so that the sellers may get paid without delay The profit made by tradesmen on such occasions is very great [1]

Āʼīn 24

REGULATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGES

Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world, it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign, watches over great and small, and imbues men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful, for afterwards, when such a couple [illegible] manhood, they dislike having connexion and their home is desolate

Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles, but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts

[1] Regarding these fancy bazārs *vide* above Badāonī's remarks on [illegible]

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[1] Regarding these fancy Bazars *vide* above Badaoni's remarks on p 213, l 4

Marriage between near relations His Majesty thinks highly improper He says, " The fact that, in ancient times (?) even, a girl was not given to her twin brother[1] ought to silence those who are fond of historical proofs. Marriage between first cousins, however, does not strike the bigoted followers of Muhammad's *religion as wrong*, *for the beginning of a* religion resembles, in this regard, the beginning of the creation of mankind

His Majesty disapproves of high dowries, for as they are rarely ever paid, they are mere sham, but he admits that the fixing of high dowries is a preventive against rash divorces Nor does His Majesty approve of *every one marrying more than one wife*, *for this ruins a man's health*, and disturbs the peace of the home He censures old women that take young husbands, and says that doing so is against all modesty

He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride These two officers have the title of *Tu'ī begī*, or masters of marriages In many cases, the duties are performed by one and the same officer His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious Mansabdars commanding from five to one thousand, pay 10 *Muhrs*, do from one thousand to five hundred, 4 *M*, do to Commanders of one hundred, 2 *M*, do to Commanders of forty, 1 *M*, do to Commanders of ten, 4 *R* The latter fee is also paid by rich people The middle classes pay 1 *R*, and common people 1 *dām*[2] In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride

Ā'īn 25

REGULATIONS REGARDING EDUCATION

In every country, but especially in Hindūstān, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms[3] He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may

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[[1] و درزمان علمی حنان روده آنکه در باستان دختر توام بداني —P]

[2] The sons and daughters of common people were not allowed to marry unless they came to the office of the kotwāl and were stared at by the kotwal's men who had to take down their respective ages and you may imagine what advantages and fine opportunities the officers thus had especially the people of the kotwāl and the *khānd ya kaldī* (?) and *their other low* assistants outside *Bad* II, p 391 *Vide* also Third Book Ā'īn 5

[3] Boys in the East generally learn to write by running their pens over the characters of the copyslips (*qiṭ'as*)

be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God or moral sentences, each written separately Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself, but the teacher may assist him a little He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand The teacher ought especially to look after five things knowledge of the letters, meanings of words, the hemistich, the verse, the former lesson If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the *ṭabīʿī*, *riyāẓī* and *ilāhī*, sciences,[1] and history, all of which may be gradually acquired

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayakaran, Niyā i, Bedanta, and Patanjal No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasas

Āʾīn 26

THE ADMIRALTY

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general, it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provides for agriculture, and His Majesty's household His Majesty, in fostering this source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship

First —The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries, and use them as excellent means of conquest So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe In every part of His

[1] This is the three-fold division of sciences. *Ilāhī* or divine, sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God *Riyāẓī* sciences treat of quantity and comprise mathematics, astronomy music mechanics *Ṭabīʿī* sciences comprehend physical sciences.

Some dictionaries call the last class of sciences *ṭabaʿī* instead of *ṭabīʿī*

stick to his feet, and when he is quite senseless and exhausted, the hunters come from the ambush and kill him Or they take him alive, and tame him

His Majesty, from his straightforwardness, dislikes having recourse to such tricks, and prefers with bows or matchlocks openly to attack this brute, which destroys so many lives

Another method —An intrepid experienced hunter gets on the back of a male buffalo and makes it attack the tiger The buffalo will quickly catch the tiger on its horns, and toss it violently upwards so that it dies It is impossible to describe the excitement of this manner of hunting the tiger One does not know what to admire more, the courage of the rider, or his skill in standing firm on the slippery back of the buffalo

One day, notice was given that a man-eating tiger had made its appearance in the district of Bārī His Majesty got on the elephant *Nāhir Khān*, and went into the jungle The brute was stirred up, and striking its claws into the forehead of the huge animal it pulled its head close down to the ground, when the tiger was killed by the men This occurrence astonished the most intrepid and experienced hunters

On another occasion, His Majesty hunted near Toda The tiger had stretched one of the party to the ground His Majesty aimed at the brute, killed it, and thus saved the life of the man

Once during a *qamargha* [1] chase, a large tiger was stirred up The animal attacked His Majesty, when he shot it in time through the head and killed it

Once a tiger struck his claws into a man All who witnessed it despaired of his life His Majesty shot the tiger through the body and released the unfortunate man

A remarkable scene took place in the forest of Mathura Shujaʿat Khan (*vide* Āʾīn 30, No 51), who had advanced very far, got suddenly timid His Majesty remained standing where he was, and looked furiously at the tiger The brute cowered [2] down before that divine glance, and turned right about trembling all over In a short time it was killed."

The feats of His Majesty are too numerous to be imagined, much less can a Hindustani, as I am, describe them in a dignified style

He slays lions,[3] but would not hurt an ant
He girds himself for the fray, but the lion[3] drops his claws from fear [4]

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[1] *Qamargha* is a chase for which drivers are employed [The game is apparently enclosed in a living ring.—P]

[2] This is one of Akbar's miracles.

[[3] *Sher*, tiger.—P]

[4] These two verses are taken from Fayzī's *Nal Daman*, *vide* p 113, note 1

2 *Elephant-catching*

There are several modes of hunting elephants

1. *Kheda*[1] The hunters are both on horseback and on foot They go during summer to the grazing places of this wonderful animal, and commence to beat drums and blow pipes, the noise of which makes the elephants quite frightened They commence to rush about, till from their heaviness and exertions no strength is left in them They are then sure to run under a tree for shade, when some experienced hunters throw a rope made of hemp or bark round their feet or necks, and thus tie them to the trees They are afterwards led off in company with some trained elephants, and gradually get tame One-fourth of the value of an elephant thus caught is given to the hunters as wages

2 *Chor kheda* They take a tame female elephant to the grazing place of wild elephants, the driver stretching himself on the back of the elephant, without moving or giving any other sign of his presence The elephants then commence to fight, when the driver manages to secure one by throwing a rope round the foot

3 *Gād*[2] A deep pit is constructed in a place frequented by elephants, which is covered up with grass As soon as the elephants come near it the hunters from their ambush commence to make a great noise The elephants get confused, and losing their habitual cautiousness, they fall rapidly and noisily into the hole They are then starved and kept without water, when they soon get tame

4 *Bār* They dig a ditch round the resting place of elephants, leaving only one road open, before which they put up a door, which is fastened with ropes The door is left open, but closes when the rope is cut The hunters then put both inside and outside the door such food as elephants like The elephants eat it up greedily, their voraciousness makes them forget all cautiousness, and without fear they enter at the door A fearless hunter, who has been lying concealed, then cuts the rope, and the door closes The elephants start up, and in their fury try to break the door They are all in commotion The hunters then kindle fires and make much noise The elephants run about till they get tired, and no strength is left in them Tame females are then brought to the place, by whose means the wild elephants are caught They soon get tame

From times of old, people have enjoyed elephant hunts by any of the above modes. His Majesty has invented a new manner, which

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[1] Hence our elephant *kheddas*

[[2] For *gāl* or *gāra* f [illegible] p t [illegible]—P]

admits of remarkable *finesse* In fact, all excellent modes of hunting are inventions of His Majesty A wild herd of elephants is surrounded on three sides by drivers, one side alone being left open At it several female elephants are stationed From all sides, male elephants will approach to cover the females The latter then go gradually into an enclosure, whither the males follow They are now caught as shown above[1]

3 *Leopard[2] Hunting*

Leopards, when wild, select three places In one part of the country they hunt, in another part they rest and sleep, and in a third district they play and amuse themselves They mostly sleep on the top of a hill The shade of a tree is sufficient for the leopard He rubs himself against the trunk Round about the tree they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindī *ākhar*

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass These pits were called odī The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom, but they often broke their feet or legs, or managed by jumping to get out again Nor could you catch more than one in each pit [illegible] method, which has astonished the [illegible] a pit only two or three *gaz* deep, and [illegible] h closes when the leopard falls into the hole The animal is thus never hurt Sometimes more than one go into the trap On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other—a nice scene, indeed

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at

[1] A large number of people had surrounded the whole jungle outside of which on [illegible] put on a tree as a seat for the [illegible] ams had been put upon which [illegible] wo hundred male elephants with [illegible]

p [illegible]

[2] *Yuz* the *chītā* or hunting leopard —[illegible]

Another method is to fasten nooses to the foot of the above mentioned tree When the animal comes to scratch itself, it gets entangled

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty *kos* from Āgra, especially in the districts of Bari Simawali, Alapūr, Sunnām, Bhatinda, Bhatnir, Patan in the Panjab, Fathpur Jhinjhanū, Nagor, Mirath Jodhpūr, Jaisalmir, Amrsarnāyin, but several other more remote spots have been selected as hunting grounds His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little, but before he had done so, good news were brought from some hunting ground, when he hastened away on a fleet courser

In former times people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained in an excellent manner in the short space of eighteen days Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge From good motives and from a desire to add splendour to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success

A rather remarkable case is the following Once a leopard had been caught and without previous training on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards Those who were present had their eyes opened to truth and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty [1]

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being obeyed every command and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the *khāsa* leopards A proper system of training has been laid down

Aʾīn 28

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS

First class leopards get 5 *s* of meat every day, second class 4½ *s*, third class 4 *s*, fourth class, 3¾ *s*, fifth class 3½ *s*, sixth class 3¼ *s*,

[1] Two more miracles of Akbar's

seventh class, 3 *s*, eighth class, 2¾ *s*. The meat is given in a lump, and as on Sundays no animals are killed,[1] double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months, but now annually, four *sers* of butter and one tenth of a *ser* of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also were appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 *R.* to 5 *R. per mensem*; but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The seniors get 300 *d.*, 260 *d.*, 220 *d.*, 200 *d.*, and 180 *d.*, which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 *d.*, 140 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.*, and 100 *d.* For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths,[2] chains studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and *Gushkānī*[3] carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a *Misl* or *Taraf* (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows. One thousand[4] leopards are kept in His Majesty's park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are *khāṣa*; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (*mihaffa*) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for a prey. Litters are also put on camels, horses, and mules. Carts even are made for the leopards, and are drawn by horses or cattle; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesty has goes by the name of *Samand mānik*; he is carried on a *chau-dol* and proceeds with much pomp. His servants

fully equipped, run at his side, the *naqqāra* (a large drum) is beaten in front, and sometimes he is carried by two men on horseback, the two ends of the pole of the *chau ḍol* resting on the necks of their horses Formerly two horses were kept for every leopard, but now three horses are given to two leopards Others have a dooly, or a cart drawn by four oxen Many travel along on one and the same dooly A tame, trained leopard has the dooly carried by three men, others by two

Skill exhibited by hunting leopards

Leopards will go against the wind, and thus they get scent of a prey, or come to hear its voice They then plan an attack, and give the hunters notice where the prey is [1] The hunters keep the animal near themselves and proceed to catch the prey This is done in three ways

1 *Ūparghatī* The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer[2] was seen The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws 2 *Righnī* The leopard lies concealed, and is shown the deer[2] from a distance The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer[2] 3 *Muhārī* The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction This perplexes the deer,[2] when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it and catch it

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal, language fails to express his skill and cunning Thus he will raise up the dust with his forefeet and hind legs, in order to conceal himself, or he will lie down so flat, that you cannot distinguish him from the surface of the ground

Formerly a leopard would not kill more than three deer[2] at one and the same chase, but now he will hunt as many as twelve

His Majesty has also invented a method called *chatrmandal* The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer,[2] and commence the chase from this place as if it was a *qamargha* hunt (in which drivers are used) The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer[2] are thus caught

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards receive presents on all occasions when the animals exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions A special present has been fixed for each animal, but I cannot specify this

Once from the kindness shown by His Majesty, a deer[2] made friendship

[[1] The translation of this passage is doubtful —P]
[[2] *Āhū* gazelle —P.]

with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer,[1] would pounce upon them as any other leopard.

In former times leopards were never allowed to remain loose towards the close of the day; for people were afraid of their stubbornness and anxiety to run away. But now, in consequence of the practical rules made by His Majesty, they are let loose in the evenings and yet remain obedient. Formerly, leopards were also kept blindfolded,[2] except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But nowadays they are kept without covers for their heads. The grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty *Khāṣa* leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his *Doriya*[3] gets five rupees from his equals. The grandee in charge of the *Khāṣa* leopards, Sayyid Aḥmad of Bārha,[4] gets one muhr from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a grandee lays before His Majesty twenty pair of deer horns[5] he *takes an Ashrafī from each of his equals.* So also do the *Tarafdārs and Qarāwals*[6] bet; in fact every one shows his zeal in trying to get as many deer[1] as possible. The skins of the deer[1] are often given to poor people as part of money presents.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer[1] belonged.

His Majesty, in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays.[7]

The Siyāh gosh [1]

His Majesty is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes In former times it would attack a hare or a fox, but now it kills black deer [2] It eats daily 1 *s* of meat Each has a separate keeper, who gets 100 *d* *per mensem*

Dogs

His Majesty likes this animal very much for his excellent qualities, and imports dogs from all countries Excellent dogs come from Kabul especially from the Hazara district [north of Rawūl Pindi] They even ornament dogs, and give them names [3] Dogs will attack every kind of animals and more remarkable still they will attack a tiger Several also will join and hunt down the enemy *Khāsa* dogs get daily 2 *s* of meat, others get 1¼ *s* There is one keeper for every two *Tāzī* [4] (hunting) dogs, their wages are 100 *d* *per mensem* [5]

Hunting Deer [6] *with Deer*

This timid animal also may be tamed and trained They put a net [7] over his horns, and let it off against wild deer [8] which from fear will fight with them During the struggle, the horn, or the foot, or the ears of the wild deer will get entangled in the net, the hunters who have been lying in ambush, will then run up to it, and catch it The deer thus caught

Jahangir's self denial was not great, for when the prince was sick, Jahangir was fifty years of age !

[1] Or *black ear* the Persian translation of the Turkish *qara qolaq* whence our *Felis caracal*

[The Bal[illegible]

[illegible] etc

European [illegible]

to [illegible]

of [illegible]

Pe[illegible]

[illegible] is a noose of thick gut —P]

passes through a course of instruction, and gets tame. If the net[1] should break, or the deer get tired during the struggle, it will return to the keeper, who either puts a new net[1] on it, or sends out a fresh deer.[2]

Sultān Fīrūz-i Khiljī used to indulge in this sport; but His Majesty reduced this manner of hunting to a proper system.

Sometimes it happens that a wild deer will carry on the struggle from morning till evening, defeating as many as four tamed deer; but at last it will succumb to the fifth. Deer are nowadays rendered so perfectly obedient as to hunt at night; of their own accord they will return to their keepers, should the net break, or the wild deer run away; on hearing the call, they will discontinue a fight, come back, and then again engage, if ordered to do so.

In former times deer were never let loose at night time; for people were afraid, lest they should run away. Hence they attached a heavy ball to one of their feet, when the deer were let loose.

Many stories are related of the sagacity and faithfulness of trained deer.

Only lately a deer created much sensation. It had run away from Ilahābād, and after bravely crossing rivers and plains, returned to the Panjab, its home, and rejoined its former keeper.

In former times, two persons at most enjoyed together the pleasures of deer hunting. They would even, from fear of the timidity of the deer, alter the style of their dress, and lie concealed among shrubs. Nor would they employ other than wild deer; they caught them somehow, and taught them to hunt. His Majesty has introduced a new way, according to which more than two hundred may at the same time go deer hunting. They drive slowly about forty cattle towards a place where deer are; the hunters are thus concealed, and when arrived enjoy the chase.

There are nowadays also deer studs; the deer born in captivity are employed as hunting deer.

The keepers will also bend forward and allow the trained deer to jump on them from behind. Wild deer, on seeing this, will think that they are in the act of copulation, and come near to fight. This way of hunting is disapproved of by His Majesty, who uses female deer as a means of making wild deer fight.

Once a deer caught a leopard, whose foot had got entangled in the net.[1] Both were brought together from Gujrāt, as mentioned above (?).

Ghantāhera is the name given to the following mode of hunting. The

[1 *Dām*, probably a noose of thick gut.—P.]

[2 *Āhū* gazelle.—P.]

hunter takes a shield, or a basket, the concave[1] side being turned from him He then lights a lamp, which being put in the concavity of the shield, will conceal him, and commences to ring bells Other hunters lie at the same time in wait The light of the lamp, and the sound of the bells, will attract the animals towards the place, when they are shot by the hunters in ambush The sound of musical instruments will so enchant deer that they are easily caught, or sometimes hunters will charm them with a song, and when the deer approach will rise up and cruelly slay them From a long time His Majesty has disapproved of these two methods

Thāngī The hunter manages to get opposite a wild deer, and bareheaded, from a distance, he commences to throw himself into odd attitudes The deer then mistakes him for a mad man, and from curiosity will approach him At this moment the hunters come from the ambush and kill it

Baukāra The hunters lie in ambush, against the scent, at a good distance from each other Some others drive the deer towards them, each of the drivers swinging a white sheet above his head The deer naturally will take fright, and run towards the hunters in ambush, who kill them

Dadāwan Two good shots, dressed in green, place themselves as before, and have the deer driven towards themselves This manner of hunting yields much amusement, as the deer get quite perplexed

Ajāra The hunters tie green twigs round their bodies from head to foot, and similarly conceal their bows and arrows They then move boldly to a place where deer generally pass, and enjoy the chase Or they make ropes of deer skin, and attach them to trees or let them hang down from poles all round about the place where wild deer sleep They then lay down some nooses at a place situate against the wind When the hunters show themselves from the side, the deer are compelled to run towards the spot where the nooses lie and thus get caught Sometimes the hunter will take his place behind a tree and imitate the voice of deer As soon as deer approach him he kills them Or, they tie a female deer to a place in a plain or they let a trained deer go to the pasture place of wild deer The latter will soon come near it, and get entangled with their feet

Thāngī The hunter [2] walks about bareheaded as if mad, his clothes are stained all over with *pān* juice, and the man himself acts as if he were wounded Wild animals and others will soon gather round him waiting for his death, but their greediness and desire lead them to destruction

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[[1] *Wazhgun* The concave side towards him ?—P]

[2] The text has *dar khāna-yi zīn* in the hollow of a saddle (?)

gets a quantity of meat weighing 7 *dams*, the *jurra*, 6 *d*; the *bahrī*, *lāchīn*,[1] and *khela*, 5 *d*, the *bāsha*, 3 *d*, the *chappak bāsha*, *shikara*, *chappak shikara*, *besra*, *dhotī*, etc, 2 *d* Towards the close of every day, they are fed on sparrows, of which the *bāz*, *jurra*, and *bahrī*, get each seven, the *lāchīn*, five, the *bāsha*, three, others, two *Charghs* and *lagars* get at the same time meat *Shunqārs*, *shāhbāzes*, *burkats*, get one *ser* On the hunting grounds they feed them on the game they take

Prices of Falcons

From eagerness to purchase, and from inexperience, people pay high sums for falcons His Majesty allows dealers every reasonable profit but from motives of equity, he has limited the prices The dealers are to get their gain, but buyers ought not to be cheated In purchasing falcons people should see to which of the following three classes birds belong First, *khāna-kurīz* birds, they have moulted whilst in charge of experienced trainers, and have got new feathers Second, *chūz* birds they have not yet moulted Third, *Tarīnāk* birds, they have moulted before they were captured *First class*, a superior *bāz* costs 12 *muhrs*, second grade do, 9 *M*, third do, 6 *M* *Second class*, first, 10 *M*, second, 7 *M*, third, 4 *M* A *third class bāz* is somewhat cheaper than second class ones

Jurras First class, 8, 5, 2, 1 *M* Second class, 6, 4, 1½, 1 *M*, 5 *R*
Bāshas First class, 3 2, 1 *M*, 4 *R* Second class 2, 1 *M*, 5 *R*
Shāhīns of both kinds, 3 2, 1 *M*
Bahrīs, 2, 1½, 1 *M* Young *Bahrīs*[2] a little less
Khelas, 1½, 1, ½ *M*
Charghs, 2½ *R*, 2, 1½ *R*
Chappak bāshas, 1 *R*, ¾, ½ *R*
Shikaras, 1½ *R*, 1, ½ *R*
Besras, 2 *R*, 1½, 1 *R*
Chappak shikarahs, *lagars*, *jhagars*, *turmatis* *rekīs*, 1 *R*, ½ ¼ *R* Their prices are not classified

His Majesty rewards the *Mīr Shikārs* (superintendents[3] of the chase) according to their ranks, with suitable presents There are also fixed donations for each game brought in, varying from 1 *M* to 1 *d* If the falcons bring down the game alive or dead, attention is paid to the skill which it exhibited and to the size of the quarry The man who keeps the falcon gets one half of the allowance If His Majesty hunts himself, fifty

[[1] *Lachin* is the Turki name of the Shahin —P]
[[2] *Bahri bachcha* peregrine tiercel —P]
[[3] *Mir shikār* is a term applied to any bird catcher, assistant falconer etc —P]

per cent of the donation is stopped If birds are received by the Imperial aviary[1] as *peshkash* (tribute), the *Qushbegī* (Superintendent of the Aviary)[1] gets for every *bāz* 1½ *R*, and the accountant ½ *R* For *jurras*, the Qushbegī gets 1 *R*, the accountant, ¼ *R*, for *bāshas*, the former receives ½ *R*, the latter, ¼ *R*, for every *lāchīn*, *chargh*, *charghela*, *khela*, *bahrī-bachcha*, the former gets ¼ *R*, the latter 1/16 *R*, for every *chhappak*, *bāsha*, *dhotī*, etc, the former receives 1/16, the other 1/32 *R* (*sūkī*)

The minimum number of *bāz* and *shāhīn* falcons, kept at Court is forty, of *jurras*, thirty, of *bāshas*, one hundred, of *bahrīs*, *charghs*, twenty, of *lagars*, and *shikaras*, ten

Waterfowl

Hunting waterfowl affords much amusement A rather curious way of catching them is the following They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it Two holes are made in the skin for looking through The body is hollow The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water But sometimes they are cunning and fly away

In Kashmir they teach *bāz* falcons to seize the birds whilst swimming about, and to return with them to the boat of the hunter Or the hawk will keep a waterfowl down, and sit on it [till the man in the boat comes]

Another method is to let water buffaloes go into the water, between which the hunter conceals himself, and thus catches the birds

Durrāj[2] catching There are various methods Some get a young one and train it till it obeys every call It will fight with other birds They put it into a cage, and place hair nets[3] round about it At the signal of the fowler, the bird commences to sing[4] when wild ones come near it either from friendship or a desire to fight and get entangled in the snares

Bodnas[5] The hunter makes a claypot with a narrow neck and, at night time, blows into it, which produces a noise like an owl's cry The *bodnas* frightened by the noise, come together Another man then lights a bundle of straw, and swings it about so that the eyes of the birds get dazzled The fowlers thereupon seize the birds and put them into cages

Lagars They resemble *charghs*, in body they are as large *jurras* They hang nets[3] (about the body of a trained *lagar*) and put birds'

[[1] Mews —P]

[2] The *durrāj* is the francolin or black partridge Abū 'l Fazl was evidently not a sportsman and probably meant the red legged partridge the *chakor* of India and the *kabk* of Persia.—P]

[[3] Hair nooses —P] [[4] *I e.* utter its challenging call —P]

[[5] *Bōdana* in Persian is the Common Quail.—P]

feathers into its claws It is then allowed to fly up The birds think that it has got hold of prey, and when they get entangled in the nets[1] they commence to fight, and fall to the ground

Ghaughā,ī They fasten together on a cross stick an owl and a *ghaughā,ī*,[2] and hang hair nets[1] round about them The owl will soon get restless, the birds think that the owl wishes to fight, and commence to cry out Other *ghaughā,īs* and owls will come to their assistance, and get entangled in the nets[1]

Frogs

Frogs also may be trained to catch sparrows This looks very funny

His Majesty, from curiosity, likes to see spiders fight[3] and amuses himself in watching the attempts of the flies to escape, their jumps, and combats with their enemy

> I am in the power of love and if I have thousands of wishes it is no crime,
>
> And if my passionate heart has an (unlawful) desire, it is no crime

And in truth, His Majesty's fondness for leopards is an example of the power of love,[4] and an instance of his wonderful insight

It would take me too long to give more details It is impossible to enumerate all particulars, hence it is better to go to another subject

*Ā*ʼ*īn* 29

ON AMUSEMENTS

His Majesty devises means of amusement and makes his pleasures a means of testing the character of men

There are several kinds of amusements, of which I shall give a few details

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[[1] *Dām* a noose The nooses are attached to the claws A hawk so prepared is called in the Panjab a *bārak* (u aaa) For Plate and description, vide *Journ As Soc Beng* vol iii 1907 —P]

The game of Chaugān (hockey)[1]

Superficial observers look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it mere play, but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision It tests the value of a man, and strengthens bonds of friendship Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding, and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the reins Hence His Majesty is very fond of this game Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court, but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents

When His Majesty goes to the *maydān* (open field) in order to play this game, he selects an opponent and some active and clever players, who are only filled with one thought, namely, to show their skill against the opponent of His Majesty From motives of kindness, His Majesty never orders any one to be a player, but chooses the pairs by the cast of the die There are not more than ten players, but many more keep themselves in readiness When one *gharī* (20 minutes) has passed, two players take rest, and two others supply their place

The game itself is played in two ways The first way is to get hold of the ball with the crooked end of the *chaugān* stick, and to move it slowly from the middle to the *hāl*[2] This manner is called in Hindi *rol* The other way consists in taking deliberate aim, and forcibly hitting the ball with the *chaugān* stick out of the middle, the player then gallops after it, quicker than the others and throws the ball back This mode is called *bela* and may be performed in various ways The player may either strike the ball with the stick in his right hand, and send it to the right forwards or backwards, or he may do so with his left hand, or he may send the ball in front of the horse to the right or to the left The ball may be thrown in the same direction from behind the feet of the horse or from below its body or the rider may spit[3] it when the ball is in front of the horse, or he may lift himself upon the back leather[3] of the horse, and propel the ball from between the feet of the animal

His Majesty is unrivalled for the skill which he shows in the various

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[1] There is scarcely a Muhammadan Historian that does not allude to this game Babar says it is played all over Thibet In the East of India the people of Munnipore (Assam) are looked upon as clever hockey players *Vide* Vigne's Travels in Cashmir ii, p 289

ways of hitting the ball, he often manages to strike the ball while in the air, and astonishes all When a ball is driven to the *hal*, they beat the *naqqāra*, so that all that are far and near may hear it In order to increase the excitement, betting is allowed The players win from each other, and he who brought the ball to the *hāl* wins most If a ball be caught in the air, and passes, or is made to pass, beyond the limit (*mīl*), the game is looked upon as *burd* (drawn) At such times the players will engage in a regular fight about the ball, and perform admirable feats of skill

His Majesty also plays at *chaugān* in dark nights, which caused much astonishment even among clever players The balls which are used at night, are set on fire [1] For this purpose, *palās* wood is used, which is very light, and burns for a long time For the sake of adding splendour to the games, which is necessary in worldly matters, His Majesty has knobs of gold and silver fixed to the tops of the *chaugān* sticks If one of them breaks, any player that gets hold of the pieces may keep them

It is impossible to describe the excellency of this game Ignorant as I am, I can say but little about it

ʿ*Ishqbāzī* (pigeon flying)

His Majesty calls pigeon flying ʿ*ishqbāzī* (love play) This occupation affords the ordinary run of people a dull kind of amusement, but His Majesty, in his wisdom, makes it a study He even uses the occupation as a way of reducing unsettled worldly minded men to obedience, and avails himself of it as a means productive of harmony and friendship The amusement which His Majesty derives from the tumbling and flying of the pigeons reminds one of the ecstasy and transport of enthusiastic dervishes, he praises God for the wonders of creation It is therefore from higher motives that he pays so much attention to this amusement

The pigeons of the present age have reached a high state of perfection Presents of pigeons are sent by the kings of Iran and Turan, but merchants also bring very excellent ones in large numbers

When His Majesty was very young, he was fond of this amusement, but afterwards when he grew older and wiser, he discontinued pigeon flying altogether But since then, on mature consideration, he has again taken it up

A well trained pigeon of bluish colour, formerly belonging to the Khan i

[illegible] of 974 (July 1566) the emperor returned (from Jaunpur) to [illegible] which he [illegible] flying He [illegible] Bad II,

4 The town of [illegible] was subsequently deserted

Aʿzam Kokaltāsh (ʿAzīz, Akbar's foster brother), fell into His Majesty's hands From the care which was bestowed upon it by His Majesty, it has since become the chief of the imperial pigeons, and is known under the name of *Mohana* From it descended several excellent pigeons as *Ashkī* (the weeper), *Parīzād* (the fairy), *Almās* (the diamond), and *Shāh ʿūdī* (Aloe Royal) Among their progeny again there are the choicest pigeons in the whole world, which have brought the trained pigeons of ʿUmar Shaykh Mirza (father of Babar), Sultān Husayn Mirzā (*vide* p 107, note 6) into oblivion Such improvement, in fact, has been made in the art of training, as to astonish the amateurs of Iran and Tūrān who had to learn the art from the beginning

In former times pigeons of all kinds were allowed to couple, but His Majesty thinks equality in gracefulness and performance a necessary condition in coupling, and has thus bred choice pigeons The custom is to keep a male and a female pigeon, if not acquainted with each other, *for five or six days together, when they become so familiar that, even after* a long separation, they will again recognize each other The hen generally lays her eggs from eight to twelve days after coupling, or more if she be small or sickly Pigeons couple in *Mihrmāh* (September–October), and separate in *Farwardīn* (February–March) A hen lays two eggs, but sometimes only one The cock will sit upon the eggs by daytime, and the hen during the night, and thus they keep them warm and soft In winter they hatch for twenty one days, but if the air be warm, they only take seventeen or eighteen For about six days, the pigeons feed their young ones with *falah*, which means grain reduced to pap in the crops of the old ones Afterwards they feed them from the grain in their crops, which they bring up before it is fully digested This they continue for about a month, and as soon as they see that the young ones can pick up their own grain the old ones will go away Eggs, or even young ones, are sometimes given to other pigeons to take care of Home bred young ones are trained Some are kept in a *tor* (?) till they get stronger, and get acquainted with the place As soon as these two things have been attained, the pigeons only get one third or one fourth of their daily allowance of food When they have got a little accustomed to hunger, they are gradually allowed to take flights They take daily about forty *hawās* (air), i e, forty flights At this period the trainers pay no regard to what is called *charkh* and *bāzī* (*vide* below) Of feathers, they count ten, and if eight of them have fallen out, the keepers no longer allow the pigeons to fly, but keep them at rest (*khwābānīdan*) After two months, the pigeons get new feathers, and become very strong They are then again let off This is the best time

for showing their skill As soon as the pigeons learn to perform the *bāzī* and the *charkh*, they are sent to His Majesty for inspection, and are kept for four months in readiness, to exhibit their skill *Charkh* is a lusty movement ending with the pigeon throwing itself over in a full circle If this circular turn be *not completely* carried out, the movement is called *kitf* (shoulder), and is held in no esteem *Bāzī* is the same as *muʿallaq*

wing of a pigeon blackened, when the erroneousness of that opinion *became evident* Some pigeons get confused during the *bāzī* and *charkh*, and come stupefied to the ground This is called *gulūla*, and is disliked Sometimes pigeons hurt themselves and fall down, but often they get all right again when they come near the ground, and taking courage and collecting their strength they fly up again A pigeon of the *khāṣa* pigeon cots will *perform fifteen charkhs* and *seventy bazīs*, a *feat* which will certainly astonish the spectators In former times, they let eleven or twenty-one pigeons fly at a time, but nowadays they let off as many as one hundred and one From the attention which His Majesty has bestowed upon pigeons, they are now so carefully trained as to be let fly at night, even to great heights

At the time of departure and the breaking of the camp, the pigeons will follow, the cots being carried by bearers (*kahār*) Sometimes they will alight and take rest for a while, and then rise again

It would be difficult to count the pigeons at Court, but there are more than twenty thousand Five hundred of them are *khāṣa* They have a great reputation, and remarkable stories are told of their skill

Pigeon trainers of former times, in order to determine the value of a pigeon, used to twist the foot,[2] or looked to the slit of the eyes, or the openings on the top of the bill, but they failed to discover more signs of the value of a breed His Majesty has discovered many more, and the fixing the value of a pigeon, in former times a matter of great difficulty, has now become very

former trainers a

the eight claws,

comparison of these signs has led to many additional means of fixing the value of a pigeon *Secondly* His Majesty looks to the variety and the colour of the annular protuberances on the feet of pigeons A book

[1 *Ba tāflan* ... Can this mean the angle made by the feet ?—P]

[2 *Du chashm bīlā* ... *paʿin* —P]

has been made in which the systematic order of these signs has been laid down According to them, His Majesty distinguishes ten classes, for each of which separate aviaries have been constructed The price of pigeons in the first house has not been limited Many a poor man anxious to make his way has found in the training of superior pigeons a means of getting rich A pair of second class pigeons has a value of 3 *R* , third class, 2½ *R* , fourth class, 2 *R* , fifth class, 1½ *R* , sixth class, 1 *R* , seventh class, ¾ *R* , eighth class, ½ *R* , ninth and tenth classes ⅜ *R*

When inspections are held, the stock of *Mohana* first pass in review, then the young ones of *Ashkī* Though the latter belong to the former, they are now separately counted Then come the four *zirihī* pigeons, they are the stock of a pigeon which belonged to Hājī ʿAlī, of Samarqand, which coupled with an ʿ*Udī* hen, of which I do not know the owner, their stock has become famous The precedence of all other pigeons is determined by their age or the time they were bought

The Colours of Khāṣa Pigeons

Magasī (flea bitten), *zirihī* (steelblue), *amīrī* (?), *zamīrī* (a colour between *zirihī* and *amīrī*, His Majesty invented this name), *chīnī* (porcelain blue), *nofti* (grey like naptha), *shafaqī* violet), ʿ*ūdī* (aloe-wood coloured), *surmaī* (dark grey, like powder of antimony), *kishmishī*[1] (dark brown, like currants?), *halwa*ʾ*ī* (light brown, like *halwā* sweetmeat), *sandalī* (light brown, like sandalwood), *jigarī* (brown), *nabātī* (greyish white), *dūghī* (bluish white, like sour milk), *wushlī* (of the same colour as the gum called *wushl*), *jīlānī* (*chīlanī* ?), *kūra*ʾ*ī* (brown, like a new earthen pot ?), *nīlufarī* (bluish white), *azraq* (a colour between yellow and brown, His Majesty applies this name in this sense), *ātashī* (black brown), *shaftalū* (peach coloured), *gul i gaz* coloured (?), yellow, *kāgha*ʾ*ī* (yellowish, like native paper), *zāgh* (grey like a crow), *aqrī* (a colour between white and brown), *muharraqī* (a dirty black), *khizrī* (a colour between greenish and ʿ*ūdī*), *ābī* (water coloured),[2] *surmag* (a name invented by His Majesty to express a colour between *surma*,ī and *magasī*)

Pigeons of these colours have often different names, as *gulsar* (whose head resembles a flower), *dumghāza* (stumptail), *yakrang* (of one colour), *halqūm safīd* (white throat), *parsafīd* (white wing), *kalla* (big head), *gha*ʾ*ghazh* (wild chick), *māgh*[3] (name of an aquatic bird), *bābarī* (?); *ālpar* (red wing ?), *kalta par* (short wing), *māhdum*[4] (moontail),

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[1] *Kishmish* Sultana raisins.—P]

[2 *Ib* blue —P]

[3 *Māgh* a cormorant ?—P]

[4 *Māhdum* with white on the tail.—P]

ṭawqdār (ring bearer); *marwārīd sar* (pearl head), *mash'ala-dum* (torch tail), etc.

Some trainers of the present age gave pigeons such names as indicate their colours His Majesty rather calls them according to their qualities, as *bughur* (?), *qarapilk* (with black eyelids), *abyārī*, *palangnigārī*, *rekhta pilk*

There are also many pigeons which do not perform *charkhs* and *bā'īs*, but are distinguished by their colours, or by peculiar tricks Thus the *Kokah*[1] pigeon, the voice of which sounds like the call to prayer 2 The *Bagha*, which utters a peculiar voice in the morning to wake up people 3 The *Luqqan*,[2] which struts about proudly, wagging its head, neck, and tail 4 The *Lotan*[3] They turn it about, and let it off on the ground, when it will go through all the motions which a half killed fowl goes through Some pigeons will do so when the keeper strikes his hand against the ground, and others will show the same restlessness when on leaving the cage their beak is made to touch the ground 5 The *Khernī* The cock shows a remarkable attachment to the hen Though he fly up so high as to be no longer visible, if the hen be exposed in a cage, he will get restless and drop down instantly to join her This is very remarkable Some of them come down with both wings spread, others close one, some close both, or they change alternately the wing which they close in flying 6 The *Rath* pigeon is chiefly used for carrying letters, though any other kind may be trained to bring letters even from great distances 7 The *Nishāwarī* pigeon will fly up, and follow its cage to whatever place it be taken It will fly out of sight, and stay away for a day or two, when it comes down and remains in its cage 8 The *parpā* (having feet covered with feathers) will inhale air (?) and act as if it sighed

Some pigeons are merely kept for the beauty of their plumage, the colours of which receive peculiar names Thus some are called *shīrāzī shūstarī*, *kāshānī*, *jogiya*, *reza dahan*, *magasī*, and *qumrī*[4] Wild pigeons are called *gola* If some of them are caught, they will be joined by a thousand others, they soon get domesticated They return daily to the fields, and get on their return salt water to drink This makes them vomit the grain which they had eaten on the fields The grain is collected and given as food to other pigeons

People say that pigeons will but rarely live above thirty years

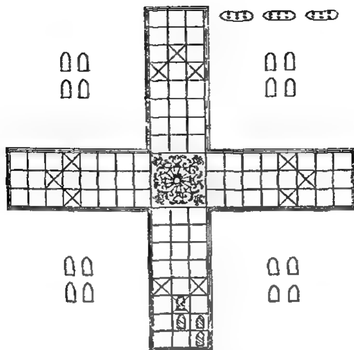
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[[1] Can this be for *kokla* a species of green pigeon which has a call like the human voice, *vide* Jerdon No 778 —P]

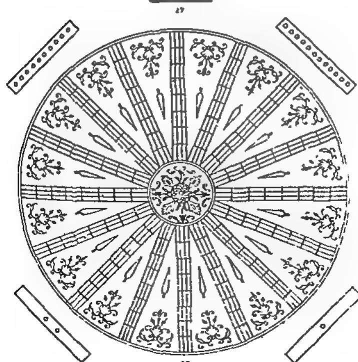
[[2] *Laqā laqa* etc the fantail pigeon —P]

[[3] *Loṭan* the ground tumbler —P]

[[4] *Qumri* a white dove —P]



17



18

Four *sers* of grain will be sufficient for one hundred of such pigeons as are made to fly, but for other pigeons five *sers* are required, or seven and a half if they pair But flying pigeons get millet, not mixed with other grain, the others get a mixture of the seven kinds of grain, viz, rice, *dāl*[1] *nukhud* (gram), *mūng dal*[1] (millet), *kavar, lahdara, juwār* (vide p 66) Though most servants of His Majesty keep pigeons and show much skill in training them, there are a few that have risen to eminence, as *Qulʿ Ali* of Bukhara, Masti of Samarqand, Mullāzada, Pur'i Mulla Ahmad Chand, Muqbil Khān Chela, Khwaja Sandal Chela, Mumin of Harat, ʿAbdu'l Latif of Bukhārā, Haji Qasim of Balkh Habib of Shahrisabz, Sikandar Chela, Maltū, Maqsūd of Samarqand, Khwaja Phul, Chela Hiranand

The servants attached to the pigeon houses draw their pay on the list of the army The pay of a foot soldier varies from 2 *R* to 48 *R* *per mensem*

The game of Chaupar

From times of old, the people of Hindustān have been fond of this game It is played with sixteen pieces of the same shape, but every four of them must have the same colour The pieces all move in the same direction The players use three dice Four of the six sides of each dice are greater than the remaining two, the four long sides being marked with one, two, five, and six dots respectively The players draw two sets of two parallel lines, of which one set bisects the other at right angles These parallel lines are of equal length The small square which is formed by the intersection of the two sets in the centre of the figure is left as it is, but the four rectangles adjoining the sides of the square are each divided into twenty four equal spaces in three rows, each of eight equal spaces, as shown in Pl XVII, Fig 17. The game is generally played by four players, of whom two play against the other two Each player has four pieces, of which he puts two in the sixth and seventh spaces of the middle row of the parallellogram before him, and the other two in the seventh and eighth spaces of the right row The left row remains empty Each player moves his pieces, according to his throw, in the outer row, always keeping to the right, till he arrives at the outer left row of the parallelogram, from which he started, and from there he moves to the middle row When arrived at the latter place, he is *pukhta* (ripe) and from here, he must throw for each of his pieces the exact number which will carry them to the empty square in the centre of the figure He is now *rasīda*, or arrived

When a player is *pukhta* or *rasīda*, he may commence to play from

[[1] Pulse of *mūng* —P]

the beginning, which leads to amusing combinations As long as a player keeps two of his pieces together, the adversary cannot throw them out If a player throws a double six, he can move two pieces over twelve spaces, provided the two pieces stand together on one field, but he is allowed to move them only six fields onwards should he prefer doing so *A similar rule holds for double fives, etc A throw consisting of a six,* a five, and a one, is called *khām* (raw), and in this case, two pieces, provided they are togdther on the same field, may each be moved six fields forwards, and every single piece twelve fields If a player throws three sixes, and three of his four pieces happen to stand on one field, he may move each of them over twelve fields A similar rule holds, if a player throw three twos, or three ones There are many other rules for particular cases If a player has brought his four pieces into the central square, he throws, when his turn comes, for his companion, to get him out too Formerly the custom was that when a piece had come to the last row, and [1] His Majesty thinks it proper to do so from the very eighth field If the throws of two players are the same as the throw of the preceding players, His Majesty counts them as *qāyim*, or standing Formerly he did not allow such equal throws If the four pieces of an opponent are *pukhta*, and he yet lose his bet, the other players are entitled to double the amount of the bet Should any of the players leave the game for some reason he may appoint anyone to play for him, but he will have to be responsible for the betting of his substitute Of all winnings, the substitute is entitled to two *per cent*, if a player loses a bet, his substitute has to pay one *per cent* If a player drops one of his pieces, or any of the players be late or inattentive, he is fined one rupee But a fine of a muhur is exacted if any one prompts the other, or moves his pieces over too many fields, or tries to get two throws

Formerly many grandees took part in this game, there were often as many as two hundred players, and no one was allowed to go home before he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months If any of them lost his patience and got restless, he had to drink a cup of wine

Superficially considered, all this is mere play, but His Majesty has higher aims, he weighs the talents of a man, and teaches kindness

The game of Chandal Mandal

This game was invented by His Majesty The figure, or board, which is required, consists of sixteen parallelograms, arranged in a circular form

[1] The MSS have *a khanaye hashtum pāyān shavad hangām i khām shudan āmāda gardad*, which words are not clear to me

round a centre Each parallelogram is divided into twenty four fields, every eight of which form a row, *vide* Pl XVII Fig 18 The number of pieces is sixty four, and four dice are used of which the four longer sides are marked with one, two, ten, and twelve points respectively The number of players is sixteen Each gets four pieces, which are placed in the middle As in Chaupar, the pieces are moved to the right, and pass through the whole circle The player who is out first, is entitled to receive the stipulated amount from the other fifteen players, the second that is out, from fourteen players, and so on The first player, therefore, wins most, and the last loses most, the other players both lose and win His Majesty plays this game in several ways, one way in which the pieces are moved as if the fields were squares of a chess board, is very often played I shall give a few particulars and directions how to play the different kinds of this game

First kind, no piece can throw out another piece, but moves on by itself *Second* way, single pieces may be thrown out Each player whose piece has thus been thrown out, commences again from his starting point *Third* way, at each throw two pieces are moved at a time, either with or without the permission of throwing out pieces *Fourth* way, the preceding rule is applied to three or four pieces at a time *Fifth* way, the dice are thrown four times, and four pieces are moved at each throw These different ways may, moreover, be varied by some players playing to the right, others to the left, or all in the same direction *Sixth* way, a player is out when he comes to the place from which the player opposite to him commenced to play, moving from the middle row of his opponent into the empty space in the centre of the board Or the game ends when each player arrives at the place from which his left hand neighbour commenced to play *Seventh* way, each player puts his pieces before himself, and has three throws At the first throw, he moves two of his pieces, at the second, one of his own pieces and one belonging to his right hand neighbour, at the third throw, he moves any piece of his own, and allows his left hand neighbour to move one of his pieces In this way of playing, no player throws out the pieces of his neighbours, and when the game is in full swing he allows each piece which happens to come into the row in which he is, to move according to his own throw, as a sort of compliment to a guest *Eighth* way, two pieces when together may throw out another set of two pieces, but single pieces do not throw out each other *Ninth* way, four pieces together may throw out three together, three together, sets of two, and two together, single ones, but single pieces do not throw out each other *Tenth* way, each player moves his pieces according to the number of points which he throws,

but at the same time, the player who sits opposite to him moves his pieces according to the number of points on the reverse side of the dice, whilst the two players to the right and left of the player who threw the dice, move their pieces according to the number of points to the right and left sides of the dice *Eleventh* way, the players use five dice and four pieces Each player, in his turn, throws the five dice, and moves his pieces according to the sum of the two highest points of his throw The next highest point is taken by his *vis-a vis*, and the two lowest points by his right and left hand neighbours *Twelfth* way, the players have each five dice and five pieces At every throw, he gives the points of one die to his right hand neighbour, and uses the others for himself Sometimes the thrower mentions beforehand the names of four players to whom he wishes to give the points of four dice, he himself taking the points of the fifth die And when a player requires only a few points, to get *pukhta*, he must give the remaining points to those near whom the dice fall

The game may also be played by fifteen or less players, the figure being lessened accordingly So also may the number of the dice be increased or decreased

Cards

This is a well-known game His Majesty has made some alterations in the cards Ancient sages took the number twelve as the basis, and made the suit to consist of twelve cards, but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve different kinds His Majesty plays with the following suits of cards *1st, Ashwapatī,* the lord of horses The highest card represents a king on horseback, resembling the king of Dihli, with the umbrella (*chatr*), the standard (*ʿalam*), and other imperial ensigns The second highest card of the same suit represents a *vazīr* on horseback, and after this card come ten others of the same suit with pictures of horses, from one to ten *2nd Gajpati* the king whose power lies in the number of his elephants, as the ruler of Orisah The other eleven cards represent as before, the vazīr, and elephants from ten to one *3rd, Narpati* a king whose power lies in his infantry, as is the case with the rulers of Bijapūr The card represents a king sitting on his throne in imperial splendour, the vazir sits on a footstool (*sandalī*), and the ten cards completing this suit have foot soldiers, from one to ten *4th, Gadhpati* The card shows a man sitting on a throne over a fort the vazir sits on a *sandalī* over a fort, and the remaining ten cards have forts from one to ten, as before *5th, Dhanpati*, the lord of treasures The first card of this suit shows a

man, sitting on a throne, and gold and silver heaps, the vazīr sits upon a *sandalī*, as if he took account of the Treasury, and the remaining cards show jars full of gold and silver, from one to ten 6*th*, *Dalpati*, the hero of battle The first card of this suit shows a king in armour, sitting on his throne and surrounded by warriors on coats of mail The vazīr sits on a *sandalī* and wears a *jayba* (breast armour), the ten other cards show individuals clad in armour 7*th*, *Nawapati*, the lord of the fleet The card shows a man sitting on a throne in a ship, the vazir sits, as usual, on a *ṣandalī*, and the other ten cards have boats from one to ten 8*th*, *Tīpati*, a queen sitting on the throne, surrounded by her maids The second card shows a woman as *vazīr* on a *ṣandalī*, and the other ten cards have pictures of women, from one to ten 9*th*, *Surapati*, the king of the divinities (*deota*) also called *Indar*, on a throne The vazir sits on a *ṣandalī*, and the ten other cards have pictures of divinities from one to ten 10*th*, *Asrpati*, the lord of genii (*deo*) The card represents Sulaymān, son of Dā*ūd, on the throne The vazīr sits on a *sandali*, and the other ten cards have genii 11*th*, *Banpatī*, the king of wild beasts The card represents a tiger (*sher*) with some other animals The vazir is drawn in the shape of a leopard (*palang*) and the other ten cards are pictures of wild beasts, as usual from one to ten 12*th*, *Āhipati*, the king of snakes The first card shows a serpent mounted on a dragon, whilst the vazir is a serpent riding on another serpent of the same kind The remaining ten cards show serpents, from one to ten

The first six of these twelve suits are called *bīshbar* (powerful), and the six last, *kambar* (weak)

His Majesty has also made some suitable alterations in the cards Thus the *Dhanpati*, or lord of treasures, is represented as a man distributing money The vazir sits on a *ṣandalī*, and inspects the Treasury, but the ten other cards of this suit are representations of the ten classes of workmen employed in the Treasury, viz, the jeweller, the melter, the piece cutter (*mutallas sāz*), the weighman, the coiner, the *muhr* counter, the *bitikchī* (writer) of *dhan* pieces (*vide* p 31, No 17), the *bitikchī* of *man* pieces (*vide* p 31, No 20), the dealer, the *qursgar* (*vide* p 24, No 15) His Majesty had also the king of assignments painted on the cards, who inspects *farmāns*, grants, and the leaves of the *daftar* (*vide* p 270), the vazīr sits on a *ṣandalī* with the *daftar* before him, the other cards show officers employed in the Financial Department, as the paper maker, the *mistar* maker (*vide* p 55, note 1), the clerk who makes the entries in the *daftar*, the illuminator (*musawwir*), the *naqqāsh* (who ornaments the pages), the *jadwal kash* (who draws blue and gold lines on the pages), the *farmān*

writer, the *mujallid* (bookbinder), the *rangrez* [1] (who stains the paper with different colours) The *Pādishāh i qimāsh* also, or king of manufacturers, is painted in great state, looking at different things, as Thibetan yaks, silk, silken stuffs The vazīr sits near him on a *ṣandalī*, inquiring into former proceedings The other ten cards represent beasts of burden Again, the *Pādishāh i Chang*, or lord of the lyre, is painted sitting on a throne, and listening to music, the vazir sits before him, inquiring into the circumstances of the performers, of whom pictures are given on the remaining cards Next, the *Pādishāh-i zar i safīd*, or king of silver, who is painted distributing rupees and other silver coins, the vazir sits on a *ṣandalī*, and makes inquiries regarding donations On the other cards, the workmen of the silver mint are depicted, as before those of the gold mint Then comes the *Pādishāh-i Shamsher*, or king of the sword, who is painted trying the steel of a sword The vazīr sits upon a *ṣandalī*, and inspects the arsenal, the other cards contain pictures of armourers, polishers, etc After him comes the *Pādishāh i Taj*,[2] or king of the diadem He confers royal insignia, and the *sandalī* upon which the vazir sits, is the last of the insignia The ten other cards contain pictures of workmen, as tailors, quilters, etc Lastly, the *Pādishāh-i Ghulāmān*, or king of the slaves, sits on an elephant, and the vazīr on a cart The other cards are representations of servants, some of whom sit, some lie on the ground in worship, some are drunk, others sober, etc

Besides these ordinary games of cards His Majesty also plays chess, four handed and two-handed His chief object is to test the value of men, and to establish harmony and good fellow feeling at Court

Āʼīn 30

THE GRANDEES OF THE EMPIRE [3]

At first I intended in speaking of the Grandees of the Court, to record the deeds which raised them to their exalted positions to describe their

[illegible]

qualities, and to say something of their experience But I am unwilling to bestow mere praise, in fact it does not become the encomiast of His Majesty to praise others, and I should act against my sense of truthfulness, were I but to mention that which is praiseworthy and to pass in silence over that which cannot be approved of I shall therefore merely record, in form of a table, their names and the titles which have been conferred upon them

I Commanders of Ten Thousand

1 **Shāhzāda Sultan Salim**, eldest son of His Majesty

II Commanders of Eight Thousand

2 **Shāhzada Sultan Murad**, second son of His Majesty

III Commanders of Seven Thousand

3 **Shāhzada Sultan Dānyal**, third son of His Majesty

Akbar had *five* sons —

1 Hasan } twins, born 3rd Rabi' I, 972 They only lived one month
2 Husayn }
3 Sultān Salim [Jahangir]
4 Sultan Murad
5 Sultan Danyāl

Of daughters, I find three mentioned—(*a*) Shāhzāda Khānum, born three months after Salim, in 977 (*b*) Shukr^u 'n Nisā Begum, who in 1001 was married to Mirzā Shāhrukh (No 7, below, p 326), and (*c*) Ārām Bānū Begum, both born after Sultan Danyal Regarding the death of the last Begum, *vide* Tuzuk, p 386

Of Akbar's wives the following are mentioned [1] —1 Sultān Ruqayyah Begum (a daughter of Mirzā Hindal), who died 84 years old, 7th Jumāda I, 1035 (*Tuzuk*, p 401) She was Akbar's first wife (*zan-i kalān*), but had no child by him She tended Shāhjahan Nūr Jahān (Jahāngir's wife), also stayed with her after the murder of Sher Afkan 2 Sultān Salima Begum She was a daughter of Gulrukh (?) Begum [2] (a daughter of Bābar)

Commanders of Five Thousand though they were appointed in 1001 and 1003 respectively, i e, a short time before the Ā'in was completed

The biographical not[illegible]

[1] *Vide* Additional notes
[2] Regarding her, *vide Jour As Soc Bengal* for 1869, p. 136, note.

and Mirzā Nūr[u] 'd Dīn Muhammad Humāyūn had destined her for Bayrām Khan, who married her in the beginning of Akbar's reign After the death of Bayrām, Akbar, in 968, married her She died 10th Zī Qaʿda, 1021 As a poetess, she is known under the name *Makhfī* (concealed), and must not be confounded with *Zeb[u]'n Nisā*[1] (a daughter of Awrangzeb's) who has the same poetical name 3 The daughter of Rāja Bihārī Mal and sister of Raja Bhagawān Das Akbar married her in 968, at Sābhar 4 The beautiful wife of Abd[u] l-Wāsī, married in 970 (*vide* Bad II, 61) 5 Bibī Dawlat Shād, mother of (*b*) and (*c*), *vide* Tuzuk, p 16 6 A daughter of ʿAbd[u] 'llah Khān Mughul (964) 7 A daughter of Mirān Mubarak Shah of Khandes, *vide* p 13, note 1

Sultān Salim Title as Emperor, Jahāngīr Title after death, *Jannatmakānī* Born at Fathpūr Sīkrī, on Wednesday, 17th Rabīʿ I, 997, or 18th Shahriwar of the 14th year of Akbar's Era He was called *Salīm* because he was born in the house of Shaykh Salim i Chishti Akbar used to call him *Shaykhū Bābā* (*vide* Tuzuk, p 1) For his wives and children, *vide* below, No 4 Jahangir died on the 28th Safar 1037 (28th October, 1627) near Rājor on the Kashmīr frontier *Vide* my article on Jahāngīr in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1869

Sultan Murad, Akbar's fourth son, was born on Thursday, 3rd Muharram, 978, and died of *delirium tremens* in 1006, at Jalnāpūr in Barar (Tuzuk, p 15, Akbarnāma II, p 443, Khafi Khan, p 212) He was nicknamed *Pahārī* (Bad II, 378) He was *sabzrang* (of a livid[2] complexion), thin and tall (*Tuzuk*) A daughter of his was married to Prince Parwīz, Jahangīr's son (*Tuzuk*, p 38)

Sultan Danyal was born at Ajmir, on the 10th Jumāda I, 979, and died of *delirium tremens*, A H 1013 Khafi Khān, I, p 232, says the news of his death reached Akbar in the beginning of 1014 He was called Dānyāl in remembrance of Shaykh Danyal, a follower of Muʿin i Chishtī, to whose tomb at Ajmir Akbar, in the beginning of his reign, often made pilgrimages Danyāl married, in the beginning of 1002, the daughter of Qulij Khān (No 42), and towards the end of 1006, Janān Begum, a daughter of Mirza ʿAbd[u] 'r-Rahīm Khan Khanān (Khafi Khan, p 213), and was betrothed to a daughter of Ibrahīm ʿĀdilshāh of Bijāpūr, but he died before the marriage was consummated He had three sons —1 Ṭahmūras, who was married to Sulṭān Bahar Begum, a daughter of Jahāngīr 2 Bayasanghar (بایسنغر) 3 Hoshang, who was married to Hoshmand

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[1] Her charming Diwan was lithographed at Lucknow, A H 1284 She was the eldest daughter of Awrangzeb, and was born in A H. 1048

[[2] Sallow ?—P]

Bānū Begum, a daughter of Khusraw. Besides, he had four daughters, whose names are not mentioned One of them, Bulāqī Begum, was married to Mirzā Wālī (*Tuz*, p 272) Ṭahmūras and Hoshang were killed by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr (*vide Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for August, 1869) Nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of Bayasanghar *Vide Calcutta Review* for October, 1869

Danyal is represented as well built, good looking, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in composing Hindustānī poems

IV Commanders of Five Thousand

4 **Sultan Khusraw**, eldest son of Prince Salīm [Jahāngīr]

Jahāngīr's wives (*Tuzuk*, p 84, and Preface, p 6) A daughter of Raja Bhagwān Dās, married in 993, gave birth, in 994, to Sulṭānu 'n Nisā Begum [*Khāfī Khān*, Sultan Begum], and in 995 to Prince Khusraw She poisoned herself with opium in a fit of madness apparently brought on by the behaviour of Khusraw and her younger brother Madhū Singh, in 1011 (Khāfī Khān, p 227) 2 A daughter of Rāy Ray Singh, son of Ray Kalyan Mal of Bikānīr, married 19th Rajab 994, Bad II, p 353 She is not mentioned in the *Tuzuk* among Jahāngīr's wives 3 A daughter of Oday Singh [Moth Rāja], son of Rāja Māldeo, married in 994 The *Tuzuk* (p 5) calls her Jagat Gosāyinī She is the mother of Shāhjahān, and died in 1028 (*Tuzuk*, p 268) 4 A daughter of Khwāja Hasan, the uncle of Zayn Khan Koka She is the mother of Prince Parwīz She died 15th Tīr, 1007 5 A daughter of Rāja Keshū Dās Rāthor She is the mother of Bahār Banū Begum (born 23rd Shahrīwar 998) 6 and 7 The mothers of Jahāndār and Shahryār 8 A daughter of ʿAlī Ray, ruler of little Tibet (*Bad*, II, 376), married in 999 9 A daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh (*Tuzuk*, p 68) 10 Mihru 'n Nisā Khānum, the widow of Sher Afkan On her marriage with Jahangīr she received the title of Nūr Mahall, and was later called Nūr Jahan (*Tuz*, p 156) Jahangīr does not appear to have had children by Nūr Jahan

Jahāngīr's children 1 Sultan Khusraw 2 Sultān Parwīz 3 Sultan Khurram (Shahjahan) 4 Sultan Jahāndār 5 Sultān Shahryār Two daughters are mentioned —(*a*) Sultānu 'n Nisa Begum, (*b*) Sulṭān Bahār Banū Begum There were "several children" after Parwiz, but the *Tuzuk* (p 8) does not give their names They appear to have died soon after their birth

Sultān Khusraw was born on the 24th Amurdad 995 (*Tuzuk* Preface); but Khāfī Khān says 997 He was married to a daughter of Azam Khān

Koka His sons—1 Baland Akhtar, who died when young, *Tuzuk* p 73 2 Dawar Bakhsh (also called *Bulāqī*),[1] whose daughter, Hoshmand Bānū Begum, was married to Hoshang son of Dānyāl 3 Garshasp

Khusraw died on the 18th Isfandiyārmuz, 1031 He lies buried in the Khusraw Gardens in Allahabad Dāwar Bakhsh was proclaimed Emperor by Āṣaf Khān after the death of Jahangīr but at an order of Shāhjahān he was killed, together with his brother Garshasp, by Āṣaf Khān

Sultān Parwīz, born 19th Ābān, 997 He was married to a daughter of Mirzā Rustam i Ṣafawi (No 9) and had a son who died when young (*Tuz*, p 282) A daughter of Parwīz was married to Dārā Shikoh Parwīz died of *delirium tremens* in 1036

Sultān Khurram (Shāhjahān) was born at Lāhor on the 30th Rabiʿ I, 1000 A H Regarding his family, *vide Proceedings As Soc Bengal* for August, 1869, p 219 He was Akbar's favourite

Sultān Jahāndār had no children He and *Sultān Shahryār* were *born about the same time, a few months before Akbar's death (Tuz*, Preface, p 17) Shahryār was married, in the 16th year of Jahāngīr, to Mihru n Nisā, the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Sher Afkan, and had a daughter by her, Arzānī Begum (*Tuzuk*, p 370) The *Iqbāl-nāma* (p 306) calls her لاڑدلی سکم From his want of abilities he got the nickname *Nāshudanī* (fit for nothing) Khusraw, Parwiz, and Jahandar died before their father

Shahryār, at the instigation of Nur Jahān, proclaimed himself Emperor of Lāhor a few days after the death of Jahāngīr He was killed either at the order of Dawar Bakhsh or of Āṣaf Khān, *vide Proceedings As Soc Bengal* for August, 1869, p 218

5 **Mīrza Sulayman**, son of Khān Mirzā, son of Sultān Mahmud, son of Abū Saʿīd

6 **Mirza Ibrahim**, son of Mirza Sulayman (No 5)

Mīrzā Sulaymān was born in 920, and died at Lahor in 997 He is generally called *Wālī yi Badakhshān* As grandson of Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, he is the sixth descendant from Tīmūr Abu Saʿīd killed Sultan Muhammad of Badakhshan, the last of a series of kings who traced their descent to Alexander the Great, and took possession of Badakhshan, which after his death fell to his son, Sultan Mahmūd, who had three sons, Bayasanghar Mirza, ʿAlī Mirzā,[2] Khān Mirzā When Mahmūd died, Amir Khusraw

[1] The MSS spell this name بلاقی and بلاقی

[2] The *Maʿāsir i Umarā* calls the second son Mīrza Masʿūd

Khan, one of his nobles, blinded Bāyasanghar, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper He submitted to Bābar in 910 When Babar took Qandahar, in 912, from Shāh Beg Arghūn, he sent Khān Mīrzā as governor to Badakhshān Mirzā Sulaymān is the son of this Khān Mirza [1]

After the death of Khan Mirzā, Badakhshan was governed for Babar by Prince Humāyūn, Sultan Uways (Mirza Sulaymān's father in law) Prince Hindal, and lastly, by Mirzā Sulayman who held Badakhshan till 17 Jumādā II, 948 when he had to surrender himself and his son, Mirza Ibrahim, to Prince Kamrān They were released by Humayūn in 952 and took again possession of Badakhshan When Humāyūn had taken Kabul, he made war upon and defeated Mirzā Sulayman who once in possession of his country, had refused to submit, but when the return of Kamrān from Sind obliged Humāyūn to go to Kabul he reinstated the Mirza, who held Badakhshān till 983 Bent on making conquests, he invaded in 967 Balkh but had to return His son Mirza Ibrahim, was killed in battle [2]

In the eighth year when Mirzā Muhammad Hakim's (Akbar's brother) mother had been killed by Shah Abū 'l Ma'ālī Mirza S went to Kābul, and had Abū l Ma'ālī hanged, he then married his own daughter to M M Hakīm and appointed Umed 'Alī a Badakhshān noble, M M Hakim's Vakil (970) But M M Hakim did not go on well with Mirza Sulayman, who returned next year to Kābul with hostile intentions, but M M Hakim fled and asked Akbar for assistance, so that Mirza S, though he had taken Jalalabād, had to return to Badakhshān He returned to Kabul in 973, when Akbar's troops had left that country, but retreated on being promised tribute

Mirza Sulayman's wife was Khurram Begum of the Qibchak tribe She was clever and had her husband so much in her power, that he did nothing without her advice Her enemy was Muhtaram Khanum, the widow of Prince Kāmran M Sulayman wanted to marry her, but Khurram Begum got her married against her will to Mirzā Ibrahim, by whom she had a son Mirza Shahrukh (No 7) When Mirzā Ibrahim fell in the war with Balkh Khurram Begum wanted to send the Khānum to her father, Shah Muhammad of Kashghar, but she refused to go As soon as Shahrukh had grown up, his mother and some Badakhshi nobles excited him to rebel against his grandfather M Sulaymān This he did,

[1] The *Ma'āsir* says Khān Mirzā died in 917 but this is impossible as Mirza Sulayman was born in 920 the *Tarikh* of his birth being the word خسرو

[2] Hence he never was a grandee of Akbar's Court and has been put on the list according to the rules of etiquette

alternately rebelling and again making peace Khurram Begum then died Shāhrukh took away those parts of Badakhshan which his father had held, and found so many adhreents, that M Sulayman, pretending to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, left Badakhshān for Kabul, and crossing the Nilāb went to India (983) Khān Jahān, governor of the Panjab, received orders to invade Badakhshān, but was suddenly ordered to go to Bengal, as Munʿim Khān had died and Mirza Sulaymān did not care for the governorship of Bengal, which Akbar had given him

M Sulaymān then went to Ismaʿil II of Persia When the death of that monarch deprived him of the assistance which he had just received, he went to Muzaffar Husayn Mirza (No 8) at Qandahār, and then to M M Hakīm at Kābul Not succeeding in raising disturbances in Kabul, he made for the frontier of Badakhshān, and luckily finding some adherents, he managed to get from his grandson the territory between *Tāqān* and the Hindū Kush Soon after Muhtaram Khanum died Being again pressed by Shāhrukh, M Sulaymān applied for help to 'Abdu 'llah Khān Uzbak, king of Tūrān, who had long wished to annex Badakhshān He invaded and took the country in 992, Shāhrukh fled to Hundūstān, and M Sulaymān to Kābul As he could not recover Badakhshān, and being rendered destitute by the death of M M Hakim, he followed the example of his grandson, and repaired to the court of Akbar, who made him a Commander of six thousand

A few years later he died, at Lāhor, at the age of seventy-seven

7 **Mirzā Shāhurkh**, son of Mirzā Ibrāhim

Vide Nos 5 and 6 Akbar, in 1001, gave him his daughter Shukru n' Niʿā Begum, and made him governor of Mālwa, and he distinguished himself in the conquest of the Dakhin Towards the end of Akbar's reign, he was made a Commander of seven thousand, and was continued in his *Mansab* by Jahāngir

He died at Ujain in 1016 His wife, *Kābulī Begum*, was a daughter of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim She wanted to take his body to Madinah, but was robbed by the Badawīs, and after handing over the body to some "scoundrels" she went to Baṣra, and then to Shīrāz In 1022, Shah ʿAbbas married her to Mirzā Ṣultan ʿAli, his uncle, whom he had blinded, but the Begum did not like her new husband

Shāhrukh's Children —1 Hasan and Husayn, twins Hasan fled with Khusraw and was imprisoned by Jahāngir 2 Badiʿu 'z Zamān (or Mirzā Fathpūrī), "a bundle of wicked bones," murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujrāt) 3 *Mirzā Shujāʿ* rose to honours under Shāhjahān, who called him Najabat Khān 4 Mirzā Muhammad Zamān He held

a town in Badakhshān, and fell against the Uzbaks 5 Mīrzā Sulṭān, a favourite of Jahāngīr He had many wives, and Jahāngīr would have given him his own daughter in marriage if he had not perjured himself in trying to conceal the number of his wives He fell into disgrace, and was appointed governor of Ghāzīpūr, where he died 6 Mīrzā Mughul, who did not distinguish himself either The *Tuzuk* (p 65) says that after the death of Shāhrukh, Jahāngīr took charge of four of his sons and three of his daughters, "whom Akbar had not known" "Shāhrukh, though twenty years in India, could not speak a word of Hindī"

8 **Mīrzā Muẓaffar Husayn**, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl i Ṣafawī

In 965, Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia (930 to 984) conquered Qandahār, which was given, together with Dāwar and Garmsīr as far as the river Hirmand, to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrza,[1] his nephew Sulṭān Husayn M died in 984, when Shāh Isma'īl II (984 to 985) was king of Persia, and left five children, Muhammad Husayn Mīrzā, Muzaffar Husayn Mīrzā, Rustam Mīrzā, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, and Sanjar Mīrzā The first was killed by Shāh Isma'īl Īrān The other four in Qandahār had also been doomed, but the arrival of the news of the sudden death of the Shāh saved their lives The new Shāh Khudābanda, gave Qandahār to Muzaffar Husayn Mīrzā, and Dāwar as far as the Hīrmand to Rustam Mīrzā, who was accompanied by his two younger brothers, their Vakīl being Hamza Beg 'Abd^u 'llah, or Kor Hamza, an old servant of their father The arbitrary behaviour of the Vakīl caused Muzaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā to take up arms against him, and after some alternate fighting and peace making, Muẓaffar had the Vakīl murdered This led to fights between Muẓaffar and Mīrzā Rustam who, however, returned to Dāwar

Not long after the invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbaks under Dīn Muhammad Sulṭān and Bāqī Sultān (a sister's son of 'Abd^u 'llah Khān of Tūrān) took place, and the Qandahār territory being continually exposed to incursions, the country was unsettled Most of the Qizilbāsh grandees fell in the everlasting fights, and the Shāh of Persia promised assistance, but rendered none, Mīrzā Rustam who had gone to Hindūstān, was appointed by Akbar Governor of Lāhor, and kept Qandahār in anxiety, and Muẓaffar hesitatingly resolved to hand over Qandahār to Akbar, though 'Abd^u 'llah Khān of Tūrān advised him not to join the Chaghatā'ī kings (the Mughuls of India). At that time Qarā Beg (an old servant of Muẓaffar's father, who had fled to India, and was appointed *Farrāshbegī*

[1 Son of Bahrām Mīrzā *vide* 95 —P]

by Akbar) returned to Qandahar and prevailed upon Muzaffar's mother and eldest son to bring about the annexation of Qandahar to India

Akbar sent Shah Beg Khan Arghun Governor of Bangash to take prompt possession of Qandahar and though as in all his undertakings Muzaffar wavered at the last moment and had recourse to trickery he was obliged by the firm and prudent behaviour of Beg Khan in 1003 to go to Akbar He received the title of *Farzand* (son) was made a Commander of five thousand and received Sambhal as Jagir which is worth more than all Qandahar

But the ryots of his jagir preferred complaints against his grasping collectors and Muzaffar annoyed at this applied to go to Makkah No sooner had Akbar granted this request than Muzaffar repented He was reinstated but as new complaints were preferred Akbar took away the jagir and paid him a salary in cash (1005) Muzaffar then went to Makkah but returned after reaching the first stage which displeased Akbar so much that he refused to have anything to do with him

(Muzaffar found everything in India bad and sometimes resolved to go to Persia and sometimes to Makkah From grief and disappointment and a bodily hurt he died in 1008

His daughter called *Qandahar Mahall* was in 1018 married to Shahjahan and gave birth in 1020 to Nawab Parhez Banu Begum

Three sons of his remained in India Bahram Mirza Haydar Mirza (who rose to dignity under Shahjahan and died in 1041) and Isma'il Mirza The *Ma'asir* mentions two other sons Alqas Mirza and Tahmas Mirza

Muzaffar's younger brothers Mirza Abu Sa'id and Mirza Sanjar died in 1005 They held commands of Three hundred and fifty (*Vide* Nos 271 and 272)

9 **Mirza Rustam.**—He is the younger but more talented brother of the preceding As the revenue of Dawar was insufficient for him and his two younger brothers he made war on Malik Mahmud ruler of Sistan Muzaffar Husayn assisted him at first but having married Malik Mahmud's daughter he turned against Rustam This caused a rupture between the brothers Assisted by Lalla (guardian) Hamza Beg M Rustam invaded Qandahar but without result During the invasion of the Uzbaks into Khursan he conquered the town of Farah and bravely held his own Some time after he again attacked Malik Mahmud The latter wished to settle matters amicably During an interview Rustam seized him and killed him when Jalalu d Din Mahmud's son took up arms Rustam was defeated and hearing that

his brother Muzaffar had occupied Dawar, he quickly took the town of Qalat Being once absent on a hunting expedition, he nearly lost the town, and though he took revenge on the conspirators who had also killed his mother he felt himself so insecure, that he resolved to join Akbar Accompanied by his brother, Sanjar Mirza, and his four sons Murād, Shahrukh Hasan, and Ibrahīm, he went in 1001 to India Akbar made him a *Panjhazārī*, and gave him Multan as jagir, "which is more than Qandahar" His inferiors being too oppressive, Akbar, in 1003, wished to give him Chitor, but recalled him from Sarhind, gave him Pathān as *tuyul*, and sent him together with Āsaf Khān against Raja Bāsū But as they did not get on well together, Akbar called M Rustam to court, appointing Jagat Singh, son of Raja Mān Singh, in his stead In 1006, M Rustam got Raysin as jagir He then served under Prince Danyal in the Dakhin In 1021, Jahangīr appointed him Governor of That'hah, but recalled him as he ill treated the Arghūns After the marriage of his daughter with Prince Parwiz, Jahāngir made him *Shash-hazārī*, and appointed him Governor of Allahābad He held the fort against ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khan, whom Shāhjahan, after taking possession of Bengal and Bihar, had sent against Allahābad, and forced ʿAbdᵘ 'llah to retire to Jhosī In the 21st year, he was appointed Governor of Bihār, but was pensioned off as too old by Shāhjahan at 120,000 Rs *per annum*, and retired to Āgra In the sixth year, M Rustam married his daughter to Prince Dāra Shikoh. He died, in 1051, at Āgra, 72 years old

As a poet he is known under the *takhallus* of *Fidā*ʾ*ī* He was a man of the world and understood the spirit of the age All his sons held subsequently posts of distinction

His first son *Murād* got from Jahāngir the title of *Iltifāt Khān* He was married to a daughter of ʿAbdᵘ r Rahīm Khan Khānān Murād's son, Mirza Mukarram Khān, also distinguished himself, he died in 1080.

His third son *Mīrzā Hasan i Safawī*, a *Hazār o pansadī* under Jahāngir, was Governor of *Kūch*, died 1059 Hasan's son, *Mīrzā Safshikan*, was Fawjdar of Jessore in Bengal, retired, and died in 1073 *Safshikan's* son, *Sayf*ᵘ *'d Din i Safawī*, accepted the title of Khan under Awrangzeb

10 Bayram Khān, the fifth in descent from Mir ʿAli Shukr Beg Bahārlu

Bahārlu is the name of a principal clan of the Qarāqūilu Turks During the time of their ascendency under Qarā Yūsuf, and his sons Qarā Sikandar and Mirzā Jahān Shah, rulers of ʿIraq i ʿArab and Āzarbāyjan, ʿAli Shukr Beg held Daynūr, Hamadan, and Kurdistan, "which tracts are still called

the territory of ʿAlī Shukr" His son Pīr ʿAlī Beg stayed some time with Sulṭān *Maḥmūd Mirzā*, and *attacked after*wards the Governor of Shiraz, but was defeated He was killed by some of the Amīrs of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā Pīr ʿAlī Beg's son, in the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl i Ṣafawī, left ʿIrāq, *settled* in *Badakhshān*, and entered the service of Amir Khusraw Shāh (*vide* p 324, last line) at Qunduz He then joined, with his son Sayf ʿAlī *Beg*, *Bābar's army*, as *Amīr Khusraw* had been deposed Sayf ʿAlī *Beg* is *Bayrām's father*

Bayrām Khān was born at Badakhshān After the death of his father he went to Balkh to study When sixteen years old, he entered Humāyūn's army, *fought in the battle of Qanawj (10th Muḥarram, 947)*, and fled to the Raja of Lakhnor (Sambhal) Sher Shah met Bayrām in Malwa, and tried to win him over But Bayrām fled from Barhāmpūr with *Abū 'l Qāsim, governor of Gwāliyār, to Gujrat They were surprised*, on the road, by an ambassador of Sher Shāh who had just returned from *Gujrāt Abū 'l Qāsim, a man of imposing stature, being mistaken for Bayrām, the latter stepped forward and said in a manly voice*, "I am Bayrām" "No," said Abū 'l Qāsim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me So let him off" *Abū 'l Qāsim was then killed*, and Bayram escaped to Sultan Maḥmūd of Gujrāt Under the pretext of sailing for Makkah, Bayrām embarked at Sūrat for Sindh He joined Humayūn on the 7th Muharram, 950, when the Emperor, after passing through the territory of Raja Maldeo, was pressed by the Arghūns at Jon On the march to Persia, he proved the most faithful attendant The King of Persia also liked him, and made him a Khān On Humayūn's return, Bayrām was sent on a mission to Prince Kamrān When Humāyūn marched to Kabul, he took Qandahār by force and treachery from the Qizilbāshes, and making Bayrām governor of the district, he informed the Shāh that he had done so as Bayrām was "a faithful servant of both" Subsequently rumours regarding Bayram's duplicity reached Humāyūn, but when in 961, the Emperor returned to Qandahār, the rumours turned out false

The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bayrām He gained the battle of Māchhīwāra, and received Sambhal as jāgīr In 963, he was appointed *atālīq* (guardian) of Prince Akbar, with whom he went to the Panjab against Sikandar Khān On Akbar's accession (2nd Rabi ʿII, 963) at Kalanūr, he was appointed *Wakīl* and *Khān Khānān*, and received the title of *Khān Bābā* On the second of Shawwāl, 964, shortly after *the surrender of Mānkot, when Akbar returned to Lāhor, an imperial* elephant ran against Bayrām's tent, and Bayram blamed Atgah Khān

(No 15), who never had been his friend, for this accident The Atgah, after arrival at Lāhor, went with his whole family to Bayram, and attested his innocence by an oath upon the Qur'ān [1] In 965, Bayrām married Salima Sultān Begum (p 321, note), and soon after the estrangement commenced between Akbar and him Badāoni (II, p 36) attributes the fall of Bayrām to the ill treatment of Pīr Muhammad (No 20) and the influence of Adham Khān and his mother Māhum Anagah (Akbar's nurse), Siddiq Muhammad Khān, Shāhābu 'd Dīn Ahmad, etc, who effectually complained of the wretchedness of their jāgirs, and the emptiness of the Treasury, whilst Bayrām Khān's friends lived in affluence The *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* says that no less than twenty five of Bayram's friends reached the dignity of Panjhazarīs—rather a proof of Bayrām's gift of selecting proper men Bayram's fall is known from the Histories "Akbar's trick resembles exactly that which Sultan Abū Sa'īd i Mughul adopted towards his minister Amīr Chaubān" (Bad)

On hearing the news that Akbar had assumed the reigns of the government, Bayrām left Āgra, and sent his friends who had advised him to go to Akbar, to Court He himself went under the pretext of going to Makkah to Mewāt and Nāgor, from where he returned his *insignia*, which reached Akbar at Jhujhar, for Akbar was on his way to the Panjāb, which Bayrām, as it was said, wished to invade The *insignia* were conferred on Pīr Muhammad Khān, Bayram's old *protegé*, and he was ordered to see him embark for Makkah Bayrām felt much irritated at this, and finding the road to Gujrat occupied by Raja Maldeo, his enemy, he proceeded to Bikanir to his friend Kalyān Mal

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[1] So *Bad* II III [illegible]

The author of the *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī* states that Abū 'l Fazl does not show much friendliness to Bayrām, whilst Erskine (Elphinstone p. 495, note) represents Abū 'l Fazl as "Bayrām's warm panegyrist"

(No 93) But unable to restrain himself any longer, he entrusted his property, his family, and his young son ʿAbd[u] 'r Rahīm (No 29) to Sher *Muhammad Dīwana, his adopted son and jāgīr holder* of Tabarhinda, and broke out in open rebellion At Dipālpūr, on his way to the Panjab, he heard that Diwāna had squandered the property left in his charge, had insulted his family, and had sent Muzaffar ʿAli (whom Bayrām had dispatched to Diwana to settle matters) to Court a prisoner Mortified at this, Bayram resolved to take Jālindhar Akbar now moved against him, but before he reached him, he heard that Bayrām had been defeated[1] by Atgah Khān (No 15). Bayrām fled to Fort Tilwara on the banks of the Bivāh, followed by Akbar Fighting ensued In the very beginning, Sultān Husayn Jalair was killed, and when his head *was brought to Bayram,[2] he was so sorry that he sent to Akbar and asked* forgiveness This was granted, and Bayrām, accompanied by the principal grandees, went to Akbar's tent, and was pardoned After staying for two days longer with Munʿim Khān, he received a sum of money, and was sent to Makkah The whole camp made a collection (*chandogh*) Hāji Muhammad of Sīstān (No 55) accompanied Bayrām over Nagor to Patan (Nahrwāla) in Gujrāt, where he was hospitably received by Mūsa Khān Fūladi, the governor On Friday, 14th Jumāda I, 968, while alighting from a boat after a trip on the Sahansa Lang Tank, Bayrām was stabbed by a Lohānī Afghān of the name of Mubarak, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māchhiwara "With an *Allāh[u] Akbar* on his lips, he died" The motive of Mubārak Khān is said to have merely been revenge *Another reason is mentioned The Kashmīrī wife of* Salim Shah with her daughter had attached herself to Bayram's suite, in order to go to Hijāz, and it had been settled that Bayrām's son should be betrothed to her, which annoyed the Afghāns Some beggars lifted up Bayrām's body, and took it to the tomb of Shaykh Husam[u] 'd Din Seventeen years later the body was interred in holy ground at Mash,had

Akbar took charge of *ʿAbd[u] 'r Rahīm, Bayram's son* (*vide* No 29), and married soon after Salima Sultān Begum, Bayrām's widow

For بیرام *Bayrām*, we often find the spelling بیرم *Bayram* Firishta *generally calls him Bayrām Khān Turkman* Bayrām was a *Shiʿah*, and a poet of no mean pretensions (*vide* Badāoni III, p 190)

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[1] Near گوناچور (or گوناچور) in the Parganah دکھدار [Bad , دکدار *Maʾāsir*, دکدهار *Sawānih*] near Jalindhar For گوناچور Bad III 40) has گورچلور Firishta says (Lucknow edit, p. 249) the fight took place outside of Machhiwara.

[2] The *Maʾāsir* mentions this fact without giving the source

11 Mun'im Khan, son of Bayrām[1] Beg

Nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of his father Mun'im Khān was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court, as was also his brother Fazil Beg When Humayun, on his flight to Persia, was hard pressed by Mirzā Shāh Husayn of Thathah, one grandee after another went quietly away M and Fazil Beg also were on the point of doing so, when Humāyun made them prisoners, as he had done from motives of prudence and policy with several other nobles M did not, however, accompany Humayun to Persia He rejoined him immediately on his return, and rose at once to high dignity He rejected the governorship of Qandahār, which was given to Bayram Khan In 961, he was appointed *atālīq* of Prince Akbar, and when Humāyūn invaded India, M was left as governor of Kabul in charge of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, then about a year old In Kābul M remained till Bayrām fell into disgrace He joined Akbar, in Zī Hijja, 967, at Lūdhiyana, where Akbar encamped on his expedition against Bayrām M was then appointed *Khān Khānān* and *Vakīl*

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign, when Adham Khān (No 19) killed Atgah Khan (No 15), Mun'im who had been the instigator, fled twice from Court, but was caught the second time in Saror (Sirkar of Qanawj) by the collector of the district, and was brought in by Sayyid Mahmūd Khān of Bārha (No 75) Akbar restored M to his former honours

Mun'im Khān's son, Ghanī Khan, whom his father had left in charge of Kabul, caused disturbances from want of tact Māh Jūjak Begum, Prince M Muhammad Hakīm's mother, advised by Fazil Beg and his son 'Abdu 'l Fath, who hated Ghanī Khān, closed the doors of Kābul when Ghani Khan was once temporarily absent at Faliz Ghani Khān, not finding adherents to oppose her, went to India Mah Jūjak Begum then appointed Fazil Beg as Vakil and 'Abdu 'l Fath as *Na'ib*, but being dissatisfied with them, she killed them both at the advice of Shāh Wali, one of her nobles On account of these disturbances, Akbar, in the eighth year, sent M to Kābul Thinking he could rely on the Kābulis, M left before his contingent was quite ready He was attacked near Jalalabad by Māh Jujak Begum (who in the meantime had killed Shāh Wali and had taken up, apparently criminally, with Haydar Qāsim Koh bar, whom she had made *Vakil*) and defeated M fled to the Ghakhars, and ashamed and hesitating he joined Akbar, who appointed him Commander of the Fort of Āgra

[1] Some MSS read *Miram*, but *Bayrām* is the preferable reading

In the 12th year, after the defeat and death of Khān Zamān (No 13) M was appointed to his jāgirs in Jaunpūr (Bad II, 101), and then concluded peace with Sulaymān Kararānī of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutba and strike coins in Akbar's name

In 982, Akbar, at M's request, went with a flotilla from Āgra to Bihār, and took Hājīpūr and Patna from Dāʿūd, Sulaymān's son M was then appointed Governor of Bihār, and was ordered to follow Dāʿūd into Bengal M moved to Ṭānda (opposite Gaur, on the right side of the Ganges) to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās (No 31) But as the latter soon after died, M, at the advice of Todar Mal, left Ṭānda, and followed up Dāʿūd, who after his defeat at مغلمری submitted at Katak In Ṣafar 983, M returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through Southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where M soon after died of fever

The great bridge of Jaunpūr was built by Munʿim Khān in 981 Its *tārīkh* is صراط المستقیم M's son Ghanī Khān went to ʿĀdilshāh of Bījapūr, where he died

12 Tardī Beg Khān, of Turkistān

A noble of Humāyūn's Court After the conquest of Gujrāt, he was made Governor of Champānīr (Pāwangarh) On Mirza ʿAskarī's defeat by Sultān Bahadur, Tardī Beg also succumbed to him, and retreated to Humāyūn During the emperor's flight from India, Tardī Beg distinguished himself as one of the most faithless[1] companions When passing through the territory of Rāja Māldeo, he even refused Humāyūn a horse, and at Amarkot, he declined to assist the emperor with a portion of the wealth he had collected while at court Hence Rāy Parsād advised H to imprison some of his nobles and take away part of their property by force H, however, returned afterwards most of it In Qandahār, Tardī Beg left the emperor and joined Mirzā ʿAskarī But Mirzā ʿAskarī put most of them on the rack, and forced also Tardī Beg to give him a large sum as ransom

On Humāyūn's return from ʿIraq, Tardī Beg asked pardon for his former faithlessness, was restored to favour, and was sent, in 955, after the death of Mirzā Ulugh Beg, son of Mirzā Sultān, to Dāwar During the conquest of India, T distinguished himself and received Mewāt as

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[1] Elphinstone p 452 note says Tardī Beg was one of the most *faithful* followers of Humāyūn a statement which is contradicted by all native historians

jāgīr In 963, when Humāyūn died (7th Rabīʿ I), T read the *khutba* in Akbar's name, and sent the crown insignia with M Abū 'l Qasim, son of Prince Kamrān, to Akbar in the Panjāb Akbar made T a Commander of Five Thousand, and appointed him governor of Dihlī T drove away Haji Khan, an officer of Sher Shah, from Narnaul On Hemu's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, T too rashly evacuated Dihli, and joined Akbar at Sarhind Bayrām Khan, who did not like T from envy and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar "a sort of permission" (Bad II, 14) had him murdered (end of 963) Akbar was displeased Bayram's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chaghatāʾi nobles looked upon him Tardi Beg was a Sunnī

13 Khan Zaman i Shaybani

His father Haydar Sultan Uzbak i Shaybanī had been made an Amīr in the Jam war with the Qizilbāshes When Humayun returned from Persia, Haydar joined him, together with his two sons ʿAli Quli Khan [Khan Zaman] and Bahadur Khān (No 22), and distinguished himself in the conquest of Qandahār On the march to Kabul, an epidemic broke out in Humayūn's camp, during which Haydar Sultan died

ʿAli Quli Khan distinguished himself in Kabul and in the conquest of Hindustan, was made Āmīr and sent to the Du,ab and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghāns At the time of Akbar's accession, ʿAli Quli Khan fought with Shādi Khan, an Afghan noble, but when he heard that Hemū had gone to Dihlī, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important, but before ʿAli Quli arrived at Dihli, Tardī Beg (No 12) had been defeated, and A returned from Meerut to Akbar at Sarhind ʿAli Quli was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemū near Panīpat and defeated him Though Akbar and Bayram were near, they took no part in this battle ʿAli Quli received the title of *Khān Zamān* Next to Bayram, the restoration of the Mughul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him Khan Zamān then got Sambhal again as jāgīr, cleared the whole north of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghāns, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder In 964, he held Jaunpūr as *Qāʾim maqām* for Sikandar, after the latter had surrendered Mānket In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khan Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to Court, Akbar took away some of Khān Zaman's *tuyūl's*, which led him to rebel Bayrām from generosity did not interfere, but when Pīr Muhammad, Khān Zamān's enemy, had been appointed Vakīl, he took away, in the 4th year, the whole of his

mahalls, and had him appointed commander against the Afghāns who threatened the Jaunpūr District Pīr Muhammad had also Burj ʿAlī thrown from the walls of Fīrūzābād whom Khān Zamān had sent to him to settle matters Khān Zamān now thought it was high time to send away Shaham Beg, went to Jaunpūr, and drove away the Afghāns Upon the fall of Bayram they appeared again under Sher Shāh son of ʿĀdlī[1] with a large army and 500 elephants Khān Zaman, however, defeated them in the streets of Jaunpūr, and carried off immense plunder *and numerous elephants which he retained for himself*

In Zī Qaʿda of the 6th year Akbar moved personally against him, but at Karah (on the Ganges) Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur submitted and delivered the booty and the elephants They were pardoned and sent again to Jaunpūr Soon after, he defeated the Afghāns, who had attacked him in a fortified position near the Son

In the 10th year, Khan Zamān rebelled again in concert with the Uzbaks, and attacked the Tuyūldārs of the province As soon as an imperial army marched against him, he went to Ghāzīpūr, and Akbar on arrival at Jaunpur sent Munʿim Khān against him Being a friend of Khan Zaman he induced him to submit which he did But a body of imperial troops under Muʿizzu 'l Mulk and Raja Todar Mal, having been defeated by Bahadur and Iskandar Uzbak (No 48) the rebellion continued, though repeated attempts were made to bring about a conciliation Having at last sworn to be faithful, Khan Zamān was left in possession of his jagirs, and Akbar returned to Āgra But when the emperor, on the 3rd Jumādā I, 974, marched against M Muhammad Hakim, Khan Zamān ebelled again, read the *Khutba* at Jaunpur in M Muhammad Hakim's name, and marched against Shergarh (Qanauj) Akbar was now resolved no longer to pardon, he left the Panjāb, 12th Ramazan 974, and Āgra on he 26th Shawwāl At Sakit, east of Āgra, Akbar heard that Khān Zamān had fled from Shergarh to Manikpur where Bahadur was, and *rom there* marching along the Ganges had bridged the river near he frontier of Singror (Nawabganj, between Manikpur and Allahabad) Akbar sent a detachment of 6 000 troopers under Muhammad Quli Khan Barlās and Todar Mal to Audh to oppose Iskandar Khān Uzbak, nd marched over Rāy Bareli to Manikpūr, crossed the Ganges with about 00 men, and slept at night near the banks of the river, at a short distance rom Khan Zamān's camp, who must have gone from Nawabganj back gain on the right side of the river to Karah Next morning 1st Zī

[[1] *Mubāriz Khān ʿĀdlī* —B]

Hijja, 974, Akbar with some reinforcements attacked Khan Zamān Bahādur was captured, and brought to Akbar, and he had scarcely been dispatched, when Khān Zaman's head was brought in He had been half killed by an elephant whose driver was called Somnāt, when a soldier cut off his head, for Akbar had promised a muhr for every Mughul's head But another soldier snatched away the head and took it to Akbar The fight took place *dar* *ʿarsa yi Sakrawal* (in Badāonī *Mungarwāl*), " which place has since been called *Fathpur* " The Trig S maps show a small village Fathpūr about 10 or 12 miles south east of Karah, not far from the river

On the same day, though the heat was terrible, Akbar started for and reached Allahabad

Khān Zamān as a poet styled himself Sultan (*vide Proceedings Asiatic Society* September, 1868) *Zamāniyā* (now a station on the E I Railway) was founded by him Though an Uzbak, Khān Zaman, from his long residence in Persia was a staunch Shīʿah Khān Zaman must not be confounded with No 124

14 ʿAbd[u] 'llah Khan Uzbak.

A noble of Humayūn's Court After the defeat of Hemu, he received the title of Shujaʿat Khān, got Kalpi as *tuyul*, and served under Adham Khan (No 19) in Gujrat When Bāz Bahādur, after the death of Pir Muhammad, had taken possession of Mālwa ʿAbd[u] 'llah was made a *Panjhazārī*, and was sent to Mālwa with almost unlimited authority He re-conquered the province and " reigned in Mandū like a king " Akbar found it necessary to move against him ʿAbd[u] 'llah, after some unsuccessful fighting, fled to Gujrat, pursued by Qasim Khān of Nishapūr (No 40) Leaving his wives in the hands of his enemies, he fled with his young son to Changiz Khan, an officer of Sultān Mahmud of Gujrat Hakim ʿAyn[u] 'l Mulk was dispatched to Changiz with the request to deliver up ʿAbd[u] 'llah, or to dismiss him Changiz Khān did the latter ʿAbd[u] 'llah again appeared in Malwa, and was hotly pursued by Shahab[u] 'd Din Ahmad Khān (No 26), who nearly captured him With great difficulties he eluded his pursuers, and managed to reach Jaunpūr, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khān Zaman (No 13)

15 Shams[u] 'd Din Muhammad Atga Khan.

Son of Mir Yār Muhammad of Ghaznī, a simple farmer Shams[u] 'd Din, when about twenty years old, once dreamed that he held the moon under his arm, which dream was justified by the unparalleled luck which he owed to a little deed of kindness Shams[u] 'd Din entered

Prince Kāmrān's service as a common soldier, and was present in the fatal battle of Qanawj (10th Muharram, 947) Humāyūn, after the defeat, crossed the river "on an elephant", and dismounted on the other side, where a soldier who had escaped death in the current, stretched out his hand to assist the emperor to jump on the high bank This soldier was Shamsu 'd Din Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anga*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of *Ji Ji Anaga* Shamsu 'd Din remained with the young prince whilst Humayūn was in Persia, and received after the emperor's restoration the title of *Atga* (foster father) *Khān* Humayūn sent him to Hisār, which Sirkar had been set aside for Prince Akbar's maintenance

After Akbar's accession, Atga Khan was dispatched to Kabul to bring to India the Empress mother and the other Begums Soon after, on the march from Mankoṭ to Lahor, the elephant affair took place, which *has been related under Bayrām Khān, p 331 He held Khushāb in the* Panjab as jagir, and received, after Bayrām's fall, the *insignia* of that chief He was also appointed Governor of the Panjab He defeated Bayram Khan near Jalindhar, before Akbar could come up, for which victory Akbar honoured him with the title of Aʿzam Khan In the sixth year, he came from Lāhor to the Court, and acted as Vakil either in supersession of Munʿim Khan or by "usurpation", at which Akbar connived Munʿim Khān and Shahāb Khān (No 26) felt much annoyed at this, and instigated Adham (*vide* No 19) to kill Atga Khan,[1] 12th Ramazan, 969

For Atga Khān's brothers *vide* Nos 16, 28, 63, and for his sons, Nos 18 and 21 The family is often called in Histories *Atga Khayl*[2] the foster father battalion"

16 Khan i Kalan Mir Muhammad, elder brother of Atga Khan

He served under Kāmrān and Humāyun, and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar Whilst Governor of the Panjab, where most of the *Atgas* (*Atga Khayl*) had jāgirs, he distinguished himself in the war with the Ghakkars, the extirpation of Sultan Ādam, and in keeping down Kamāl Khan In the ninth year he assisted Mirzā Muhammad Hakim against Mirza Sulaymān (No 5), restored him to the throne of Kābul, settled the country, and sent back the imperial troops under

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[1] He stabbed at the *Atga*, and ordered one of his own servants, an Uzbak, of the name of Khusham Beg, to kill him. *Badā,oni* (p 52) and Elphinstone (p 502, l. 1) say that Adham himself killed Atga

[[2] *Khayl* troop tribe etc —P]

by some Afghans, but Muhammad Amin Diwana and Bābā Zambūr managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder and bring them to Aḥmadabād, fighting on the road with the Afghān robbers From Aḥmadābād, M ʿAbdu 'r Rahīm was taken to Akbar (969), who, notwithstanding the insinuations of malicious courtiers, took charge of him He gave him the title of *Mīrzā Khān*, and married him subsequently to Mah Bānū, sister of M ʿAziz Koka (No 21)

In 981, M ʿAbdu 'r Rahim accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan (p 343) In 984 M ʿA was appointed to Gujrat, Vazir Khān having the management of the province In the 25th year, he was made *Mir ʿArz*, and three years later, *atālīq* to Prince Salim Soon after, he was sent against Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrāt Muzaffar, during the first Gujrati war, had fallen into the hands of Akbar's officers He was committed to the charge of Munʿim Khan (No 11), and after his death, to the care of Shah Mansur the Diwan (No 122) But Muzaffar managed, in the 23rd year, to escape, and took refuge with the Kathīs of Jūnagarh, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers But when Iʿtimād Khān was sent to Gujrat to relieve Shihabu d Din (No 26), the servants of the latter joined Muzaffar, and the Gujrāt rebellion commenced Muzaffar took Ahmadabad, and recruited, with the treasures that fell into his hands (*vide* Qutbu 'd Din, No 28), an army of 40,000 troopers Mirzā ʿAbdu 'r Rahim had only 10,000 troopers to oppose him, and though his officers advised him to wait for the arrival of Qulij Khān and the Malwa contingent, Dawlat Khān Lodi (No 309), M ʿA 's *Mīr Shamsher*, reminded him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khān Khānanship M ʿA then attacked Muzaffar, and defeated him in the remarkable battle of Sarkich, three *kos* from Ahmadabād On the arrival of the Malwa contingent, M ʿA defeated Muzaffar a second time near Nādot Muzaffar concealed himself in Rajpipla

For these two victories Akbar made M ʿA a Commander of Five Thousand, and gave him the coveted title of Khan Khānān For this reason historians generally call him Mirza Khān Khānan

When Gujrat was finally conquered, M Khan Khānān gave his whole property to his soldiers, even his inkstand, which was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything The internal affairs of Gujrāt being settled, Qulij Khan was left in the province, and M ʿA rejoined the Court

In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Babar's Chaghtaī Memoirs (*Wāqiʿāt-i Bāburī*) [1]

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[1] *Vide* p. 105, last line.

Towards the end of the same year, he was appointed *Vakīl* and received Jaunpūr as *tuyūl*, but in 999 his jagīr was transferred to Multan, and he received orders to take Thatha (Sind) Passing by the Fort of Sahwān,[1] he took the Fort of Lakhī, "which was considered the key of the country, just as Gaḍhī is in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmīr" After a great deal of fighting Mirza Jānī Beg (No 47), ruler of Thatha, made peace, which M ʿA, being hard pressed for provisions, willingly accepted Sahwān was to be handed over to Akbar, M Jāni Beg was to visit the emperor after the rains, and Mirzā Īrich, M ʿA 's eldest son, was to marry Jānī Beg's daughter But as M Janī Beg, after the rains, delayed to carry out the stipulations, M ʿA moved to Thatha and prepared himself to take it by assault, when M Jānī Beg submitted and accompanied M ʿA to Court[2] Thus Sindh was annexed

When Sulṭān Murād assembled at Bahrōch (Broach) his troops for the conquest of the Dakhin, Akbar dispatched M ʿA to his assistance, giving him Bhilsa as jagīr After delaying there for some time, M ʿA went to Ujain, which annoyed the Prince, though M ʿA wrote him that Raja ʿAlī Khān,[3] of Khāndes was on the point of joining the Imperialists and that he would come with him When M ʿA at last joined head quarters at Fort Chāndor, 30 *kos* from Ahmadnagar, he was slighted by the Prince, and, in consequence of it, he hesitated to take an active part in the operations, leaving the command of his detachment chiefly in the hands of M Shahrukh (No 7) Only on one occasion after Murād's departure from Ahmadnagar, he took a prominent part in the war Muʿtamidu 'd Dawla Suhayl Khān (Briggs II, 274, III, 308) threatened Prince Murad, who had been persuaded by his officers not to engage with him M ʿA, Rāja ʿAlī Khan, and M Shāhrukh, therefore, took it upon themselves to fight the enemy Moving in Jumada II, 1005, from Shahpūr, M ʿA met Suhayl near the town of Ashtī, 12 *kos* from Pathrī The fight was unusually severe Raja ʿAlī Khān with five or six of his principal officers and five hundred troopers were killed (Briggs IV, 324) The night put an end to the engagement, but each party, believing itself victorious, remained under arms When next morning, M ʿA 's troopers went to the river [near Sūpā, *Firishta*] to get water, they were attacked by 25,000 of the enemy's horse Dawlat Khan, who commanded

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[1] *Also called Siwastān, on the right bank of the Indus Lakhī (Lakkee) lies a little* south of Sahwan

[2] The conquest of Sindh forms the subject of a Masnawī by Mulla Shikebī, whom Abū'l Faẓl *mentions below among the poets of Akbar's age*

[3] Khāfī Khān calls him *Rājī* ʿAlī Khān.

M ʿA 's avantguard, said to him, "It is dying a useless death to fall fighting with but 600 troopers against such odds" "Do you forget Dihli ?", asked M ʿA "If we keep up," replied Dawlat Khān, "against such odds, we have discovered a hundred Dihlis, and if we die, matters rest with God" Qāsim of Barha[1] and several other Sayyids were near, and on hearing M ʿA 's resolution to fight, he said, "Well, let us fight as Hindūstanīs, nothing is left but death, but ask the Khān Khānān what he means to do" Dawlat Khān returned, and said to M ʿA "Their numbers are immense, and victory rests with heaven, point out a place where we can find you, should we be defeated" "Under the corpses," said M ʿA Thereupon they charged the flank of the enemy and routed them After this signal victory, M ʿA distributed 75 lacs of rupees among his soldiers At the request of the Prince, M ʿA was soon after recalled (1006)

In the same year Mah Bānū, M ʿA 's wife, died

In the 44th year Prince Dānyāl was appointed to the Dakhin, and M ʿA was ordered to join the Prince, and besiege Ahmadnagar The town, as is known from the histories, was taken after a siege of 4 months and 4 days[2] M ʿA then joined the Court, bringing with him Bahādur ibn i Ibrāhim, who had been set up as Nizām Shāh Danyāl was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar *Dāndes*,[3] and married to Jānā Begum, M ʿA 's daughter The Khān Khānān was also ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar, to keep down a party that had made the son of Shāh ʿAli, uncle of Murtaza, Nizam Shāh

After the death of Akbar, matters in the Dakhin did not improve In the 3rd year of Jahāngir (1017), M ʿA promised to bring the war to a close in two years if he received a sufficient number of troops Shāhzāda Parwiz, under the *Atālīq*ship of Āsaf Khan, Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodi, and others, were appointed to assist M ʿA He took the Prince in the rains from Burhānpūr to Balāghāt, but in consequence of the usual duplicity and rancour displayed by the Amirs, the imperial army suffered from want of provisions and loss of cattle, and M ʿA was compelled to conclude a treaty dishonourable for Jahāngīr, who appointed

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[1] The Sayyids of Bārha considered it their privilege to fight in the *Harāwal* or van. *Vide* No 75

[2] Abu l Fazl and the Lucknow edition of Firishta call the eunuch who murdered Chānd Bībī [Persian] or [Persian] Briggs has Hamid Khān. For *Ahang Khān*, which Briggs gives, all copies of the Akbarnāma and the Maʿāṣir have *Abhang Khān*. The Lucknow Ed of Firishta has *Ahang Khān* The differences, moreover, between Abū 'l Fazl and Firishta in details are very remarkable.

[3] A combination of the words *Dānyāl* and *Khāndes*

Khān Jahān Lodī as his successor, and sent Mahābat Khān, subsequently M ʿA 's enemy, to bring the unsuccessful commander to Court

In the 5th year, M ʿA received Kālpi and Qanawj as *tuyūl*, with orders to crush the rebels in those districts (*vide* p 341, note) Some time afterwards, M ʿA was again sent to the Dakhin, as matters there had not improved, but he did not gain any advantage either

In the 11th year (1025) Jahāngīr, at last, dispatched Prince Khurram, to whom he had given the title of Shāh [1] Jahāngīr himself fixed his residence at Mandu in Mālwa, in order to be nearer the scene of war, while Shāh Khurram selected Burhānpūr as Head Quarters Here the Prince also married the daughter of Shāhnawāz Khan, M ʿA 's son ʿĀdil Shāh and Qutbᵘ 'l Mulk sent tribute and submitted, and Jahāngīr bestowed upon ʿĀdil Shāh the title of *Farzand* (son), and ʿAmbar Malik handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other Forts, together with the Parganas of Bālāghāt, which he had conquered Shāh Khurram then appointed M ʿA Sūbahdār of Khāndes, Barār, and Ahmadnagar, whilst Shahnawāz Khān was appointed to Bālaghat Leaving 30,000 horse and 7,000 artillery in the Dakhin, Shah Khurram joined his father at Mandū, where new honours awaited him [2]

In the 15th year, Malik ʿAmbar "broke" the treaty, and fell upon the Thānadārs of the Mughuls Darāb Khān, M ʿA 's second son, retreated from Balaghāt to Balapūr, and driven from there, he went to Burhanpūr where he and his father were besieged On Shāhjahān's approach, the besiegers dispersed

In the 17th year (1031) Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia attacked Qandahar, and Shāhjahān and ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim were called to Court to take command against the Persians, but before they joined, Prince Parwiz, through Nūr Jahān's influence, had been appointed heir apparent, and Mahābat Khān had been raised to the dignity of *Khān Khānān* Shāhjahan rebelled, returned with M ʿA to Mandū, and then moved to Burhānpūr On the march thither, Shāhjahan intercepted a letter which M ʿA had secretly

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[1] "Since the time of Timūr no Prince had received this title" *Maʾāsir* *Shāh Khurram* received subsequently the title of *Shāhjahān* which he retained as king, in conjunction with the titles of *Sāhib Qirān i Sānī* and *Aʿlā Hazrat* (اعلیٰ حضرت) The last title had also been used by Sulaymān i Kararānī, king of Bengal Awrangzeb, in imitation of it, adopted the title of *Aʿlā Hazrat*

[2] He received the title of *Shāhjahān* and was made a *Sīhhazārī*, or Commander of Thirty Thousand, personal (brevet) rank, and a contingent of 20 000 (*az asl wa izāfa*, i.e., his former contingent *plus* an increase in troops) He was also allowed a *bandali* (*vide* p. 31[illegible]).

written to Mahābat Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Darāb Khān, and sent him to Fort Āsīr, but released them soon after on *parole* Parwiz and Mahābat Khān had, in the meantime, arrived at the Narbadda to capture Shāhjahān Bayrām Beg, an officer of Shāhjahān's, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the imperials from crossing At M ʿA 's advice, Shāhjahān proposed, at this time, an armistice He made M ʿA swear upon the Qurʾān not to betray him, and sent him as ambassador to Parwiz Mahābat Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and M ʿA , forgetful of his oath, joined Prince Parwiz, and did not return to Shāhjahān, who now fled from Burhānpūr, marching through Talingāna to Orīsa and Bengal Mahabat and M ʿA followed him up a short distance beyond the Tapti M ʿA wrote to Rāja Bhīm, a principal courtier of the Dawlatshāhī party, to tell Shahjahān, that he (M ʿA) would do every thing in his power to detain the imperial army, if the prince would allow his sons to join him Rāja Bhīm replied that the prince had still from five to six thousand followers, and that he would kill M ʿA 's sons should it come to a fight Shāhjahān then moved into Bengal and Bihār, of which he made Darab Khan, who had evidently attached himself to the prince, Governor Mahābat Khan had in the meantime returned to Ilahabad to oppose Shāhjahān, and had placed M ʿA , who looked upon him with distrust, under surveillance

In the 21st year, Jahāngir ordered Mahābat Khan to send M ʿA to court, where he was reinstated in his titles and honours He afterwards retired to his jagīr at Lāhor, when Mahābat Khan followed him and sent him back to Dihli Soon after the failure of his scheme of retaining possession of Jahangir's person, and the return of the monarch from Kabul Mahabat Khān had to fly Nūr Jahan now appointed M ʿA to follow up Mahabat, and contributed herself twelve lacs of rupees to the expedition But before the necessary preparations had been completed, M ʿA fell ill at Lahor, and on his arrival at Dihli, he died at the age of seventy two, in the end of Jahangir's 21st year (1036) The words *Khān Sipahsālār kū* (where ■ the Khān Commander?) are the *tārikh* of his death

M ʿA 's great deeds are the conquests of Gujrāt and Sind and the defeat of Suhayl Khan of Bijapūr During Jahangir's reign, he did nothing remarkable, nor was he treated with the respect which he had enjoyed during the lifetime of Akbar, though he was allowed to retain his rank For nearly thirty years he had been serving in the Dakhin

Every grandee, and even the princes, accused him of secret friendship with the rulers of the Dakhin, and ʿAbd 'l Fazl, on one occasion, gave his *fatwa* that M ʿA was a rebel Under Jahāngīr, he was the open friend of Malik ʿAmbar, and Muhammad Maʿsūm, one of his servants, once informed the emperor that he would find Malik ʿAmbar's correspondence in the possession of ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim of Lakhnau (No 197), who was much attached to M ʿA Mahābat Khān was appointed to inquire into this, but ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahīm of Lakhnau would not betray his friend People said, M ʿA 's *motto* was, "people should hurt their enemies under the *mask of friendship,*" and all seem to have been inclined to blame him for maliciousness and faithlessness He used to get daily reports from his newswriters whom he had posted at various stations He read their reports at night, and tore them up But he was also proverbial for his liberality and love of letters The *Maʾāsir i Rahīmī*[1] is a splendid testimony of his generosity, it shows that he was the Mœcenas of Akbar's age People, by a happy comparison, called him Mir ʿAli Sher (*vide* p 107, note 6) M ʿA wrote Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi with great fluency As poet he wrote under the name of *Rahīm*

[illegible] M ʿA was a Sunni, but people [illegible]

[illegible] People said, he was the son of a slave girl, but he appears to have been a Rajpūt He grew up with M ʿA 's sons, and was as pious as he was courageous He fell with his son Fīrūz Khan and 40 attendants in a fight with Mahabat Khān who had imprisoned his master M ʿA built him a tomb in Dihli, which is now called *Nīla Burj*, near Humāyun's tomb (*Āsārᵘ 's sanādīd*)

M ʿA outlived his four sons

1 *Mīrzā Irich* (or *Iraj*), *Shahnawaz Khān Bahādur* (No 255) When young he used to be called *Khān Khanān i jauān* He distinguished himself by his courage In the 40th year of Akbar he was made a Commander of 400 In the 47th year, after a fight[3] with Malik ʿAmbar who got wounded, he received the title of *Bahādur* During the reign of Jahāngīr he was called Shahnawaz Khān (*vide* Tuzuk, p 95), and was made a Commander of Five Thousand He died in 1028, from excessive drinking (*Vide* Tuzuk, p 270)

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[1] Called *Maʾāsir i Rahīmī* in allusion to his name M ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahīm *Vide* Elliot's Index (1st edition) p 377

[2] Wherever Shiʿahs are in the minority, they practise if necessary, *taqiyya* (lit, fear caution) i e, they do as if they were Sunnis A Shiʿha may even vilify his own sect if his personal safety requires it

[[3] Near Nander —B.]

Two of his sons are mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* 1 Mirzā Khān He was Fawjdar of Kāngrah, and retired "foolishly" from public life in Rabīʿ II, 1046 But he was re-employed and was a Commander of Three Thousand in 1055 (*Pādishāhnāma* II, pp 483, 723) 2 Lashkar-shikan Khān He got in 1047 a present of 4,000 R, and received an appointment in Bengal

Historians call Shahnawāz Khān generally *Shahnawāz Khān i Jahāngīrī*, to distinguish him from Shahnawaz Khān i Ṣafawī, a grandee of Shāhjahan

2 *Mirzā Dārāb Dārāb-Khān* He has been mentioned above (p 337) When Shāhjahān made him Governor of Bengal, he retained his wife, a son and a daughter, and a son of Shahnawaz Khān as hostages (*yarghamāl*) When the prince after the fight near the Tons (Benares) had again to go to the Dakhin, he wrote to Dārāb Khān to move to Gaḍhi (N W entrance of Bengal) and join him Dārab wrote him that he could not come, being besieged by the zamindars of the place He fell at last into the hands of Parwiz and Mahābat Khan, and as Jahāngir had "no objections", Mahabat executed him (1035), wrapped his head in a table cloth, and sent it to his father M ʿA as a present of a 'melon" A short time before ʿAbduʾ 'llah Khān had killed Darab's son and a son of Shahnawāz Khan

3 *Mirzā Rahmān Dād* His mother belonged to the Sandahas of Amarkot Though very dissolute, he was the most liked by his father He died, at Bālapūr, about the same time as his eldest brother *Vide* Tuzuk, p 315 No one dared to inform his father of the event, till people sent at last the famous saint Hazrat ʿIsa of Sindh to M ʿA on a visit of condolence

4 *Mirzā Amruʾ 'llah* He grew up without education and died when young

30 Raja Man Singh son of Bhagwan Das

He was born at Amber, and is the son of Raja Bhagwan Das (No 27) European historians say that he was the adopted son of Raja Bh D, but Muhammadan historians do not allude to this circumstance, perhaps because Hindus make absolutely no difference between a real and an adopted son He is also known under the title of *Mirzā Rāja*, and Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand* (son)

He joined Akbar with Bihari Mal (p 329) In 984 he was appointed against Rānā Kika, and gained, in 985[1] the great battle near Goganda[2]

[[1] Corrected in No 109 —B]

[2] The best account of this battle is to be found in Bada oni who was an eye-witness *Bad*, II 230 to 237 The whole is left out in Briggs

Rāja Rāmsāh of Gwālıyār was killed with his sons, whilst the Rānā himself in the *melee* was wounded by Man Singh Akbar, however, felt annoyed, because M S did not follow up his victory, and so recalled him

When Bhagwān Dās was appointed governor of the Panjab, M S commanded the districts along the Indus In the year 993, Prince M Muhammad Hakīm died, and M S was sent to Kābul to keep the country in order He rejoined Akbar near the Indus with M Muhammad Hakım's sons (M Afrasyāb and M Kayqubād) but was soon after sent back to Kābul, where he chastised the Raushanis who, like other Afghān tribes, were given to predatory incursions After the death of Rāja Bir Bar, in the war with the Yūsufzāʾis, M S was appointed to the command of the army in Kabul, in supercession of Zayn Khān Koka (No 34) and Hakīm Abū 'l Fath He was also put in charge of Zabulistan, as Bhagwan Das had a fit of madness (p 358) In the 32nd year, M S was recalled in consequence of loud complaints of the people against the Rajputs and M S's indifference to the Kabulis and was appointed Governor of Bihār, to which province the *tuyūls* of the Kachhwahas had been transferred

After the death of Bhagwan Dās in 998, M S, who hitherto had the title of *Kūwar*, received from Akbar the title of Raja and a Command of Five Thousand In Bihar he punished several refractory Zamindars, as Pūran Mal and Raja Sangram, and received their tribute

The principal events in Mān Singh's life from 997 to 1015 are given in Stewart's History of Bengal (pp 114 to 121)[1] In the 35th year, M S invaded Orisa by way of Jhārkand (Chuttiā Nagpūr) The result of this expedition was the cession of Pūri In the 37th year, when the Afghāns under Khwāja Sulaymān and Khwāja ʿUsmān attacked Pūri, M S again invaded Orisa, and re annexed, in 1000 that province to the Dihlī empire In the 39th year, M S continued his conquests in Bhāṭī (the eastern portions of the Sundarban), and built, in the following year, Akbarnagar, or Rajmahall, at a place which Sher Shah, before him, had selected as a convenient spot, as also Salimnagar, the Fort of Sherpur Murcha (Mymensing) The whole of Eastern Bengal on the right side of the Brahmaputra was likewise annexed In the 41st year, M S married the sister of Lachmi Narāʾin, Rāja of Kūch Bihar, who had

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[1] The name of 'Sayyid Khān (سید سلطان) which occurs several times in Stewart l. c., should be corrected to Saʿīd Khān (سعید خان) the same grandee whose biography was given above (p 351) Such as take an interest in the History of Bengal and Orisa should make use of the Akbarnāma, which contains many new facts and details not given in Stewart

declared himself a vassal of the Mughul empire In the same year, M S fell dangerously ill at Ghoraghat, when the Afghans attacked him. They were soon after driven back by Himmat Singh, one of M S 's sons,[1] into the Sundarban In the 42nd year, M S had to send a detachment under Hijaz Khan into Küch Bihar for the protection of Lachmi Narain In the 44th year M S, at Akbar s request, joined the Dakhin war Thinking that the Afghans, in consequence of the death of their leader the rich ʿIsa of Ghoraghat, would remain quiet, M S appointed his son Jagat Singh (No 160) his deputy, and joined Prince Salim at Ajmir Jagat Singh died after a short time, and was succeeded by Maha Singh, a grandson of M S The Afghans under ʿUsman used this opportunity, defeated, in the 45th year, the imperials near Bhadrak in Orisa, and occupied a great portion of Bengal M S then hastened back over Rahtas, and defeated the Afghans near Sherpur ʿAtai, a town of the Sirkar of Sharifabād, which extended from Bardwan to Fath Singh, S of Murshibabad After this victory, which obliged ʿUsman to retreat to Orisa, M S paid a visit to the emperor, who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion It is noticeable that Akbar in raising M S to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindū above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M Shahrukh (*vide* p 326) and M. ʿAziz Koka (No 21) were raised to the same dignity

M S remained in Bengal till 1013, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital The part which he played at the time of Akbar's death is known from the histories Jahangir thought it prudent to overlook the conspiracy which the Raja had made, and sent him to Bengal But soon after (1015), he was recalled and ordered to quell disturbances in Rohtas (Bihar), after which he joined the Emperor In the 3rd year of Jahangir s reign, he was permitted to go to his home, where he raised levies, in order to serve with M ʿAbdu 'r Rahim (No 29) in the Dakhin war

M S died a natural death in the 9th year of J 's reign, whilst in the Dakhin Sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves on the funeral pile At the time of his death, only one of his numerous sons was alive Bhao Singh regarding whose succession to the title, *vide* Tuzuk i Jahangiri, p 130

The ground on which the Taj at Āgra stands, belonged to Man Singh

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[1] He died in 1005

31. **Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās**, a descendant of the Barmaqs (?) [1]

He served under Humāyūn, and held Multān as *jāgīr* In the beginning of Akbar's reign, he conveyed, together with Shams[u] 'd Dīn Atga (No 15) the princesses from Kābul to India His *tuyūl* was subsequently transferred to Nāgor For a short time he was also Governor of Mālwa

In the 12th year, he was sent against Iskandar Khān Uzbak (*vide* No 48) in Audh *After the death of Khān Zamān, Iskandar fled to* Bengal, and Audh was given to Muḥammad Quli Khān as *jāgīr*

He subsequently served under Mun'im Khān in Bihār and Bengal In the 19th year when Dā'ūd had withdrawn to Sātgāw (Hūglī) Mun'im Khān dispatched M Q Kh to follow up the Afghans, whilst he remained with Rāja Ṭodar Mal in Tānda to settle financial matters When M Q Khān arrived at Sātgāw Dā'ūd withdrew to Orisa, to which country *neither M Q Khan nor his officers had much inclination to go From* Satgāw M Q Khān invaded the district of Jesar (Jessore), where Ṣarmadi, a friend of Dā'ūd's, had rebelled, but the imperialists met with no success, and returned to Satgāw Mun'im Khan at last ordered Todar Mal to join M G Khān, and subsequently both moved into Orisa Soon after passing the frontier M Q Khan died at Mednipūr (Midnapore), Ramazan, 982 He seems to have died a natural death, though some accused one of his eunuchs of foul play

His son, *Mīrzā Farīdūn Barlās* (No 227) He served under M 'Abd[u] 'r Rahim (No 29) in Sind, and accompanied in 1001, Jani Beg (No 47) to Court He was a Commander of Five Hundred Under Jahāngīr, *he was rapidly promoted, and held, in the 8th year, a command* of Two Thousand, when he served under Prince Khurram against Rāna Amr Singh He died during the expedition

His son Mihr 'Alī Barlās was made by Jahāngīr a Commander of One Thousand

32 **Tarson Khan**, sister's son of Shah Muhammad Sayf[u] 'l Mulk

In Histories he is called Tarson Muhammad Khān Sayf[u] 'l Mulk *had been an independent ruler in* Gharjistān (a part of Khurāsān), but he had to submit to Ṭahmasp (A H 940)

Tarson Khān was in the service of Bayrām Khān (No 10), and joined Akbar when Bayrām fell into disgrace Akbar sent him, together with Hājī Muhammad Sīstanī (No 55), to see Bayrām on his way to Makkah, as far as Nāgor, then the frontier of the empire T Kh was subsequently promoted to the post of a Commander of Five Thousand, and was for some time Governor of Bhakkar (*vide* No 107), and then of Patan in Gujrāt In the 21st year he served in Rājpūtānā, *vide* No 44 In the 23rd year he was made Fawjdār of Jaunpūr, at the same time that Mullā Muhammad Yazdī (*vide* p 198) was appointed Qāzīyu 'l Quzāt and Sadr of the Sirkār When the Jaunpūr Rebellion broke out, T Kh with other faithful Amīrs moved to Bihār against Bahādur Khan and ʿArab Khān, who were joined by Maʿsūm Khān Farankhūdī (No 157) In the 27th year he served under M ʿAzīz Koka in Bihār When the Qāqshāls (No 50) left Maʿsūm Khān and joined the Imperialists, M ʿAzīz sent T Kh to Ghoraghāt, where most of the Qāqshāls had jāgīrs T Kh stayed at Tājpūr (Dinagepore), settling matters, when Maʿsūm Khān came with a large army from Bhāṭī (بهاتی),[1] and plundered Western Bengal, approaching even the environs of Tānda, he also sent a detachment against T Kh, who was besieged in the fort of Tājpur The siege was raised by a corps sent by Shāhbāz Khān i Kambū (No 80) from Patna, and T Kh was thus enabled to join Shāhbāz and drive away the rebels from Upper Bengal Maʿsūm fled again to Bhatī, and Shahbaz and T Kh planned an expedition against ʿĪsa, who had afforded Maʿsūm shelter They crossed the Ganges at Khizrpūr, which stands on the frontier of Bhaṭī, took Sunnārgāw, plundered Baktarāpur (?), where ʿĪsa used to live, and nearly caught Maʿsūm At this juncture, ʿĪsa returned from an expedition to Kūch Bihār, and attacked the Imperialists near Bhowāl (N of Dacca) The Imperialists had entrenched themselves

near the Brahmaputra, and the fighting was continued for a long time both by land and on the river At one time T Kh with a small detachment came too near a position held by the enemy, and was attacked by Maʿsūm Khan and wounded Immediately afterwards he was caught and killed by Maʿsūm (992) For a relation of his, *vide* No 400

33 Qiya Khān Gung

Qiyā is a Turkish word and means *zeb*, ornament *Gung*, if it is the Persian word, means "dumb" He served under Humāyun and held Kol Jalali On the approach of Hemu, he joined Tardi Beg (No 12) in Dihli, and retreated with him After Hemū's defeat, Qiya was sent to Āgra, and was raised to the dignity of a Commander of Five Thousand Several parganas in Gwāliar having been given to him as *tuyūl* Qiya

hold the Fort for a long time, wished [1] to hand it over for a consideration to Rāja Ramsah, whose ancestors had held Gwaliar, when Qiya Khān arrived, and after defeating the Raja, prepared himself to besiege Bhil Khān When Akbar, in 966, came to Āgra, he sent a detachment to assist Qiya, and Bhil Khan submitted

He was a friend of Bayram, but was the first that left him and joined Akbar

A few years later, Qiyâ Khān joined Khān Zamān's rebellion, but repented and was pardoned, at the request of Munʿim Khan

After the first conquest of Bengal, Q Kh was sent to Orisa, to settle matters He remained in Orisa and Bengal during the Bengal rebellion, and when, in the 25th year, the Imperialists withdrew from that country, Qutlū Khan seized upon Orisa, and besieged Qiya Khan in some fort Deserted by his soldiers, Q Kh was killed (989) [2]

Tardī Khān (No 101), his son, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred He accompanied Prince Danyāl to the Dakhin, but fell later in disgrace In the 49th year he was restored and promoted to a command of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and got a present of ▮ lacs of Rupees

V *Commanders of Four Thousand Five Hundred*

34 Zayn Khan,[1] son of Khwāja Maqsud of Harat

His father, Khwaja Maqsūd ʿAlī, was a servant of Akbar's mother The name of his mother was Picha Jān Anaga, she was one of Akbar's nurses On Humayun's flight to Persia, Maqsūd was always near the howdah of Akbar's mother, and remained attached to her in all her misfortunes His brother was Khwāja Hasan (Zayn Khan's uncle), whose daughter married Prince Salim She is the mother of Prince Parwiz

In 993, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, had died, and Akbar crossed the Indus for Zabulistan Zayn Khan was at that time a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred, and was sent against the Yusufzā,is This tribe, says ʿAbu l Fazl, had formerly been in Qarabagh and Qandahār, and had invaded Kabul, where a great number of them were killed by M Ulugh B g The remainder settled at Lamghanat, and subsequently at Ishtaghar For the last one hundred years they had held the territory of Bajor,[2] and were notorious robbers In Bajor, there was also a tribe of the name of Sultāni, who traced their descent to a daughter of Sultan Sikandar The Yūsufza,is deprived them treacherously of their district, a few of the Sultanides, however, remained in Bajor from attachment to their old country

On a former occasion, when Akbar had moved against M Muhammad Hakim, the chiefs of the Yusufza,is submitted, and one of them, Kalu, went with Akbar to Āgra and was hospitably treated He fled, however, but was caught by Shamsu 'd Din Khafī (No 159) near Atak, and was sent back, and although Akbar continued to treat him kindly, he fled again and stirred up his countrymen

Zayn Khan moved into the District of Bajor[2] (north of Pashawar), and punished the Yūsufza,is Several chiefs asked for pardon After this he erected a fort in Jakdara, in the middle of the country, and defeated the enemies in twenty three fights He had at last to ask

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[1] As he was Akbar's foster brother, he is generally called in histories, Zayn Khān Koka.

[[2] Or Bijūr (?).—P]

for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rāja Bīr Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l Fath with some troops Zayn Khān asked them to attack the Afghāns whilst he would occupy the conquered districts, or he would attack the enemies and they should hold the district But Bīr Bar and Ḥakīm Abū 'l Fath, who were no friends of Zayn Khān, proposed that they should attack the Yūsufzā*is together and then go back Z Kh said it would not do to return without better results from a country which had cost so many sacrifices, else, the best thing they could do, was to return the same way they had come But to this they would not listen, and returned by another road (over کراکر) Z Kh paid no attention to their insubordination and joined them, chiefly because he was afraid they would denounce him at Court As soon as the Afghāns saw the Imperialists returning, they attacked them in every narrow valley On passing the Girewa[1] Balandrī (گریوۂ بلندری), Z Kh who commanded the rear (*chandāwal*), was so severely attacked that he had to face them Arrows and stones were showered from all sides on the Imperialists, the soldiers got bewildered, and the horses ran into the train of elephants Many lives were lost Z Kh, unable to prevent a rout, rushed among the Afghāns seeking death, when Jānish Bahādur (No 235) got hold of the reins of his horse, and led him by force out of the *melee* In the greatest disorder the Imperialists reached the next station, when the mere rumour of an approach of the Afghāns dispersed the soldiers In the darkness of night most of them lost their way, and several detachments entered the valleys occupied by the Afghāns Their enemies being engaged in plundering, they were at first safe, but next day were all cut off This was the occasion when Bīr Bar with 500 officers fell (*vide* p 214)

In the 31st year (994), Z Kh operated successfully against the Mahmands and Ghorīs near Pashāwar, who under their chief Jalālu 'd-Din Rawshanī had committed numerous predations In the next year, Z Kh was made governor of Zābulistan *vice* Mān Singh, and moved, in the 33rd year, against the Yusufza*is After eight months' fighting they submitted, but Z Kh insisted on occupying their territory He followed the same policy as before, and erected a large Fort on the banks of the river Pajkora[2] (پنجکوره), where their district commences During the festival of the *ʿId i Qurbānī* (Baqr ʿId, in Zī Hijjah), he surprised the Afghans and took possession of the whole district, erecting a fort wherever

[1] *Girewa* means a *hill*
[2] Or Panjkora

he thought necessary, and leaving in each a sufficient number of soldiers [1] (*Vide* No 46)

In the 35th year he was sent to punish several rebellious zamīndārs in the Himalayas Most of them, as Raja Budi (Badhi) Chand of Nagarkot (*vide* p 349), Rāy Pertab of Mānkot, Raja Parisrām of Mount Jamū, Rāja Basū of Mau, Rāy Baldhadr of Lakhinpūr, *etc*, submitted and accompanied Z Kh to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lac of foot soldiers

After having been made, in the 36th year, a Commander of Four Thousand, Z Kh was allowed an *ʿalam* and a *naqqāra* (*vide* p 52), and was appointed, in the following year, governor of the districts beyond the Indus up to the Hindukush, when new opportunities offered for punishing the mountaineers

In the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand and governor of Kābul, *vice* Qulij Khan In the same year, Prince Salim fell in love with Z Kh 's daughter, and married her soon after, though Akbar was displeased (*vide* p 288, l. 1, from below) With the death of Jalal Khan Rawshānī the disturbances in Zabulistān came to an end, and Z Kh was ordered to Lahor, from where Akbar, on his return from Burhanpūr, called him to Āgra

Z Kh died in 1010, partly from excessive drinking He played on several instruments, and composed poems As Saʿid Khān (No 25) for his eunuchs, and Qulij Khān (No 42) for his horses, so was Z Kh famous for his elephants

A son of his, Shukr[u] 'Ullah (No 373), *vide* below, was a Commander of Two Hundred The *Maʿāṯir* mentions another son, Mughul Khān, who served under Jahāngir and Shahjahan (*vide* Padishāhn II, p 641) and died 19th Ramaẓan, 1067 He commanded for some time Fort Odgir in the Dakhin where the author of the *Maʿāṯir* later found an inscription referring to his appointment For a second daughter, *vide* p 346

For Zayn Khan's brother, *vide* No 38

35 Mirzā Yusuf Khān, son of Mir Ahmad i Razawi

He was a real Sayyid of Mashhad, and was much liked by Akbar In the 30th year he was a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred

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[1] Such forts were called *Thānas* now the common word for a police station

[2] *Thāna* means a corps of cavalry matchlockmen, and archers, stationed within an enclosure. Their duty is to guard the roads, to hold the places surrounding the *Thāna*, and to dispatch provisions (*rasad*) to the next *Thāna* " *Pādishāhnāma* I, p. 167

How old the use of the word *Thāna* is, may be seen from the fact that it occurs frequently on Tribenī and Sātgāw inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hijrah.

When Shahbaz Khan left Bihar for Bengal, M Yusuf Khan was sent from Audh to keep Bihar In the 32nd year (995) when Qasim Khan (No 59) resigned, M Y was sent to Kashmir as ruler He was much liked by the people of that country, conciliated Shams Chak, the claimant to the throne, and sent him to Court In the 34th year (997) Akbar visited Kashmir, and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country In the districts of Mararaj and Kamraj i e, the upper and lower districts on both sides of the Bahat river, he fixed the taxes at one fourth

In Kashmir every piece of ground is called *patta*, though a *patta* originally is equal to 1 Bigha, 1 Biswa (*Ilāhī*) of Akbar Two and a half *pattas* and a little more are equal to 1 *Kashmīrī* Bigha Three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmir, and each village is assessed at some *kharwars* of *shālī* A *kharwār* is equal to 3 *mans*, 8 *sers* of Akbar The principal weight used in Kashmir is the *tark*, which is equal to 8 *sers* of Akbar (*vide* p 90 note 2) At the time of the *Rabīʿ* crop, they take 2 *tarks* from each *patta* of wheat and vetches (*māsh*) The country having been recently annexed was assessed very lightly, at 22 lacs *kharwārs*, which was 2 lacs more than before the *kharwār* being reckoned at 16 *dams* For this sum Akbar handed over Kashmir to M Y Kh

In the 36th year, one of M Y Kh s Mutasaddis (revenue clerks) fled to Court, and stated that the revenue should be 50 *per cent* (*dah pānzdah*) higher, and the *kharwār* should be valued at 29 *dams* M Y Kh informed Akbar that so high an assessment was an impossibility, but Akbar sent Qazi Nuru 'llah and Qazi ʿAli to Kashmir to report on the revenue As M Y Khan s people assumed a threatening attitude, Nuru 'llah returned and Akbar sent Hasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmari (No 167) to Kashmir On his arrival some of M Y Kh 's people made a conspiracy, and stirred up the malcontents of the country, who collected under Yadgar, the son of M Y Kh 's uncle The disturbances became so serious that Qazi ʿAli and Hasan Beg returned to Hindustan, but the rebels blockaded the roads and killed Qazi ʿAli Hasan Beg escaped, not without wounds Yadgar then read the *khutba* in his name, and had dies prepared for striking coins Several bad omens foreshadowed his speedy ruin Without having any knowledge of this rebellion, Akbar revisited Kashmir, but when he was informed of the state of the country, he put M Y Kh under the charge of Abu 'l Fazl Yadgar in vain tried to oppose Akbar at the frontier passes, and fled from Srinagar to Hirapur, where some of M Y Kh 's men spread at night the rumour that Akbar had suddenly arrived In the confusion which ensued, Yadgar fled outside of the camp,

accompanied by a servant of the name of Yūsuf His camp was plundered and M Y. Kh 's men got hold of Yūsuf, who had returned to get a horse for his master They tortured him, till he confessed where Yādgār was Soon after, they caught him and cut off his head.

As M Y Kh refused to remain in charge of Kashmir under the increased revenue, the country was made *Khāliṣa*, and Shams[u] 'd Dīn Khafī (No 159) was appointed Governor with 3,000 troops Some time after, at Prince Salim's request, M Y Kh was re instated

In the 38th year, M Y Kh was appointed Dārogha of the Topkhāna, and received Jaunpūr as *tuyūl*, *vice* Qulij Khān (1002), but in the 41st year his *jāgīr* was transferred to Gujrāt, to enable him to serve in the Dakhin In the following year, when Ṣādiq of Harāt (No 43) died, M Y Kh was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Murād, whom he joined in Balapūr (Barar) After the death of Prince Murad (p 322), M Y Kh distinguished himself, together with Abū 'l Fazl, in the Dakhin wars, and later, under Prince Danyāl, in the conquest of Aḥmadābād, on which occasion M Y Kh is said to have been more energetic than other grandees.

After joining Akbar's Court at Burhānpūr, in the 46th year, M Y Kh went again to Prince Danyāl, who, in 1010, sent him to assist Abū 'l Fazl and the Khān Khānān at Balāghat But soon after, he died of an abscess at Jalnāpūr,[1] in Jumāda II, of the same year His body was taken to Mash had

M Y Kh generally stayed at Sultanpūr, which he looked upon as his Indian home His contingent consisted exclusively of Rohilas, whose wages he paid monthly

His sons 1 *Mirzā Lashkarī Ṣafshikan Khān* (No 375) He was under Akbar Thānadār of Bir (East of Ahmadnagar), and got from Jahangir the title of Safdar Khān, and a *tuyūl* in Bihār In the 5th year (of Jahangir), he was promoted to the post of a Commander of 1,500, with 700 horse, and was made in the following year Sūbadār of Kashmir In the 8th year, he was removed from his office In the 21st year, when Mahābat Khān had fled, he was sent towards Dihli to intercept Mahābat's treasures which were known to have arrived from Bengal This he did In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was made a Commander of 2,500, and 2,000 horse, received the title of Ṣafshikan Khān, and was

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[1] My copy of the *Tabaqāt* as also another MS which I have seen, contains the following entry— *At the time he was appointed to operate against Rāju, he died at Jannatabad in the Dakhin, which is generally called Jalnāpūr* It is difficult to say how these words have found their way into some MS of the *Tabaqāt*, which was finished in A.H 1001, or nine years before M. Y Khān s death

again sent to Bir, where he remained for a long time He withdrew at last from public life, got a pension of Rs 12,000 *per annum*, and lived at Lāhor He died in 1055

He was frank to a fault Once he invited the Mansabdars of Kābul, and feasted them on pork, and when called to Court, to answer for his conduct, he gave Jahāngīr a lesson by saying that not only pork, but also wine was forbidden in the law For this answer he fell into disgrace

2 *Mīrzā ʿIvaz* (عوض) He was a good prose writer, and wrote a history of the world, entitled *Chaman*

3 *Mīrzā Aflāṭūn* "He lived with his brother" He was subsequently made Mutawalli of Sikandra (Akbar's tomb), where he died

A relation of M Y Kh, Mir ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, was under Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,500 and 600 horse He was for some time Governor of Fort Dharūr, E of Bir, mentioned above He died in the 8th year of Shāhjahān

VI *Commanders of Four Thousand*

36 Mahdī Qāsim Khan.

The *Ṭabaqāt* mentions him among the Commanders of Five Thousand He served under M ʿAskarī, Bābar's third son, whose foster brother he was His brother was Ghazanfar Koka [1] (غضنفر) Humāyūn, after the conquest of Gujrāt, had appointed ʿAskarī to Ahmadābād One night, when half drunk, M ʿAskarī said, "I am king and the shadow of God", when Ghazanfar gently replied, "Thou art drunk, and hast lost thy senses," at which all who were present laughed ʿAskarī got enraged, and imprisoned Ghazanfar, but he escaped, went to Sulṭān Bahādur, king of Gujrāt, who had retreated to Fort Diu, and betrayed the plans of ʿAskari Bahādur thereupon collected an army, marched to Ahmadābād and drove the Prince away (*vide* No 12)

Mahdi Qāsim Khān joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, and was made in the beginning of Akbar's reign, a Commander of Four Thousand In the 10th year, ʿAbdᵘ 'l Majid Āṣaf Khān (No 49) had been ordered to pursue Khān Zamān (No 13), but entertaining doubts regarding his own safety, he fled to Garha (Jabalpūr) M Q Kh was, therefore, sent to Garha, after Akbar had, in 973, returned from Jaunpūr to Āgra, and was ordered to capture ʿAbdᵘ 'l Majid When M Q Kh arrived

[1] *Ghazanfar* means *a lion* *Badā,onī* (II p 125 l 8) calls him *Ghamzafar Beg* The Ed. Bibl Indica Edition has, by mistake, *Ghaznafar*

at Garha, ʿAbdu 'l Majīd fled to Khān Zamān, but the wretched state of the country displeased M Q Kh so much, that without asking Akbar's permission, he left Garha and went to Makkah. From there he returned over Persia and Qandahār, and arrived, towards the end of the 13th year, at Rantanbhūr (which Akbar besieged), and asked to be forgiven, sending at the same time a fine batch of Persian horses as a present Akbar pardoned him, restored him to his old rank, and gave him Lakhnau as *tuyūl*

"Nothing else is known of him" (*Maʿāṣir*) He had been dead for some time in 1001, when the *Ṭabaqāt* was completed Ḥusayn Khān Tukriya (No 53) was the son of his sister and his son in law

He had a villa at Lāhor, which was called *Bāgh-i Mahdī Qāsim Khān*, *vide* Badāonī II, 90, 292, and Calcutta Review for October, 1869 (Jahāngir's Death)

37 **Muzaffar Khān i Turbatī.**

Turbat is the name of a tribe (*ulūs*) in Khurāsān. His full name is Khwāja Muẓaffar ʿAlī Khān i Turbatī He was Bayrām's Dīwān Bayrām delegated him from Dipālpūr to Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna (p 332), who sent him in chains to Akbar Though several courtiers advised the Emperor to kill Muẓaffar, he pardoned him, and made him *ʿĀmil* (Collector) of the Pargana of Parsaror Subsequently Akbar made him *Dīwān i Buyūtāt* (Collector of the Imperial Stores, etc), and at last Dīvān of the Empire, with the title of Muẓaffar Khan (971) Raja Ṭodar Mal was then under him According to Badā,onī, the two quarrelled incessantly, though people said that the Rāja was a better financier than Muẓaffar, whose accession to office was honoured by the short *tārīkh* ظالم, *ẓālim* (=971), or "Tyrant"

In the 11th year he abolished the *Jamʿ i Raqmī* This is the name of the assessment of the Dihlī empire, which had existed since the time of Bayram, but the rent roll showed an assessment very different from the actual state of things, "for, on account of the number of men (*kaṣrat i mardum*, i e Jāgīr holders) and the unsettled state (*qalb-i wilāyat*) of the country, the revenue was increased in name (*ba-nām afzūda*) for the sake of mere show (*barā-yi mazīd i iʿtibār*)" This *Jamʿ-i Raqmī* was now abolished (*vide* Third Book, *Āʾīn i Dahsāla*), and Muẓaffar prepared a rent roll according to his experience and the returns of *Qanūngos* The new rent roll was called *Jamʿ-i Haṣil i Hāl*, or the roll of the present actual income (*vide* p 352) As the *Dagh* law (pp 265, 266, and p 252) did not then exist, Muzaffar Khān fixed the number of soldiers which the contingents of the *Amīrs* and the *Mulāzims* (friends

of the king) should contain, and the soldiers were divided into three classes [1]

In the 12th year it was reported that Muzaffar loved a boy of the name of Qutb Akbar had the boy forcibly removed, whereupon Muzaffar assumed the garb of a Faqīr, and went into the forest Akbar was thus *obliged to recall him, and restored the beloved*

In the 17th year a mania for *Chaupar* (p 315) had seized Akbar's Court Muzaffar lost not only his gold muhurs but also his temper, and annoyed the Emperor so much that he was told to go to Makkah But he was recalled, and joined the Court at Sūrat, which Akbar then besieged *In the 18th year (981), after having been for some time in* Sārangpūr in Mālwa, he was appointed *Vakīl* of the Empire, with the title of *Jumlat*u *'l Mulk* But he did several things which Akbar did not approve of, and when the Emperor returned from Patna from where he had dispatched a corps to take Rahtās in South Bihar, he ordered Muzaffar *to join the expedition, without allowing him first to pay his respects* (*vide* Briggs II, 249) Like his companion, Khwāja Shams[u] 'd Dīn Khāfī (No 159), M distinguished himself in the campaign, punished the rebels on several occasions, and took Hajīpūr, of which the Afghāns *had again taken possession For these services, M was appointed,* in the 20th year, Governor of Bihār, from Chausa to Garhī Soon after the taking of Hājipūr, M was nearly caught by a party of Afghāns, who saw him reconnoitering the banks of the Ghandak

In the 22nd *year, M returned to Court, where* Shāh Manṣūr (No 122) and Rāja Todar Mal continued, under his superintendence, their financial reforms

On the death of Khān Jahan (No 24) in 986, he was made Governor of Bengal

In the 25th year (988), Shāh Manṣūr subjected the Amīrs of Bihar and Bengal to strict inquiries, and called on them to refund sums which they had spent without permission When he insisted on his

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[1] *The Ma*'*āsir says he allowed the first class* 48 000 *dāms* the second 32 000 *d* and the third 24 000 *d per annum* These numbers appear to be very large when compared with *p 241 But what was the value of a dām in those days? In the 40th year of Akbar's* reign the following pay regulation was introduced —

Mughul Afghan *or* Hindi		
Sih-aspas	1 000 *d*	*per mensem*
Du aspas	800 *d*	„
Yak aspas	600 *d*	„
1st Class Rajputs	800 *d.*	„
2nd ditto ditto	600 *d*	„

(Akbarnama) But at that time 40 *dāms were equal to* 1 Akbarshāhī *Rupee* which differed very little from our rupee

demands, Ma'sūm i Kābulī and several other grandees that held jagīrs in Bihār, rebelled Muzaffar imitated Shāh Mansūr's policy in Bengal, and when he commenced vigorously to collect outstandings, Babā Khan Qāqshāl and other Jagirdars of Bengal rebelled likewise M defeated them on several occasions, but would not listen to proposals of peace At last the Bihar rebels joined those of Bengal, and mustered a sufficient force to take the field against Muzaffar Notwithstanding this, the rebels would have gladly come to terms and gone to Orisa, had not Muzaffar betrayed his weakness by moving to the Fort of Tanda, which, according to Bada,onī, consisted of nothing but four old walls The rebels thus emboldened demanded full pardon, permission to go to Makkah, and restoration of one-third of their property At this juncture, Sharaf^u 'd Din Husayn (No 17) escaped from Muzaffar's custody, joined the rebels, and informed them of M's miserable condition They moved, therefore, against Tanda, took it, captured M, and killed him (Rabīʿ I, 988)[1]

The Jamiʿ Masjid in Āgra was built by Muzaffar I am told the Masjid is now in ruins, which still go by the name of *Nawab Muzaffar Khān kī Masjid* or *Kālī Masjid* The *Ma'āsir* says it stood in the *Katra Miyān Raqiq*, but this name does not appear to be now a days in use The Masjid now called the Jamiʿ Masjid of Āgra was built, in 1058, by Jahan Ārā Begum, Shahjahan's daughter, at a cost of five lacs of Rupees

According to the *Mir'at^u 'l ʿĀlam*, his youngest daughter was married to Shah Fath^u 'llah of Shiraz

38 Sayf Khan Koka, elder brother of Zayn Khan Koka (No 34)

His mother had only daughters, and when she was pregnant with Sayf Khan, her husband threatened to divorce her, should it again turn out to be a daughter She complained of this to Akbar's mother, and Akbar, though then a child, told her husband that he would incur his displeasure if he should do so, "besides" said he, "it shall be this time a fine boy" The mother looked upon Prince Akbar's words as a prophecy from heaven, and in course of time Sayf Khan was born

Akbar was very fond of Sayf Khan and made him though quite young a Commander of Four Thousand He distinguished himself by his bravery, especially in the 17th year, at the taking of Sūrat, where he was wounded by a bullet In the beginning of the next year (981), he accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Āgra to Ahmadabad (p 343), and was killed bravely fighting with Muhammad Husayn Mirza

[1] According to Bada,oni (II, p 282) Muzaffar capitulated, left the fort and was then captured and slain

How Akbar appreciated his services may be seen from the fact, that having heard that Sayf Khān was heavily involved, he paid, on his return to Āgra, every debt due by him

His two sons, Sher Afkan (355), and Amānᵘ 'llah (356) are mentioned below as Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty

39 Rāja Toḍar Mal, a Khatrī

He was born at Lāhor The *Ma'āsirᵘ 'l Umarā* does not record his services before the 18th year of Akbar's reign, but T M appears to have entered Akbar's service at a very early period In 971, he was employed under Muẓaffar (*Bad* II, 65), and in 972, he served under Akbar against Khān Zamān (*vide* No 61) He held the first important post in the 18th year, when after the conquest of Gujrāt he was left there to assess that province In the 19th year, after the conquest of Patna, he got an *ʿalam* and a *naqqāra* (Āʼīn 19), and was ordered to accompany Munʿim Khān to Bengal He was the soul of the expedition In the battle with Daʼūd Khān i Kararānī, when Khān ʿĀlam (*vide* No 58) had been killed, and Munʿim Khan's horse had run away, the Rāja held his ground bravely, and "*not only was there no defeat, but an actual victory*" "What harm," said Todar Mal, "if Khān ʿĀlam is dead what fear, if the Khān Khanān has run away, the empire is ours! After settling several financial matters in Bengal and Orisā Toḍar Mal went to Court, and was employed in revenue matters When Khan Jahān (No 24) went to Bengal, Todar Mal was ordered to accompany him He distinguished himself as before, in the defeat and capture of Daʼūd In the 21st year, he took the spoils of Bengal to Court, among them 300 to 400 elephants In the following year, he was again sent to Gujrāt, *vice* Vazīr Khān (No 41), who had given no satisfaction Whilst arranging at Aḥmadābād matters with Vazīr Khan, Muẓaffar Husayn, at the instigation of Mihr ʿAlī Kolābī, rebelled Vazīr Khān proposed to retreat to the Fort, but Todar Mal was ready to fight and defeated Muẓaffar in the 22nd year, near Dholqah which lies 12 *kos* from Ahmadabād Vazīr Khān would have been lost in this battle, if Toḍar Mal had not come to his assistance Muzaffar, after his defeat, fled to Jūnagarh

In the same year Todar Mal was appointed *Vazīr* When Akbar left Ajmīr for the Panjāb, the house idols of the Raja were lost, as mentioned on p 33, note

When the news of Muzaffar's death (No 37) and the occupation of the whole of Bengal and Bihar by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Todar Mal, Ṣādiq Khān, Tarson Khān etc, from Fathpūr Sīkrī to Bihar Muhibb ʿAlī (No 107), Governor of Rahtas and Muhammad Maʿsūm

<u>h</u>ān i Faran<u>kh</u>ūdī (No 157) were appointed *kumakis*, or auxiliaries he latter joined the Rāja with 3,000 well equipped horse, evidently ent on rebellion Todar Mal managed to keep him quiet, but he reported the matter to Court The Bengal rebels, under Maᶜsūm i Kābuli, he Qāqshals, and Mirzā Sharafᵘ 'd Din Husayn, with 30,000 horse, 00 elephants, and many ships and artillery, had collected near Mungir, nd Todar Mal, from fear of treachery among his auxiliaries, shut himself p in the Fort of Mungir, instead of risking a general engagement During he siege, two of his officers, Humayūn Farmuli and Tar<u>kh</u>ān Diwāna, oined the rebels Though suffering from want of provisions, Todar Ial held himself bravely, especially as he received timely remittances rom Court After the siege had lasted for some time, Bābā <u>Kh</u>an Qāqshāl lied, and Jabāri, son of Majnūn <u>Kh</u>an Qāqshāl desired to leave The ebel army dispersed, Maᶜsūm i Kabulī went to South Bihār, and ᶜArab Bahādur wished to surprise Patna, and take possession of the Imperial reasury, which Pahār <u>Kh</u>ān (perhaps No 407) had safely lodged in the Fort of that town After sending Maᶜṣūm i Faran<u>kh</u>udi to Patna, to assist Pahār <u>Kh</u>an, Todar Mal, and Sādiq <u>Kh</u>an followed Maᶜsūm i Kabuli to Bihār Maᶜsūm made a fruitless attempt to defeat Ṣadiq <u>Kh</u>ān in a sudden night attack, but was obliged to retreat, finding a ready asylum with ᶜIsā <u>Kh</u>an, Zamīndar of Orīsa Todar Mal was thus enabled to report to Akbar that South Bihār, as far as Garhi, was re annexed to the Dihli empire

In the 27th year (990) Todar Mal was made Divān, or rather *Vakīl* During this year he introduced his financial reforms which have made him so famous The third book of the Āᵉīn contains his new rent roll, or *Asl i Jamᶜ i Tūmār*, which superseded Muzaffar's assessment (p 373) His regulations regarding the coinage have been alluded to above and others may be found in the Akbarnama

The most important reform introduced by Todar Mal is the change in the language and the character used for the revenue accounts Formerly they had been kept in Hindi by Hindu *Muharrirs* Todar Mal ordered that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian He thus forced his co religionists to learn the court language of their rulers—a circumstance which may well compare to the introduction of the English language in the courts of India The study of Persian therefore became necessary for its pecuniary advantages

Todar Mal's order, and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours—we saw on p 363 that Man Singh[1] was the first Commander of Seven Thousand—explain two facts, *first*, that before

[1 Or Mahā Singh ?—P]

the end of the 18th century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the *Muhammadans*, *secondly, that a new dialect could arise* in upper India, the *Urdū*, which without the Hindūs as receiving medium, never could have been called into existence. Whether we attach more influence to Ṭoḍar Mal's order or to Akbar's policy, which once initiated, his successors, willing or not, had to follow, one fact should be borne in mind that before the times of Akbar, the Hindūs, as a rule, did not study Persian, and stood therefore politically below their Muhammadan rulers.

In the 29th year, Akbar honoured him by paying him a visit. In the 32nd year, a Khatrī, from private hatred, wounded Ṭ. M. on a march at night time. The man was at once cut down.

When Bīr Bar (No. 85) had been killed in the war with the Yūsufzāʾīs, Ṭ. M. was ordered to accompany Mān Singh, who had been appointed commander-in chief. In the 34th year, when Akbar went to Kashmīr, Ṭ. M. was left in charge of Lāhor. Soon after, he applied for leave to go to the banks of the Ganges, as he was old and wished to die. Akbar let him go, but he recalled him from Hardwār, and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. Ṭ. M. unwillingly returned, but died soon after, on the 11th day of the year 998 (*vide* No. 27, p. 353).

Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Ṭodar Mal's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees, together with Abū 'l Fazl and Man Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day.

His son Dharū (No. 190) was a Commander of Seven Hundred, and was killed during the Sindh expedition, while serving under Khān Khānān (p. 335). People say that he used to shoe his horses with golden shoes.

The name *Todar Mal* is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi *T*, *d*, and *r*, which explains the spelling "Torel Mall", which we find in old histories. Under Shāhjahān also there lived a distinguished courtier of the name "Ṭoḍar Mal".

The *Tafrīḥu 'l ʿImārat*[1] says Ṭodar Mal's father died when Ṭ. M. was quite young, and that the widow was in great distress. Ṭ. M., at an early

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[illegible]
proper arrangement

age, showed much clearness and common sense, and received an appointment as writer, from which humble position he rose to the greatest honours

40 **Muhammed Qasim Khan, of Nishapur**

The *Ma'āsir* calls him Qasim Muhammad Khan, and has put his name under the letter *Q*, but Abū 'l Fazl Badaoni, and the *Tabaqāt* give his name in the above order

He was a rich landowner of Nishāpūr, and fled after the invasion of the Uzbaks to India, where he served under Bayram Khan He distinguished himself in the war with Sikandar Sūr, and served as *Harawal*, or leader of the van, under Khan Zaman (No 13) in the battle with Hemu Immediately after, but still in the first year of Akbar's reign he was sent against Hajı Khan, who had defeated Rana Udai Sing of Marwar, and taken possession of Nagor and Ajmir Haji Khan was an old servant of Sher Khan and was distinguished for his wisdom and bravery On the appearance of the Imperialists, however, Haji Khan's army dispersed, and he himself withdrew to Gujrat M Q Kh thus took possession of Nagor and Ajmir, which for a long time remained the south western frontier of Akbar's empire

In the 5th year he left Bayram's party, and joined the Chaghta'i nobles He commanded the left wing of Shams^u 'd Din Atga's corps in the fight in which Bayram was defeated (p 332) After the victory, he received Multan as jagir

He was next sent to Sarangpur in Malwa, where, in the 9th year, he was visited by Akbar on his sudden hunting expedition to that province the object of which was to get hold of 'Abd^u llah Khan Uzbak (No 14) M Q Kh assisted in the pursuit

According to the *Tabaqāt* M Q Kh died soon after at Sarangpur

41 **Vazir Khan brother of 'Abd^u 'l Majid i Āsaf Khan (I), of Harat (No 49)**

When Vazir Khan escaped with his brother (*vide* below, No 49) from Bahadur Khan (No 21) he fled to Kara, and obtained subsequently through the mediation of Muzaffar Khan (No 37), free pardon for himself and Āsaf Khan

In the 21st year when 'Aziz Koka (p 344) had incurred Akbar's displeasure V Kh was sent to Gujrat to govern in 'Aziz's name, and when that chief had been called to Court, he was appointed governor (*sipahsalār*) of the province But he did not distinguish himself, and Akbar, in the 22nd year, sent Todar Mal (No 39) to Gujrat, to take the administration out of V Kh's hands It happened that about the

same time, Mihr ʿAlī Gulābī, a friend of M Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn, rebelled and set up as king Muzaffar Ḥusayn Ibrāhīm's young son, whom he had brought from the Dakhin As mentioned above, the rebellion was crushed through Toḍar Mal's bravery. When the Rāja left, Mihr ʿAlī appeared again, and V Kh , most of whose soldiers had joined the rebel, shut himself up in the fort of Ahmadābād In one of the assaults, Mihr ʿAli was killed by a bullet, and Muẓaffar Husayn Mīrzā, from timidity, raised the siege Notwithstanding this success, matters in Gujrāt did not improve, and oppressions became so numerous, that Akbar deposed V. Kh and called him to Court

In the 25th year, Akbar appointed him *vazīr* in the place of Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz (No 122), and soon after governor of Audh

In the 27th year, when M ʿAzīz (No 21) had been sent to Bihār, V Kh was ordered to join him with his contingent, and as after the flight of Maʿṣūm Khan sickness obliged ʿAzīz to return to Bihār, he left V Kh in charge of the province, till a new Sūbadār should be appointed. V Kh made use of the opportunity, and moved against Qutlū Khān, ruler of Orīsā, whom he defeated (*vide* p 356) Qutlū, in the following (29th) year, sent tribute, and was left in possession of Orisā V Kh. returned to Tānḍa and applied himself, with the assistance of Ṣādiq Khān (No 43) and Shāhbāz Khān-i Kambū (No 80) to financial matters

In the 31st year, Akbar ordered that each ṣūba should, in future, be ruled by two Amīrs, and Vazīr Khān was appointed Ṣūbadār of Bengal, with Muhibb ʿAlī Khān (No 107) as assistant In the following year, 995, V Kh died

Shāhbāz Khān, who was Bakhshī of Bengal, allowed Mīrzā Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, V Kh 's son, to take command of his father's contingent But M M Ṣāliḥ showed much inclination to rebel, and Akbar sent Mīr Murād (282, or 380) to bring him and his contingent to Court On the route, at Fathpūr Hanswah, he behaved so rebelliously, that Mīr Murād imprisoned him with the assistance of the jāgīrdārs of the district, and took him fettered to Akbar He was kept imprisoned for some time

42 Qulij Khān

He is called *Andajānī*, from Andajān, a province of *Farghāna*, south of the Sayhūn His ancestors had been for many years serving under the Tīmūrides His grandfather was a noble at Sultan Husayn Mirzā Bāyqrā's court

The principal facts of his life have been mentioned on p 35, note 2. In mentioning his appointment to Sūrat, the "iron fort", which Akbar, in the 17th year, conquered in one month and seventeen days, Abū 'l Fazl

says that the Fort had been built in 947 (A D 1540–41), by Safar Āghā, *alias* Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt The *tarīkh* of its construction is characteristic (metre *long Ramal*)

سد بود برسینه وجان فرنگی این بنای

"May this structure prove a barrier for the chest and the life of the Firingi"[1]

Qulij Khān died at the age of eighty, on the 10th Ramazān 1022 (end of A D 1613),[2] at Peshāwar He was at his death a Commander of Six Thousand, Five Thousand horse

The *Ma'āsir* and Badā,onī (III, p 188) say that he belonged to the tribe of جانی قربانی *Jānī Qurbānī* (?), but for the latter word the MSS have different readings, as *Qurbānī Farbānī*, *Faryānī*, etc

The *Ma'āsir* copies from the *Zakhīrat ul Khawānīn* the following story which is said to have taken place in A H 1000, when Jaunpūr was Q.'s jagīr "Q was building a house, when the working men in digging came to a cupolalike structure Q and several other respectable men were called, and they remained on the spot till the newly discovered building was fully dug out It had a door with an immense lock attached to it weighing one *man* When forced open, an old man made his appearance, who asked the bystanders in Sanscrit, whether Ram Chandr's *avatār* (incarnation) had taken place, whether he had got back his Sītā, whether Krishnā's *avatār* had taken place at Mathurā, and, lastly, whether Muhammad had appeared in Arabia On receiving affirmative answers to these questions, the old man further wished to know, whether the Ganges still flowed This also being affirmed, he expressed a wish to be taken out Q then put up seven tents, joined to each other, in each of which the sage remained for a day On the 8th day he came out, and said prayers according to the way of Muhammadans In sleep and

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[1] The numbers added give 947 The last *yā* though somewhat irregular, cannot be left out

[2] So according to the *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī* (ed Sayyid Ahmad, p 123, l 1)

eating he differed from other men, he spoke to no one, and died after six months "

Qulij Khān's sons 1 Mīrzā Sayf[u] 'llah (No 292) 2 Mirzā Chīn Qulij (No 293) regarding whom *vide* below

43 Ṣādiq Khan, son of Bāqir of Harāt

Other historians call him Ṣādiq Muhammad Khān[1] His father, Muhammad Baqir, had been *vazīr* to Qara Khān Turkmān, ruler of Khurāsān Qarā had rebelled against Shāh Ṭadmāsp, and fled to India Sadiq entered Bayrām s service as *Rikābdār* (spur holder),[2] and got soon after a *manṣab* and was made, after Bayrām's death, an Amīr *Badā,onī* (II, 220) alludes to his services under Humāyūn in Qandahār, and the *Ṭabaqāt* says that he had been since his youth in Akbar's service

After the conquest of Patna, Akbar returned by boat to Jaunpūr On the road, in crossing the river at Chausā, a valuable elephant perished through S s carelessness Akbar confiscated his jāgir, excluded him from Court, and told him to go to Bhath (Bhath Ghorā, or Banda Rewa), to get another elephant After passing over " the heights and the low places " of fortune, Ṣadiq, in the 20th year, returned to Court with 100 elephants, and was restored to favour He was made governor of *Garha*, *vice* Rāi Sarjan (No 96) In the 22nd year (985), Ṣ, with several other grandees, was ordered to punish Rāja Madhukar, should he not submit peacefully Passing the confines of Narwar, Ṣ saw that kindness would not do, he therefore took the fort of Karhara (کرهرا), and cutting down the jungle, advanced to the river Dastharā, close to which Ūndchha lay, Madhukar's residence A fight ensued Madhukar was wounded and fled with his son Ram Sah Another son of his Horal Deo (*Ma'āsir, Horal Rao*), *and about* 200 *Rajpūts were killed* Ṣ *remained encamped* in the Raja's territory Driven to extremities, Madhukar sent Ram Chand (No 248), a relation of his to Akbar at Bahira, and asked and obtained pardon On the 3rd Ramazan, 986, Ṣādiq with the penitent Raja arrived at Court

Soon after Ṣ 's *aqṭāʿ* were transferred to the Eastern Districts of the empire, so that he might take part in the suppression of the revolt in Bengal In the 27th year, during the temporary absence of ʿAziz Koka

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as a spur —P I

(No 21), Ṣadiq and Muhibb ʿAli Khān (No 107), defeated Khabiṭa,[1] one of Maʿsum's officers, on the Ghandak near Hajipūr, and sent his head to Akbar In the beginning of the 28th year, he paid his respects at Court, but was immediately ordered to rejoin Mirza Koka, who had again left for Bihar

In the beginning of the 29th year, he was ordered to move to Vazir Khān (No 41), who at a place six *kos* from Bardwān was treating with Qutlū[2] Through S 's skill, a sort of peace was concluded, which confirmed Qutlū in the possession of Orisā S then returned to his *tuyūl* at Patna

When Shahbāz Khān (No 80) returned from his expedition to Bhati, the *tuyūldārs* of Bengal and Bihār were ordered to move to him S, however, was no friend of Shāhbāz The mutual dislike rose to the highest pitch, when once Ṣ 's elephant ran against Shāhbaz, who believed the accident premeditated and Akbar sent Khwaja Sulayman (No 327) to Bengal to settle their differences One was to remain in Bengal, the other to go to Bihār, but S, in the 30th year, left Bengal without permission, and went to Court, where he was not admitted But when Shāhbāz went from Bihar to Bengal, S went again to Court, and was appointed governor of Multān

When the Rawshānīs in the District of Mount Terah (تيراه), "which lies west of Pashāwar, and is 32 *kos* long, and 12 *kos* broad," commenced disturbances, S, in the 33rd year, was ordered to bring them to obedience, which he did with much tact and firmness After the return of Zayn Khan (No 34) from Bijor, Ṣ was sent there, to subjugate the Yūsafzā Is

In the 36th year, Prince Mūrad was sent from Malwa to Gujrat, and as Ismaʿil Quli Khan (No 46) had not given satisfaction as *Vakīl*, S was appointed *ataliq* to the Prince,[3] whom in the 40th year he accompanied to the Dakhin Shāhbaz Khan being one of the auxiliaries, the old enmity broke out again After the siege of Ahmadnagar had been raised, S distinguished himself in protecting the frontiers of Barar

In the beginning of the 41st year he was made a Commander of Five Thousand In the same year he defeated Sarawar Khān, and made much

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[1] Khabita (خبطه) was a Mughul, and had risen by bravery under Maʿṣum i Kābuli from a humble position to the post of a Commander In *Bada oni* (Ed Bibl Indica II 310) he is called Khabiya Bahādur (خبيه) and *Khasta* (خسته) in my MS of the *Ṭabaqat*, where moreover the event, according to the erroneous chronology of that history, is put in the 28th year

[2] The spelling *Qutlu* is perhaps preferable to *Qatlu* if this name is a shortened form of Qutlugh

[3] From several passages in the *Akbarnāma* it is clear that *atāliq* (pr a tutor) means the same as *Vakīl* or *Vazīr* The imperial princes kept up Courts of their own and appointed their *Vazirs*, their *Dīwans Bakhshis* etc The appointment of the *Vakīl* however appears to have rested with the emperor.

(*vide* p 386), R got leave to go home In the following year, he went again to Court In the 48th year he served under Prince Salīm against the Rānā of Udaipūr

At the death of the emperor, R was a Commander of Four Thousand Jahāngīr, on his accession, made him a Commander of Five Thousand. When the emperor set out for the Panjāb to pursue Khusraw, R was put in charge of the travelling harem, but on the road he left without order and went to Bikānīr In the second year, when Jahāngīr returned from Kabul, R, at the advice of Sharīf Khān, presented himself before the emperor with a *fūṭa* round his neck, to show his willingness to suffer punishment for his crimes, and was again pardoned He died in 1021

His sons 1 *Dalpat* (No 252) He was a Commander of Five Hundred In the 36th year, he served in the Sindh war, but was looked upon as a coward In the 45th year, when Akbar was in the Dakhin, Muẓaffar Husayn Mirzā, in consequence of his differences with Khwājagī Fath^u 'llah had fled, and Dalpat, under the pretext of following him up, had gone to Bīkānīr and created disturbances In the 46th year, his father brought him to his senses D asked to be pardoned, and was ordered again to come to Court

In the third year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017), he appears to have offended the emperor, but at the request of Khān Jahan Lodi he was pardoned After the death of his father, D came from the Dakhin to Court, was appointed successor, and got the title of *Rāy* although his younger brother (by another mother), Sūr Singh, claimed the right of succession, which Ray Singh had promised him from affection to his mother Sur Singh, however, disgusted Jahāngīr by the bold way in which he preferred his claim

D was then ordered to join M Rustam i Safawi (No 8) the governor of Sindh In the 8th year, it was reported to Jahangir that Sūr Singh had attacked and defeated his brother, who in consequence had created disturbances in Hisār Hāshim, the Fawjdar of the Sarkar caught him and sent him fettered to court, where he was executed as a warning to others

For Dalpat's son Mahes Dās, and grandson Ratan, *vide* Padishāhnama, pp 635 723, 684, 729

2 *Sūr Singh* After the death of his brother he rose to favour In Histories he is generally called *Rāo* Sur Singh a title which he received from Shahjahan He died in 1040 He had two sons Karan and Satr Sal the former of whom inherited the title of *Rāo* (*vide* Padishahnama II, p 727)

VII *Commanders of Three Thousand Five Hundred*

45 Shah Quli Mahram i Bahārlu

He was in Bayrām s service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū It was Shāh Quli that attacked Hemū's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemū, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battle field, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar[1] Soon after, before the end of the first year, Sh Q served with Muhammad Qāsim Khān (No 40) against Hājī Khān in Nāgor and Ajmir

In the third year, it was brought to Akbar's notice, that Sh Q was passionately attached to a dancing boy of the name of Qabul Khān, and as the emperor had the boy forcibly removed,[2] Sh Q dressed as a Jogī, and went into the forests Bayrām traced him with much trouble, and brought him back to court, where the boy was restored to him.

Like Babā Zambūr, he remained faithful to Bayrām to the last, and was pardoned together with his master in Tilwāra (p 332)

After Bayrām's death, he was rapidly promoted and made an Amīr In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān (No 24) was sent from the Panjāb to Bengal, Sh Q was appointed Governor of the Panjāb, rising higher and higher in Akbar's favour

It is said that the Emperor, from goodwill towards him, admitted him to his female apartments After the first time he had been allowed to enter the Harem, he went home, and had his testicles removed (*majbub*) From the circumstances, he was everywhere called *Mahram*,[3] i e, one who is admitted to the Harem and knows its secrets

In the 34th year, Akbar, after his return from Zabulistān, crossed the Bahat (Jhelum) near Rasūlpūr, and encamped at Hailān During his stay there, he mounted a female elephant, and was immediately attacked by a *mast* male elephant Akbar was thrown down and sustained severe contusions A rumour of his death spread over the whole country, in some provinces even disturbances broke out The Rājpūts of Shaykhāwat, especially, plundered the districts from Mewāt to Rewārī, and in the

[1] "Before the end of the first year Pīr Muhammad was dispatched against Hājī Khan in Alwar and as he withdrew the imperialists took possession of the Sarkar of Alwar as far as Deolī Sajarī [or *Sachari*] the birth place of Hemu and performed many brave deeds They also caught Hemu s father alive and brought him to Pīr Muhammad who asked him to embrace Islam As he would not he was killed by him. After gathering his spoils Pīr M. returned to Akbar *Badāonī from the Akbarnāma*

[2] For similar examples vide p. 335 which also happened in the third year and No 37, p 374

[3] Or *Mahram*.

35th year, Akbar had to send Sh Q against them He soon restored order.

In the 41st year, he was made a commander of Four Thousand, and soon after of Five Thousand The *Tabaqāt* says that in 1001 he had been a commander of Three Thousand for thirty years

He died at Āgra in 1010 At Nārnaul, where he chiefly lived, he erected splendid buildings, and dug large tanks When he felt death approaching, he gave the soldiers of his contingent two years' pay in advance, and left, besides, many legacies As he had no heirs, his remaining property lapsed to the state (*Tuzuk*, p 22)

46 **Ismā'īl Qulī Khān**, brother of Khan Jahan (No 24)

He must not be confounded with No 72 He was caught in the battle near Jālindhar (p 317) He joined Akbar's service with his brother, under whom he mostly served. When his brother had died in Bengal, he came with the immense property he had left behind him to Court, and was favourably received In the 30th year, he was sent against the Balūchīs (*vide* No 44) *On his arrival in Balūchistān the people soon* submitted, and their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajhiya and Ibrāhim Khān, repaired to Court, and were allowed to retain the country In the 31st year, when Bhagwān Dās (No 27), on account of his madness, had not been allowed to go to Zābulistān, I Q was sent there instead But he committed certain improprieties and fell into disgrace, and was ordered to go from Bhakkar to Makkah He begged hard to be forgiven, but he was not allowed to see the Emperor, and was sent against the Yūsufzā'is

At that time epidemics were raging in Bijor, and the chiefs of the Yusufzā'is came forward and submitted to I Q, whilst Zayn Khān (No 34), governor of Zābulistān pressed hard upon Jalala Rawshanī, who had left Terah and entered Bijor Zayn Khān therefore entered the district, determined to use the opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat The arrival of Ṣadiq Khān (No 43), however, who had been sent from Court, to occupy the district, and capture Jalāla, annoyed I Q still more, as he thought that that duty might have been left to him as Thanadar of the district I Q forgot himself so far as to allow Jalala to escape He then went to Court, where he was severely reprimanded for his conduct

In the 33rd year, he was made Governor of Gujrāt In the 36th year, when Prince Murād had been made Governor of Mālwa, I Q was appointed his *ataliq* or Vakil, but he gave no satisfaction, and was called to Court, Ṣādiq Khān having been appointed in his stead

In the 39th year, he was sent to Kālpi, to look after his jāgir In the 42nd year (1005), he was made a Commander of Four Thousand

He was given to luxury, and spent large sums on carpets, vessels, dress, etc He kept 1,200 women, and was so jealous of them, that whenever he went to Court, he put his seal over the strings attached to their night drawers The women resented this and other annoyances, made a conspiracy, and poisoned him

Three sons of his are mentioned below—1 Ibrahim Quli (No 322), a commander of Three Hundred 2 Salim Quli (No 357), and 3, Khalil Quli (No 358), both commanders of Two Hundred They do not appear to have distinguished themselves

VII Commanders of Three Thousand

47 Mirza Jani Beg, ruler of Thatha

He belonged to the *Arghūn* clan, and therefore traced his descent to Chingiz Khān Abū'l Fazl in the Akbarnāma gives his tree as follows —

Chingiz Khan
|
Tūli Khan.
|
Hulāgū Khan (the brother [of Mangū [Qāān)
|
Abāgh (or, Abāghā) Khān, [d 663
|
Arghūn Khān, d 690
|
Four generations inter [vening
|
Atkū Tīmūr
|
Shankal Beg Tarkhān
|
Several generations not [known
|
ʿAbdu 'l Khāliq Tarkhān
|
Mirzā ʿAbdu 'l ʿAli [Tarkhān
|

Of his ancestors Atkū Tīmūr had been killed in the war with Tuqtamish Khān, and the Emperor Tīmūr took care of Shankal Beg, and made him a *Tarkhān* (*vide* the note at the end of this biography)

Mirzā ʿAbdu'l ʿAli, fourth ancestor of M. Jani Beg, had risen to high dignities under Sultān Mahmūd, son of M. Abū Saʿid, and received the government of Bukhārā He was treacherously killed, together with his five eldest sons, by Shaybāni Khān Uzbak, only his sixth son, M Muhammad ʿIsā escaped The Arghūn clan in Bukhārā, being thus left without a head, emigrated to Khurāsān, where they attached themselves to Mir Zū 'l Nūn Beg Arghūn, who was the Amiru 'l-Umarā and Sipahsālar of Sultan Husain Myrzā He also was *atālīq* and father in law to Prince Badiʿu 'z Zamān Mirzā, and held Qandahār as

M Muhammad ʿIʹsā
| [Tarkhān, d 975
M. Muhammad Bāqī
| [Tarkhān, d 993
Mīrzā Pāyanda Muham
| mad Tarkhān
Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhan
|
Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān

jāgīr. When the prince's career ended, his two sons, Badīʿu ʾz Zamān and Muzaffar Mīrzā, proclaimed themselves kings of Khurāsān Anarchy prevailed, and matters grew worse, when Shaybān Khān invaded the country. Zu ʾl Nūn Beg fell in battle against him

Shujāʿ Beg, better known as Shāh Beg, Zū ʾl Nūn's son, held Qandahār during the absence of his father, and succeeded him in the government He was bent on conquest In 890, he took Fort Sewe from Jām Nizāmu ʾd Din (generally called in Histories *Jām Nandā*), king of Sindh He continued to interfere, as related by Abū ʾl Fazl below in the Third Book, (Ṣūba of Sindh), and managed, at last, in 929, to conquer the country, thus compensating himself for the loss of Qandahār, which had beer occupied by Bābar A short time before his death, which took place in 930,[1] he invaded Multān, then in the hands of the *Langāhs*

Shāh Beg Arghūn was succeeded by his son Mīrzā Shāh Husayn Arghūn, who took Multān from Sultan Husayn Langāh (*vide* Third Book, Ṣūba of Multān) M Shah Husayn Arghūn was afflicted with a peculiar fever, which only left him when he was on the river Indus He therefore [illegible] to travel down the Indus for six months of the year, and upwards [illegible] Bhakkar, [illegible] ʿIsa, [illegible] usted by his foster brother, Sultan Mahamud, [illegible] posed him, but he had at last to come to terms, and ceded a large part of Sindh to M ʿIsa On Shāh Husayn's death, in 963, the whole country fell to ʿIsa

In this manner the older branch of the Arghūns came to the throne of Thatha

ʿIsa died in 975, and was succeeded by his son M Muhammad Bāqī, who successfully crushed the revolt of his younger brother, M Jan Bābā M Baqī, in 993, committed suicide during an attack of insanity, and as his son, M Pāyanda Muhammad, was also subject to fits of madness, the government passed into the hands of M Jānī Beg, the son of M Pāyanda.

[1] Shāh Beg was a learned man like his renowned opponent Babar He wrote a *Commentary to the well known Arabic grammar Kafiya* (شرح كافيه) and commentaries to the *Maṭāliʿ* (شرح مطالع) and the ʿAqaʾid i Nasafī (شرح عقائد نسفي)

Akbar had often felt annoyed that, notwithstanding his frequent stays in the Panjab, M Jānī Beg had shown no anxiety to pay him a visit In the 35th year therefore (999), when the Khān Khānān was ordered to invade Qandahār, he was told to send some one to M J. B, and draw his attention to this neglect, if no heed was paid, he was to invade Sindh on his return Multān and Bhakkar being the *tuyūl* of the Khān Khānān, he did not move into Qandahār by way of Ghaznīn and Bangash, but chose a round about way through his jāgīr In the meantime the conquest of Thatha had been determined upon at Court, and the Khān Khānān set out at once for Sindh (*vide* p 356, and Brigg's *Firishta*) After bravely defending the country, M J B had at last to yield In the 38th year (1001), accompanied by the Khān Khānān, he paid his respects to Akbar at Lāhor, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and received the Ṣūba of Multān as *tuyūl*, Sindh itself being assigned to M Shāhrukh (No 7) But before this arrangement was carried out, a report reached Akbar that the Arghūn clan, about 10,000 men, women, and children, moved up the river, to follow M J B to his new *tuyūl*, and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind Akbar felt that under such circumstances policy should yield to mercy, and M J. B was appointed to Sindh Lāhari Bandar, however, became *khāliṣa*, and the Sarkār of Siwistan which had formerly paid *pīshkash*, was parcelled out among several grandees

In the 42nd year, M J B was promoted to a command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred He was much liked by Akbar for his character, religious views (*vide* p 218–9), pleasing manners, and practical wisdom It is perhaps for this reason that Abū 'l Fazl has placed him first among the Commanders of Three Thousand, though names much more renowned follow From his youth, M J B had been fond of wine, but had not indulged in excesses, his habitual drinking, however, undermined his health, and brought on delirium (*sarsām*), of which he died, in 1008, at Burhanpūr in the Dakhin, after the conquest of Āsīr

A short time before his death, he offended Akbar by declaring that had he had an Āsīr, he would have held it for a hundred years

M J B was fond of poetry, he was himself a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of *Halīmī*[1]

[1] Here follows in the *Ma'āsir 'l Umara* a description of [illegible]

Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, son of M Jānī Beg At the death of his father, he was only 17 years old, and though not at Court, Akbar conferred Sindh on him He was opposed by Mirzā ʿĪsa Tarkhan, son of Mīrzā Jān Bābā (brother of M Muhammad Baqī, grandfather of M Jānu Beg), but Khusraw Khān Chirgis, an old servant of the Arghūns and *Vakīl* to his father, espoused his cause, and M ʿĪsa Tarkhān fled from Sindh The army which M Ghāzī Beg and Khusraw Khān had at their disposal, seems to have made them inclined to rebel against Akbar, but the Emperor sent promptly Saʿīd Khān (No 25) and his son Saʿdu 'llāh [1] to Bhakkar, and M Ghāzī Beg came to Court, and was confirmed in the government of Sindh

After the accession of Jahāngir, M Ghāzī Beg received Multān in addition to Sindh, was made a Commander of Seven Thousand, and was sent to relieve Qandahār (*Tuzuk*, pp 33, 72, 109), which had been besieged by Ḥusayn Khān Shamlū, the Persian Governor of Harāt He also received the title of *Farzand* (son) Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia often tried to win him over, and sent him several *khiʿlats*

He died suddenly at the age of twenty five in 1018,[2] the word *Ghāzī* being the *Tārīkh* of his death Suspicion attaches to Luṭfu 'llah, his *Vakīl* and son of Khusraw Khān Chirgis who appears to have been treated unkindly M Ghāzī does not appear to have had children

Like his father, he was a poet He wrote under the *takhallus* of *Vaqārī*, which he had bought of a Qandahar poet He played nearly every instrument Poets like Ṭalibi of Āmul, Mulla Murshid i Yazdjirdi, Mir Niʿmatu llah Vacili, Mullā Asad Qissa khwān, and especially Fughfūrī of Gilān enjoyed his liberality The last left him, because his verses were too often used for *dakhl* (*vide* p 108 note 8) In his private life, M. Ghāzī was dissolute Not only was he given to wine, but he required every night a virgin, girls from all places were brought to him, and the

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[1] Saʿdu llah has been omitted to be mentioned on p 351 He received the title of *Nawāzish Khan* in 1020 *vide Tuzuk* pp 34 96

women of the town of Thatha are said to have been so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed relationship with the Mirzā

Note on the meaning of the title of "Tarkhān"

Abū 'l Fazl, in the Akbarnāma (38th year) has a valuable note regarding the meaning and the history of this ancient title The title was hereditary, and but rarely given Chingīz Khān conferred it on Qishliq and Bātā for having given him correct information regarding the enemy The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at Court *taklīf-i bār*) [1] Chingīz Khan, moreover, did not take away from the two nobles the royal share of the plunder Under Timūr, a Tarkhān had free access to every place of the palace, and could not be stopped by the macebearers, nor was he or his children liable to be punished for any crime, provided the number of his or their crimes did not exceed the number *nine* [2]

Some say, a Tarkhān had *seven* distinctions and privileges—1 a *tabl*, 2, a *tumāntogh*, 3, a *naqqāra*, 4, he can confer on two of his men a *qushūn togh*, or *chatr togh*, [3] 5, his *Qur* (p 116) was carried (*qūr i ū nīz bardārand*) Among the Mughuls no one but the king was allowed to use a quiver 6 He could enclose (*qurq*) a forest as his private hunting ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty 7 He was looked upon as the head of the clan to which he belonged In the state hall the Amirs sat behind him to his right and left arranged in form of a bow (*kamānwār*)

When Tughluq Tīmūr conferred this title upon an Amir,[4] he put all financial matters (*dād o sitad*) as far as a Hazārī (?) in his charge, nor were his descendants, to the ninth generation, liable to be called to account, but should their crimes exceed the number nine, they were to be called to account When a Tarkhan had to answer for blood shed by him (*pādāsh-i khūn*), he was placed on a silver white horse two years old, and a white cloth was put below the feet of the animal His statement was made by a chief of the Barlas clan (*vide* p 364 *note*), and the

[[1] *Taklif* duty —P]

[2] *Nine* was looked upon as an important number by the Mughuls Thus kings received [illegible]

[3] *Vide* p 52

[4] The MSS call him ارلغی or ارلخی with every variety of diacritical points.

sentence was communicated to him by a chief of the Arkīwat (ارکیوت) clan His neck vein was then opened, the two chiefs remaining at his side, and watching over him till he was dead The king was then led forth from the palace, and sat down to mourn over him

Khizr Khwāja in making Mir Khudādad a *Tarkhān*, added three new privileges 1 At the time of wedding feasts (*tūī*), when all grandees have to walk on foot, and only the *yasāwal* (chief mace bearer) of the king on horseback to keep back the crowds, the *Tarkhān* also proceeds on horseback 2 When during the feast the cup is handed to the king from the right side, another cup is at the same time handed to the Tarkhān from the left 3 The Tarkhān's seal is put on all orders, but the seal of the king is put to the beginning of the last line and below his

Abū 'l Fazl, in concluding these remarks, says that these distinctions are extraordinary enough, he believes it possible that a king may grant a virtuous man immunity for nine crimes, but he thinks it absurd to extend the immunity to nine generations

48 **Iskandar Khan**, a descendant of the Uzbak Kings

He distinguished himself under Humāyūn, who on his return to India made him a *Khān* After the restoration, he was made Governor of Āgra On Hemu's approach, he left Agra, and joined Tardi Beg at Dihli Both opposed Hemū, Iskandar commanding the left wing (*juranghār*) His wing defeated the right wing (*burunghār*) and the van (*harawal*) of Hemu, and hotly pursued them, killing many fugitives The battle was almost decided in favour of the Imperialists when Hemū with his whole force broke upon Tardi Beg, and put him to flight The victorious Iskandar was thus obliged to return He afterwards joined Akbar at Sarhind, fought under Khān Zaman (No 13) against Hemu, and received after the battle for his bravery the title of *Khān ʿĀlam*

As Khizr Khwāja Khan,[1] the Governor of the Panjab, had retreated

before Sikandar Khān Sūr, and fortified himself in Lāhor, leaving the country to the Afghāns, Akbar appointed Iskandar to move to Siyālkot and assist Khizr Khwāja

Afterwards he received Audh as *tuyūl* "From want of occupation," he rebelled in the tenth year Akbar ordered Ashraf Khān (No 74) to bring him to Court but Isk joined Khān Zamān (No 13) Together with Bahādur Khān (No 22), he occupied Khāyrabād (Audh), and attacked Mir Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk (No 61) Bahādur ultimately defeated the Imperialists, but Isk had in the first fight been defeated and fled to the north of Audh

When in the 12th year Khan Zaman and Bahadur again rebelled, Isk in concert with them occupied Audh He was attacked by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlās (No 31), and besieged in Avadh When Isk heard that Khān Zamān and Bahādur had been defeated and killed, he made proposals of peace, and managed during the negotiation to escape by boat with his family to Gorākhpūr, which then belonged to Sulaymān, king of Bengal He appears to have attached himself to the Bengal Court, and accompanied, in 975, Bayazid, Sulaymān's son, over Jhārkand to Orīsa After Sulayman's return from the conquest of Orisā,[1] Isk 's presence in Bengal was looked upon as dangerous, as Sulaymān wished at all hazards to be at peace with Akbar, and the Afghans waited for a favourable opportunity to kill Iskandar He escaped in time and applied to Munʿim Khan, who promised to speak for him At his request, Isk was pardoned He received the Sarkar of Lakʿhnau as *tuyūl*, and died there in the following year (980)

49 **Asaf Khan ʿAbdᵘ 'l Majid (of Hirāt), a descendant of Shaykh Abū Bakr i Taybādi**

His brother Vazir Khan has been mentioned above (No 41) Shaykh Zaynᵘ 'd Din Abū Bakr i Taybadi[2] was a saint (*sāhib kamal*) at the time of Timur When Timur, in 782, set out for the conquest of Hirat, which was in the hands of Malik Ghiyasᵘ 'd Din, he sent, on his arrival at

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upon Akbar to pardon him Sikandar sent his son ʿAbdᵘ r Rahman with some elephants as *pishkash* and was allowed by Akbar to occupy Bihār as *tuyul* (*vide* p 335) Mankot surrendered on the 27th Ramazān 964 Sikandar died two years later
It is difficult to say why Abᵘ l Fazl had not entered Khizr Khan in the List of Grandees His name is given in the *Tabaqat* Similarly Khwa[illegible]

[2] He died A H 791 His biography is given in Jami's *Nafhatᵘ l Uns* Taybād belongs to Jam i Khurasan

Tāybād, a messenger to the Shay<u>kh</u>, to ask him why he had not paid his respects to the conqueror of the world "What have I," replied the Shay<u>kh</u>, "*to do with Tīmūr?*" Tīmūr, struck with this answer, went himself to the Shay<u>kh</u>, and upbraided him for not having advised Malik <u>Gh</u>iyās "I have indeed done so," said the Shay<u>kh</u>, "but he would not listen, and God has now appointed you over him However, I now advise you, too, to be just, and if you likewise do not listen, God will appoint another over you" Tīmūr afterwards said that he had seen many dervishes, every one of them had said something from selfish motives, but not so Shay<u>kh</u> Abū Bakr, who had said nothing with reference to himself

<u>Kh</u>wāja ʿAbdᵘ 'l Majīd was a Grandee of Humāyūn, whom he served as Diwan On Akbar's accession, he also performed military duties When the Emperor moved to the Panjāb, to crush Bayrām's rebellion, ʿAbdᵘ 'l Majid received the title of *Āsaf <u>Kh</u>ān*, regarding which *vide* the note *after this biographical notice* *Subsequently Āsaf was appointed* Governor of Dihli, received a flag and a drum, and was made a Commander of Three Thousand When Fattū, a servant of ʿAdli, made overtures to surrender Fort Chanāḍh (Chunar), Ā, in concert with Shay<u>kh</u> Muhammad <u>Gh</u>aws, took possession of it, and was appointed Governor of Kara Manikpūr on the Ganges About the same time, <u>Gh</u>azī <u>Kh</u>ān Tannūrī, an Afghan noble who had for a time been in Akbar's services, fled to Bhath Ghorā, and stirred up the Zamindārs against Akbar Ā, in the 7th year, sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhath, to pay tribute to Akbar, and surrender the enemies *But the Raja prepared* for resistance Ā marched against the Rāja, defeated him and executed <u>Gh</u>azī <u>Kh</u>ān The Rāja, after his defeat, shut himself up in Bāndhū [1] but obtained Akbar's pardon by timely submission chiefly through the influence of several Raja's at Court Ā then left the Raja in peace, but the spoils which he had collected and the strong contingent which he had at his disposal (*vide* p 251, l 29), made him desirous of further warfare and he planned the famous expedition against Gaḍha Katangah [2]

or Gondwānah, south of Bhath, which was then governed by Durgawatī,[1] the heroine of Central India Her heroic defence and suicide, and the death of her son, Bir Sah, at the conquest of Chaurāgadh (about 70 miles west of Jabalpūr) are well known The immense spoils which Ā carried off, led him temporarily into rebellion, and of the 1 000 elephants which he had captured, he only sent 200 to Court But when Khān Zaman (No 13), in the 10th year, rebelled and besieged Majnūn Qāqshāl (No 50) in Mānikpūr, Ā came with 5,000 troopers to his relief, presented himself before Akbar, who had marched against Khan Zaman, and handed over the remainder of the Gadha spoils He thereby regained Akbar's confidence and was appointed to follow up the rebels At this juncture the imperial Mutasaddis, whom Ā before had handsomely bribed, reported, from envy, his former unwillingness to hand over the spoils, and exaggerated his wealth Hypocritical friends mentioned this to Ā , and afraid of his personal safety, he fled to Gadha (Safar, 973)

Akbar looked upon his flight as very suspicious, and appointed Mahdi Qasim Khān (No 36) to Gadha Ā then left Central India " with a sorrowful heart ", and joined, together with his brother (No 41), Khān Zaman at Jaunpūr But he soon saw that Khān Zamān only wanted his wealth and watched for a favourable moment to kill him Ā therefore made use of the first opportunity to escape Khan Zaman had sent his brother Bahadur (No 22) against the Afghans, and Ā was to accompany him Vazir Khan, whom Khan Zaman had detained, managed likewise to escape, and was on the road to Manikpūr, which Ā had appointed as place of rendezvous No sooner had Ā escaped than Bahādūr followed him up, defeated his men, and took Ā prisoner Bahadur's men immediately dispersed in search of plunder, when suddenly Vazir Khān fell over Bahādur Bahadur made some one a sign to kill Ā , who sat fettered on an elephant, and Ā had just received a wound in his hand and nose, when Vazir in time saved his life, and carried him away Both reached in 973, Karah, and asked Muzaffar Khan (No 37) to intercede for them with the emperor When Muzaffar, in 974, was called by the emperor to the Panjāb, he took Vazir with him, and obtained full pardon for the two brothers Ā was ordered to join Majnūn Qāqshāl at Kara-Manikpūr His bravery in the last struggle with Khan Zamān induced Akbar, in 975, to give him Piyag as *tuyūl*, *vice* Haji Muhammad Sistānī (No 55), to enable him to recruit a contingent for the expedition against

[1] Capt Sleeman in his ' History of the Gurha Mandala Rājas Journal A.S Bengal vol. vi, p 627 spells her name *Durghoutee* He calls her son *Bir Nardin* *Vide* also *Badāoni* ii 66

Rana Udai Singh Ā was sent in advance (*manqalā*) In the middle of Rabīʿ I 975, Akbar left Āgra for Chitor The Rana had commissioned Jay Mal who had formerly been in Mirtha to defend the fort, whilst he himself had withdrawn to the mountains During the siege, which lasted four months and seven days Ā distinguished himself, and when on the 25th Shaʿban 975, the fort fell Ā was made Governor of Chitor

Neither the *Maʾāsir*, nor the *Tabaqat*, mentions the year of his death He must have been dead in 981, because the title of Āsaf Khan was bestowed upon another noble [1]

Note on the Title of "Āṣaf Khān"

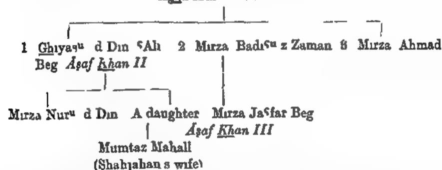
Āṣaf was the name of the Vazir of Sulayman (Solomon), who like his master is proverbial in the East for his wisdom. During the reign of Akbar three grandees received this title Bada oni, to avoid confusion numbers them Āsaf Khan I, II, and III They are —

ʿAbdu l Majid Āsaf Khan I, *d* before 981 (No 49)

Khwaja Mirza Ghiyasu d Din ʿAli Āsaf Khan II, *d* 989 (No 126)

Mirza Jaʿfar Beg Āsaf Khan III (No 98)

The three Āsafs were Diwans or Mir Bakhshis The third was nephew to the second as the following tree will show —



Jahangir conferred the title of 'Āsaf Khan (IV) on Abū l Hasan elder brother of Nūr Jahan and father of Mumtaz Mahall (or Taj Bībi Shahjahan's wife) whose mother was a daughter of Āsaf Khan II During the reign of Shahjahan when titles containing the word *Dawla* [2] were

[1] Stewart (History of Bengal p 120) says ʿAbdu l Majid Āsaf Khan officiated in

revived, *Āsaf Khān* was changed to *Āṣaf*[u] *'d Dawla*, and this title was conferred on Āsaf[u] 'd-Dawla Jumlat[u] 'l Mulk Asadjang (Shāhjahān-Awrang zeb), a relation of Āsaf Khān IV Under Ahmad Shāh, lastly, we find Āsaf[u] 'd Dawla Amīr[u] 'l Mamālik, whose name like that of his father, Nizām[u] 'l Mulk Asaf Jah occurs so often in later Indian History

50 **Majnun Khan i Qāqshāl.**[1]

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and held Narnaul as *jāgīr* When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Hajī Khān besieged Nārnaul, but allowed Majnūn Khān to march away unmolested, chiefly at the request of Rāja Bihārī Mal, who, at that time, was with Hājī Khān (*vide* p 347)

On Akbar's accession, he was made Jāgīrdar of Mānikpūr, then the east frontier of the Empire He remained there till after the death of Khān Zamān (No 13), bravely defending Akbar's cause In the 14th year, he besieged Kālinjar This fort was in the hands of Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Bhath, who during the Afghan troubles had bought it for a heavy sum, from Bijlī Khān, the adopted son of Pahār Khān. When, during the siege, the Rāja heard of the fall of Chitor and Rantanbhūr, he surrendered Kālinjar to M (29th Safar, 997) Akbar appointed M Commander of the Fort, in addition to his other duties

In the 17th year (980), he accompanied Mun'im Khān (No 11) on his expedition to Gorakhpūr At the same time the Gujrātī war had commenced, and as Bābā Khān Qāqshāl[2] had words with Shāhbāz Khān (No 80), the Mīr Tozak, regarding certain arrangements, he was reproved by Akbar But the rumour spread in Mun'im's army that Bābā Khān Jabārī (Majnūn's son), Mirzā Muhammad, and other Qāqshāls, had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and joined the rebellion of the Mirzas in Gujrāt, and that Akbar had therefore ordered Mun'im to imprison Majnūn In consequence of these false rumours, M and others of his clan withdrew from Mun'im, who in vain tried to convince them of the absurdity of the rumours, but

with *Dawla* This is very likely the reason why Akbar conferred the title of Āṣad[u] 'd Dawla on Mīr Fath[u] 'llah of Shīrāz who had come from the Dakhin

[illegible] (*nahūrā*) which he said he had brought on himself by his faithlessness.

[*Khāra* chancre ?—P]

when M soon after heard that Bābā Khān and Jabārī had been rewarded by Akbar for their brave behaviour in the Gujrātī war, he was ashamed of his hastiness, and rejoined Mun'im who, in the meantime, had taken Gorākhpūr

M. accompanied Mun'im on his Bengal expedition. When, in 982, Dā,ūd, *retired to Orīsā, and Kālā Pahār,*[1] *Sulaymān Manklī and Bābū* Mankli had gone to Ghorāghat, Mun'im sent M against them M conquered the greater part of Northern Bengal, and carried off immense spoils On the death of Sulaymān Mankli, the acknowledged ruler of Ghorāghāt, a great number of the principal Afghān nobles were caught, and M with the view of securing peace, married the daughter of Sulayman Mankli to his son Jabārī He also parcelled out the whole country among his clan But Babū Manklī and Kālā Pahār had taken refuge in Kūch Bihar, and when Mun'im was in Katak, they were joined by the sons of Jalalu 'd Dīn Sūr, and fell upon the Qāqshāls The latter, without fighting, cowardly returned to Ṭānḍa, and waited for Mun'im, who, on his return from Orīsā, sent them with reinforcements to Ghorāghat The Qaqshāls re occupied the district Majnun died soon after at Ghoraghāt

The *Tabaqat* says that he was a Commander of Five Thousand, and had a contingent of 5,000 troopers

His son Jabari,[2] distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion The enforcing of the *Dāgh* law led him and his clan into rebellion Jabari then assumed the title of *Khān Jahān* When the Qashāls left Ma'sūm (p 344), Jabari went to Court Akbar imprisoned him, but pardoned him in the 39th year

51 Shuja'at Khan, Muqīm i 'Arab

He is the son of Tardi Beg's sister (No 12) Hūmayūn made Muqim a *Khan* On *the emperor's flight to Persia, he joined Mirza* 'Askarī When Humāyūn took Qandahar on his return, Muqim, like most old nobles,

presented himself before the emperor with a sword hanging from his neck, and was for a short time confined After his release, he remained with Munʿim Khān (No 11) in Kābul, and followed him to India, when Akbar called Munʿim to take Bayrām's place

In the 9th year, Muqīm distinguished himself in the pursuit of ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Uzbak (No 14), "the king of Mandū," and received the title of *Shujāʿat Khan*, which Akbar had taken away from the rebellious ʿAbdu 'llāh

In the beginning of the 15th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest for a day

In the 18th year, he accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Ahmadabād (p 343) Once he slandered Munʿim, and Akbar sent him to the Khān Khānan to do with him what he liked, but Munʿim generously forgave him, and had him restored

In the 22nd year, he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and Governor and Commander in Chief of Malwah

In 988, when troubles in Bihar and Bengal had broken out, Shujaʿat Khān, at Akbar's order, left Sārangpūr for Fathpūr (*Badā,onī* II, 284) At the first stage, ʿIwaz Beg Barlas who complained of arrears of pay and harsh treatment of the men, created a tumult, made a man of the name Hājī Shihab Khan leader, fell upon Shujaʿat s tent, and killed his son Qawim Khān [1] Shujaʿat himself was mortally wounded Some of his adherents, at last, managed to put the dying Sh on an elephant, and led him off to Sārangpūr Though Sh had expired before they reached the town, they did not spread the news of his death, and thus kept the greater part of the soldiers together, and joined Akbar in Sārangpūr

Akbar punished the rebels severely According to p 294, Akbar once saved Shujaʿat's life in the jungles

From Badā onī (II, 284), we learn that Qawim Khān was a young man, renowned for his musical talents

Muqīm Khān (No 386) is Shujāʿat Khān's second son He was promoted under Akbar to a Commandership of seven hundred

Qāʾim Khān was the son of Muqim Khān. Qaʾim's son, Abdu 'r Rāhīm, was under Jahāngir a Commander of seven hundred and 400 horse, got the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and was made in the 5th year, Fawjdār of Alwar Qāʾim's daughter, *Sāliha Bānū*, was received (3rd year) by Jahāngir in his harem, and went by the title of *Pādishāh Mahall* She adopted *Miyān Joh*, son of the above, Abdu 'r Rahim. Miyān Joh was

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[1] So the Maʾāsir and the Akbarnāma Badā,onī (ii 284) has *Qāʾim Khān*; but this is perhaps a mistake of the native editors of the Bibl. Indica.

killed by Mahabat Khan when near the Bahat (Jhelam) he had taken possession of Jahāngīr's person

No 52 Shah Budagh Khan, a descendant of Uymaqs[1] of Miyānkal Samarqand

The Turkish *Budagh* means "a branch of a tree" He distinguished himself under Humayun and was made by Akbar a Commander of Three Thousand

In the 10th year he accompanied Mīr Muʿizzu 'l Mulk (No 61) against Bahādur (No 22) Though the imperialists were defeated, B Kh fought bravely, and was captured His son ʿAbdu 'l Matlab (No 83) ran away In the 12th year, B Kh went with Shihabu 'd Din Ahmad (No 26) against Mirzas in Malwah received Sārangpūr as *tuyūl*, fought under ʿAziz Koka (No 21) in the battle of Patan (18th Ramazan 980), and was for a long time Governor of Mandu where he died The *Tabaqāt* says he had the title of *Amīru 'l Umarā* He was alive in 984, when he met Akbar at Mohinī

Inside Fort Mandu, to the south, close to the walls he had erected a building, to which he gave the name of *Nīlkanth*, regarding the inscriptions on which the *Maʾāsir* gives a few interesting particulars

53 *Husayn Khān (Tukriya), sister's son of Mandi Qasim Khān* (No 36)

"He is the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" In his *jihāds* he was *sans peur*, and his private life *sans reproche* he surpassed all grandees by his faithfulness and attachment to his masters, but his contingent was never in order, he was always poor, though his servants, in consequence of his liberality, lived in affluence He slept on the ground because his Prophet had enjoyed no greater luxuries, and his motto in fight was "death or victory", and when people asked him why he did not invert the order and say "victory or death", he would reply, "O! I so long to be with the saints that have gone before"

He was the patron of the historian Badāonī[2] who served Husayn as almoner to his estate (Shamsabād and Patyali)

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[1] There were two tribes of the Qarā Turks called ايماق or أيماق *aymāq* They were renowned in India as horsemen Hence ايمق as the word is generally spelt by Mughul Historians means *a kind of superior cavalry* vide Tuzuk, p 147 l. 17 How this Turkish word lost its original meaning in India may be seen from p 57 l 1 of the second volume of my Aʾin text where Abu 'l Fazl applies the word to Rajput cavalry of the Rathor clan The word is pronounced *aimāq* in India

The meaning of *Miyān Kāl* is still unclear to me To judge from Abu 'l Fazl's phrase it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan The adjective *Miyān Kālā* occurs frequently Two Miyan Kālis may be found below among the list of learned men (Qazī ʿAbdu 's-Samīʿ) and the poets (Qāsim i Kāhī)

[2] *Vide* my Essay on Badāonī and his Works in J.A.S. Bengal for 1869 p 120

Husayn Khān was not only sister's son, but also son in law to Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No 36) He was in Bayram's service In the second year, after the conquest of Mānkoṭ, Akbar made him Governor of Lāhor, where he remained four months and four days When Akbar in Ṣafar 965, marched to Dihli, he appointed H Kh Governor of the Panjāb During his incumbency, he showed himself a zealous Sunnī As the Christians did with the Jews, he ordered the Hindūs as unbelievers to wear a patch (Hind *tukrā*) near the shoulders, and thus got the nickname of *Tukriya* "Patcher"

Like Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram (No 45), he stuck to Bayrām to the last, and did not meet Akbar at Jhūjhar, but after Bayrām had been pardoned, he entered Akbar's service When Mahdī Qāsim Khān, from dislike to Gadha, went by way of the Dakhin to Makkah, H Kh accompanied him a short distance on the road On his return, he reached Satwās in Malwah, when the rebellion of the Mirzās broke out, and in concert with Muqarrib Khān, the *tuyūldār* of that place, he tried to fortify himself in Satwās But Maqarrib lost heart and fled, and H Kh was forced to leave the Fort, and asked Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā for an interview Though urged to join the Mirza, H Kh remained faithful to Akbar

In the 12th year, when Akbar moved against Khān Zamān, H Kh was to take a command, but his contingent was not ready In the 13th year his jāgir was transferred from Lakhnau, where he and Badā onī had been for about a year, to Kanto Gola[1] His exacting behaviour towards Hindūs and his religious expeditions against their temples annoyed Akbar very much In the 19th year, when the Emperor went to Bihār, H Kh was again absent, and when Akbar returned after the conquest of Hājipur, he confiscated H 's jagir, but on satisfying himself of his harmlessness, he pardoned him, restored his jagir, and told him to get his contingent ready His *mania*, however, again overpowered him He made an expedition against Basantpūr in Kamā,on, which was proverbially rich, and got wounded by a bullet in the shoulder Akbar was almost convinced that he had gone into rebellion, and sent Sādiq Khan (No 43) to him to bring him by force to Court H Kh therefore left Garh Muktesar, with the view of going to Mun'im Khān, through whose influence he hoped to obtain pardon. But he was caught at Bārha, and was taken to Fathpūr Sikri, where in the same year (983) he died of his wounds

[1] Elliot (Index p 235 First Edition) has by mistake *Lakhnor* (on the Ramganga) instead of *Lakhnau* (in Audh) and he calls Husayn Khan a *Kashmiri* This must be an oversight

The Ṭabaqāt says, he was a Commander of Two Thousand; but according to the Akbarnāma, he had since the 12th year been a Commander of Three Thousand.

His son, Yūsuf Khān, was a grandee of Jahāngīr. He served in the Dakhin in the corps of ʿAzīz Koka (No 21), who, in the 5th year, had been sent with 10,000 men to reinforce Prince Parwiz, the Khān Khānān, and Mān Singh, because on account of the duplicity of the Khān Khānān (*Tuzuk* p. 88) the imperialists were in the greatest distress (*vide* pp 344 and 357). Yūsuf's son, ʿIzzat Khān, served under Shāhjahān, (*Pādishāhn.* II, 121).

54. **Murād Khān, son of Amīr Khān Mughul Beg**

His full name is Muhammad Murād Khān In the 9th year he served under Āsaf Khān (No. 48) in Gadha Katanga In the 12th year, he got a jāgīr in Malwa, and fought under Shihābu 'd-Dīn Ahmad against the Mirzās. After the Mirzās had returned to Gujrāt, M. got Ujjain as *tuyūl*

In the 13th year, the Mirzas invaded Mālwa from Khandesh, and Murad Khan, together with Mīr ʿAzīzu 'llah, the Dīwān of Mālwah, having received the news two days before the arrival of the enemies, shut themselves up in Ujjain, determined to hold it for Akbar. The Emperor sent Qulij Khān (No 42) to their relief, when the Mirzās retreated to Mandū Followed up by Qulij and Murād they retreated at last across the Narbaddah

In the 17th year, the Mirzās broke out in Gujrāt, and the jāgīrdars of Malwah assembled under the command of M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) Murād held a command in the left wing, and took part, though not very actively, in the confused battle near Patan (Ramazān, 980)

In 982, he was attached to Munʿim's expedition to Bengal He conquered for Akbar the district of Fathābād, Sarkar Bogla (S.E Bengal), and was made Governor of Jalesar (Jellasore) in Orīsā, after Dāʾūd had made peace with Munʿim

When in 983, after Munʿim's death, Dāʾūd fell upon Nazar Bahādur, Akbar's Governor of Bhadrak (Orīsā), and treacherously killed him, Murād wisely retreated to Ṭānda [1]

Subsequently M. was again appointed to Fathābād, where he was when the Bengal rebellion broke out Murād at Fathābād Qiyā Khān in

[1] As Munʿim left Thanahdars in Bhadrak and Jalesar, Dāʾūd must have been [illegible] most [illegible] the [illegible] The

Orisa Mirza Najat at Satgaw were almost the only officers of Akbar s Bengal corps that did not take part in the great military revolt of 988 Qiya was killed by Qutlu (p 366) and Murad died at Fathabad immediately after the first outbreak of the revolt in 988 before the veil of his loyalty was rent

After his death Mukand the principal Zamindar of Fathabad invited Murad s sons to a feast and treacherously murdered them

Vide No 369

55 **Haji Muhammed Khan of Sistan**

He was in the service of Bayram who was much attached to him In 961 when Bayram held Qandahar rumours of treason reached Humayun The Emperor went from Kabul to Qandahar and personally investigated the matter but finding Bayram innocent he went back taking Haji Muhammad with him who during the investigation had been constantly referred to as inclined to rebellion [1]

After the conquest of Hindustan H M at Bayram s request was made a Khan and was rapidly promoted

In the 1st year of Akbar s reign H M was ordered to accompany Khizr Khwaja n (p 365 note 2) on his expedition against Sikandar Sur Tardi Beg s (No 12) defeat by Hemu had a bad effect on the Emperor s cause and Mulla ʿAbdᵘ llah Makhdumᵘ l Mulk who though in Akbar s service was said to be devoted to the interests of the Afghan s represented to Sikandar that he should use this favourable opportunity and leave the Sawaliks As related above Khizr Khwaja moved against Sikandar leaving H M in charge at Lahor Being convinced of Makhdum s treason H M tortured him and forced him to give up sums of money which he had concealed

In 966 Bayram fell out with Pir Muhammad (No 20) and deprived him of his office and emoluments which were given to H M When Bayram fell into disgrace he sent H M with several other Amirs to Dihli with expressions of his humility and desire to be pardoned But H M soon saw that all was lost He did not receive permission to go back to Bayram After Bayram had been pardoned (p 318) H M and Muhammad Tarsu Khan (No 32) accompanied him on his way to Hijaz as far as Nagor then the frontier of the Empire Once on the road Bayram charged H M with faithlessness when the latter gently reminded him that he had at least never drawn his sword against his master

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[1] Haji Muhammad is the same to whom Erskine s remark refers quoted by Elph n stone (Fifth Edition) p 4 0 note

H M was present in almost every campaign, and was promoted to the post of *Sih hazārī* In the 12th year, when Akbar set out for the conquest of Chītor, he sent H M and Shihābu 'd Dīn Ahmad (No 26) from Gagrūn against the sons of Sulṭān Muhammad Mīrzā, who had fled from Sambhal and raised a revolt in Mālwah H M then received the Sarkār of Mandū as *jāgīr*

In the 20th year, H M accompanied Munᶜim Khān on his expedition to Bengal and Orīsā, and got wounded in the battle of Takaroī (20th Zī Qaᶜda, 982) He then accompanied the Khān Khānān to Gaur, where soon after Munᶜim's death he, too, died of malaria (983)

Note on the Battle of Takaroī, or Mughulmārī, in Orīsā

This battle is one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals It crushed the Afghāns, and decided the possession of Bengal and Upper Orīsa The MSS of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ma'āsir* have تکروهی *Takarohī*, and تکروئی *Takaroī* My copy of the Sawāniḥ has the former spelling A few copies of the *Akbarnāma* have نکروهی *Nakrohī* In *Badā,onī* and the *Ṭabaqāt* the battle of Takaroī is called the battle of بجهوره (*vide* p 334) which may be *Bajhorah*, *Bachhorah*, *Bajhorh*, or *Bachhorh* Stewart's account of Munᶜim's Orīsā expedition (5th Section), differs in many particulars from the *Akbarnama* and the Ṭabaqat He places the battle in the environs of Katak, which is impossible, and his "Bukhtore" is a blunder for بچتوا *ba chuttū ā*, "in Chittua,' the final *alif* having assumed the shape of a ر *re*, and the چ that of خ The Lucknow lithograph of the *Akbarnama*, which challenges in corruptness the worst possible Indian MS, has *ba chitor*, "in Chitor"

The *Akbarnāma*, unfortunately, gives but few geographical details Todar Mal moved from Bardwān over Madāran[1] into the Pargana of Chittuā (چتوا), where he was subsequently joined by Munᶜim Dā'ud had taken up a strong position at هرپور, Harpūr or Haripūr "which lies intermediate (*barzakhe*) between Bengal and Orisa" The same phrase (*barzakhe*), in other passages of the *Akbarnāma*, is applied to Chittuā itself Dā'ūd's object was to prevent the Imperialists from entering Orīsā into which led but few other roads, "but Ilyas Khan Langah

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and
my
the

showed the victorious army an easier road" and Mun'im entered the country, and thus turned Da'ud's position The battle then takes place (20th Zi Qa'da, 982, or A D, 3rd March, 1575) After the battle Todar Mal leads the pursuit and reaches with his corps the town of Bhadrak Not long after, he writes to Mun'im to come and join him, as Dā'ūd had collected his troops near Kaṭak, and the whole army moves to Kaṭak where a peace was concluded, which confirmed Dā'ūd in the possession of Katak

Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuā, which lies a little E E N of Midnipur (Midnapore), and that after the victory Rāja Todar Mal, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasore) and probably north of it, as Abū 'l Fazl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Orisā lately published, I found on the road from Midnipūr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmaree[1] (Mughulmari, i e, Mughul s Fight) and about seven miles southwards half way between Mughulmari and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroe

According to the map the latitude of Mughulmari is 22°, and that of Tookaroe, 21° 53 nearly

There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the تکروئی, *Takaroī*, of the *Akbarnāma*

The battle extended over a large ground Badā oni (II p 195, l 3) speaks of *three four kos, i e* about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroi from Mughulmari is accounted for

I can give no satisfactory explanation of the name بجهوره, by which the battle is called in the Ṭabaqāt and Bada oni (II, 194 l 2, It looks as if the name contained the word *chaur* which occurs so often in the names of Parganas in the Jalesar and Balesar districts

In Bada,oni (Edit Bibl Indica, p 196) and the *Tabaqāt*, it is said that Todar Mal in his pursuit reached کلکل گهاٹی *Kalkalghāṭī* (?), not Bhadrak

List of Officers who died in 983, after their return from Orīsā, at Gaur, of malaria

1	Mun'im Khan, Khan Khanān, (18th Rajab) *Vide* p 334	2	Hajī Khān Sīstānī (No 55)
		3	Haydar Khan (No 66)

[1] Another Mughulmārī lies in the Bardwan district between Bardwan and Jahānābad (Hugli district) on the old high road from Bardwān over Mandaran to Midnīpūr

4	Mīrzā Qulī Khān, his brother	10	Hāshim Khān
5	Ashraf Khān (No 74)	11	Muhsin Khān
6	Muʿīnu 'd Dīn Ahmad (No 128)	12	Qunduz Khān
7	Laʿl Khān (No 209)	13	Abū'l Husayn
8	Hājī Yūsuf Khān (No 224)	14	Shāh Khalīl
9	Shāh Ṭāhir (No 236)		

56 **Afẓal Khān, Khāwja Sultān ʿAlī[1] -yi Turbatī**

Regarding *Turbatī* vide No 37 He was *Mushrif* (accountant) of Humāyūn's Treasury, and was, in 956, promoted to the post of *Mushrif i Buyūtāt* (store accountant) In 957, when Mīrzā Kāmrān took Kābul, he imprisoned A Kh, and forced him to pay large sums of money On Humāyūn's return to India, A Kh was made *Mīr Bakhshī*, and got an *ʿalam* He was together with Tardī Beg (No 12) in Dihlī when Humāyūn died In the battle with Hemū, he held a command in the centre (*gol*), and his detachment gave way during Hemū's charge A Kh, together with Pīr Muhammad (No 20) and Ashraf Khān (No 74), fled from the battlefield partly from hatred towards Tardī Beg—the old hatred of Khurāsānīs towards Uzbaks—and retreated to Akbar and Bayrām As related above, Tardī Beg was executed by Bayrām for this retreat, and A Kh and Ashraf Khān were convicted of malice and imprisoned But both escaped and went to Makkah They returned in the 5th year, when Bayrām had lost his power and were favourably received at Court A Kh was made a *Commander of three thousand*

"Nothing else is known of him" *Maʾāṣir*

57 **Shahbeg Khān, son of Ibrahīm Beg Harik (?)[2]**

He is sometimes called *Beg Khān* (p 327) He was an *Arghūn*, hence his full name is *Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn* Under Jahāngīr he got the title of *Khān Daurān*

He was in the service of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul, Akbar's brother, and was Governor of Peshawar When after the Prince's death, Mān Singh in 993, crossed the Nīlāb (p 362) for Kābul, Shāh Beg took M M Hakīm's two sons, Kay Qubād and Afrāsiyāb, to Akbar, and received a *manṣab* Sh B distinguished himself in the war with the Yūsufzāʾīs, and got *Khushāb* as *jāgīr* He then served under the Khān Khānān in Sindh, and was for his bravery promoted to a command of 2 500 In the 39th year Akbar sent him to Qandahār (p 327), which,

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[1] The word ʿAlī has been omitted in my text edition on p 224

[2] So the Maʾāṣir My MSS of the Āʾīn have هرک which may be *Harik*, *Harmak*, *Harbak* etc Some MSS read clearly *Harmak*

Muzaffar Husayn had ceded During the time of his Governorship Sh B succeeded in keeping down the notorious Kākar کاکر tribe In the 42nd year, he was made a Commander of 3,500 In the 47th year, Ghaznin was placed in his charge (*vide* No 63)

Immediately after the accession of Jahangir, Husayn Khān Shāmlu, the Persian Governor at Hirat, thinking Akbar's death would lead to disturbances, made war upon Sh B and besieged Qandahar, which he hoped to starve out To vex him, Sh B gave every night feasts on the top of the castle before the very eyes of the enemies (*Tuzuk*, p 33) One day Husayn Khan sent an ambassador into the Fort, and Sh B, though provisions had got low, had every available store of grain spread out in the streets, in order to deceive the enemies Not long after, Husayn Shāh received a reprimand from Shah ʿAbbas for having besieged Qandahar " without orders ", and Husayn Khān, without having effected anything, had to raise the siege

When Jahangir in 1016 (18th Safar) visited Kabul,[1] Sh B paid his respects was made a Commander of 5 000, and received the title of *Khān Dawrān* He was also made Governor of Kābul (in addition to Qandahār), and was ordered to prepare a financial settlement for the whole of Afghānistan After having held this office till the end of 1027 he complained of the fatigues incident to a residence in Kābul, horse travelling and the drizzly state of the atmosphere of the country,[2] paid in the beginning of 1028 his respects at Court (*Tuz*, p 257), and was appointed Governor of Thatha[3] He resigned, however, in the same year (*Tuz*, p 275) and got the revenue of the Pargana of Khushāb assigned as pension (75,000 Rs)

Before he went to Thatha, he called on Āsaf to take leave and Āsaf recommended to him the brothers of Mulla Muhammad of Thatha, who had been a friend of Āsaf Shāhbeg had heard before that the Mulla s brothers, in consequence of Āsaf's support, had never cared for the Governors of the province, hence he said to Āsaf, ' Certainly, I will take an interest in their welfare, if they are sensible (*sarhisāb*), but if not, I shall flay them " Āsaf got much annoyed at this, opposed him in everything, and indirectly forced him to resign.

Sh B was a frank Turk When Akbar appointed him Governor of Qandahār, he conferred upon him an ʿalam and a naqqāra (p 52), but on receiving the *insignia*, he said to Farīd (No 99), "What is all this trash for? Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my *manṣab*, and a *jāgīr*, to enable me to get better troopers for his service" On his return, in 1028, from Kābul, he paraded before Jahāngīr his contingent of 1,000 picked Mughul troopers, whose appearance and horses created much sensation

He was much given to wine drinking He drank, in fact, wine, *cannabis*, opium, and *kūknār*, mixed together, and called his beverage of four ingredients *Chār Bughrā* (p 63, l 2), which gave rise to his nickname *Chār Bughrā Khur*

His sons 1 *Mīrzā Shāh Muhammad Ghaznīn Khān*, a well educated man Jahāngīr, in 1028, made him a Commander of One Thousand, six hundred horse

2 *Yaʿqūb Beg*, son in law to Mīrzā Jaʿfar Āṣaf Khān (III), (No 98), a Commander of Seven Hundred, 350 horse The *Maʾāsir* says, he was a fatalist (*azalparast*), and died obscure

3 *Asad Beg* (*Tuz*, p 275) a Commander of Three Hundred, 50 horse The *Maʾāsir* does not mention him

The *Tuzuk*, p 34, mentions a Qāsim Beg Khan, a relation of Sh B This is perhaps the same as No 350

Shāhbeg Khān Arghān must not be confounded with No 148

58 Khan ʿAlam Chalma Beg,[1] son of Hamdam who was Mirza Kamran's foster brother

Chalma Beg was Humāyūn's *safarchī*, or table attendant Mīrzā Kāmran had, in 960, been blinded, and at the Indus asked for permission to go to Makkah Before he left, Humāyūn, accompanied by some of his courtiers, paid him a visit, when the unfortunate prince after greeting his brother, quoted the verse —

"کلاه گوشهٔ درویش بفلک ساید که سایه همچو تو شاهی فکند برسر او"

"The fold of the poor man's turban touches the heaven, when a king like thee casts his shadow upon his head"

And immediately afterwards he said the following verse *extempore* —

برجانم از تو هرچه رسد جای منت است گر ناوک حوادثست وگر خنجر ستم

[1] For *Chalma* the MSS of the Āʾīn have at this place *Habshī* In No 100 the same name occurs The *Maʾāsir* and good MSS of the *Iqbālnāma* have *Chalmah* Turkish dictionaries give *chalmah* (چلمه) in the meaning of *a* *d goat s dung* and *chālma* (چالمه) in that of *dastār*, a turban

In the Edit. Bibl Indica of Badaoni Khan ʿĀlam is wrongly called حان عالم instead of خان عالم

"Whatever I receive at thy hands is kindness, be it the arrow o oppression or the dagger of cruelty"

Humâyûn felt uncomfortable and tried to console him He gave next day orders that any of Kāmrān's old friends might accompany him free to Makkah, but as no one came forward, he turned to Chalmah Beg, and said, "Will you go with him, or stay with me?" Chalmah Beg though he knew that Humāyūn was much attached to him, replied tha he thought he should accompany the Prince in the "gloomy days o need and the darkness of his solitude" The Emperor approved of hi resolution, and made liberal provisions for Kamran and his companion

After Kamrān's death, Chalma Beg returned to India, and was favourably received by Akbar, who made him a Commander of 3,000 bestowing upon him the title of *Khān ʿĀlam* He served under the emperor against the Mirzas in Gujrāt, and was present in the fight at Sarnāl (p 353, No 27)

In the 19th year, when Akbar moved against Dāʾūd in Patna, Khān ʿĀlam commanded a corps, and passing up the river in boats toward the mouth of the Ghandak, effected a landing, though continually exposed to the volleys of the enemies Akbar praised him much for his daring In the same year he was attached to Munʿim's corps In the battle of Takaroi (p 406), he commanded the *harāwal* (van) He charged the Afghāns, and allowing his corps to advance too far, he was soon hard pressed and gave way, when Munʿim sent him an angry order to fall back But before his corps could be brought again into order, Gūjar Khān, Dāʾūd's best general, attacked the Imperialists with his line o elephants, which he had rendered fierce looking by means of black Yak tails (*qutas*) and skins of wild beasts attached to them The horse of the Imperialists got frightened, nothing could make them stand and their ranks were utterly broken Kh ʿĀ's' horse got a sword cut, and reared, throwing him on the ground. He sprang up, and mounted i again, but was immediately thrown over by an elephant, and killed by the Afghāns who rushed from all sides upon him (20th Zī Qaʿda, 982)

It is said that before the battle he had presentiment of his death and begged of his friends, not to forget to tell the Emperor that he had willingly sacrificed his life

Kh ʿĀ was a poet and wrote under the *Takhallus* of *Hamdamī* (in allusion to the name of his father)

A brother of his, Muzaffar, is mentioned below (No 301) among the Commanders of Three Hundred, where for اعظم, in my Text edition p 229, read عالم

59 **Qasim Khan Mir Bahr Chamanarai (?) Khurasan**[1]

He is the son of Mirza Dost s sister who was an old servant of the Timurides When Mirza Kamran was in 954 besieged in Kabul Humayun had occupied Mount Aqabin which lies opposite the Fort of Kabul Whilst the siege was going on Qasim Khan and his younger brother Khwajagi Muhammad Husayn (No 241) threw themselves down from a turret between the Ahanin Darwaza and the Qasim Barlas bastion and went over to Humayun who received them with distinction

Soon after Akbar s accession Q Kh was made a Commander of Three Thousand He superintended the building of the Fort of Agra which he completed after eight years at a cost of 7 *krors of tankas*, or 35 lacs of rupees The Fort stands on the banks of the Jamna river E of the town of Agra on the place of the old Fort which had much decayed The breadth of the walls is 30 yards and the height from the foundation to the pinnacles 60 *ga* It is built of red sandstone the stones being well joined together and fastened to each other by iron rings which pass through them The foundation everywhere reaches water [2]

In the 23rd year Q was made Commander of Agra In the beginning of Shaʿban 995 (32nd year) he was ordered to conquer Kashmir a country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Dihli Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmir the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army The then ruler of Kashmir was Yaʿqub Khan son of Yusuf Khan Chak He had fortified a pass [3] but as his rule was disliked a portion of his men went over to Q whilst others raised a revolt in Srinagar Thinking it more important to crush the revolt Yaʿqub left his fortified position and allowed Q to enter the country No longer able to oppose the Imperialists he withdrew to the mountains and trusted to an active guerilla warfare

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[1] I am doubtful regarding the true meaning of the odd title *chamanarai Khurasan* ... Ruler of Khurasan The Maasir not knowing what to do with it has left it out *Mir Bahr* means admiral If *chaman arai Kh* be a genuine the words mean Admiral of the ... ler of Khurasan ... [illegible]

[illegible]

happened ... [illegible]

[2] The Fort *Badalgarh* ... not ... which Elliot (Index First Edit p 229) identifies with the Fort of Agra cannot be the old Fort of Agra because Badaoni (I 3..) clearly says that it was a lofty structure at the foot of the Fort of Gwaliar not one of

[3] Pass [illegible] Bad II ... — B

but disappointed even in this hope, he submitted and became "a servant of Akbar" The Kashmiris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country Q, tired of the incessant petty annoyances, resigned his appointment (*vide* No 35) In the 34th year he was made Governor of Kābul At that time a young man from Andajān (Farghāna) gave out that he was a son of Shāhrukh [1] He met with some success in Badakhshān, but was defeated by the Turan Shāh The pretender then made friendship with the Zabulī Hazāras, and when Q, on one occasion had repaired to Court he entered Akbar's territory giving out that he was going to pay his respects to the Emperor But Hashim Beg Q's son, who officiated during the absence of his father, sent a detachment after the pretender, who now threw himself on the Hazāras But Hashim Beg followed him, and took him a prisoner to Kabul Q, on his return from India, let him off and even allowed him to enter his service The pretender, in the meantime, rearranged his old men, and when he had five hundred together, he waited for an opportunity to fall on Q At this juncture, Akbar ordered the pretender to repair to Court Accompanied by his ruffians, he entered at noon Q's sleeping apartments, when only a few females were present, and murdered his benefactor (1002) Hashim Beg soon arrived, and fired upon the pretender and his men In the *melée*, the murderer was killed

For Qasim's brother, *vide* No 241, and for his son, No 226

60 Baqi Khān (elder), brother of Adham Khān (No 19)

His mother is the same Māhum Anaga, mentioned on p 340 "From Badaonī (II, 340) we learn that Bāqi Khān died in the 30th year as Governor of Gadha Katanga" This is all the *Maāşir* says of him

His full name is Muhammad Bāqī Khan Koka From Badaonī II, 81, we see that Baqī Khan took part in the war against Iskandar Khān and Bahādur Khan (972-3), and fought under Muʿizzu l Mulk (No 61)

[1] In 1016 another false son of Mirza Shahrukh (p 326) created disturbances and asked

n the battle of Khayrābād, in which Budāgh Khān (No 52) was captured The battle was lost, chiefly because Bāqī Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No 36), and Husayn Khān Tukriya (No 53) had personal grievances —their Uzbak hatred—against Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk and Rāja Todar Mal

61 **Mīr Muʿizzᵘ l-Mulk i Mūsawī of Mashhad**

He belongs to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad the Holy, who trace their descent to ʿAlī Mūsā Razā, the 8th Imām of the Shīʿahs A branch of these Sayyids by a different mother is called *Razawī*

In the 10th year, Akbar moved to Jaunpūr to punish Khān Zamān (No 13), who had dispatched his brother Bahadur and Iskandar Khān Uzbak (No 48) to the district of *Sarwār*[1] Against them Akbar sent a strong detachment (*vide* No 60) under Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk Bahādur, on the approach of the Imperialists, had recourse to negotiations, and asked for pardon, stating that he was willing to give up all elephants M M, however, desired war, and though he granted Bahādur an interview, he told him that his crimes could only be cleansed with blood But he reported the matter to Akbar, who sent Lashkar Khān (No 90) and Rāja Todar Mal to him, to tell him that he might make peace with Bahādur, if he was satified with his good intentions But here also the rancour of the Khurāsānīs towards the Uzbaks decided matters, and Todar Mal only confirmed M M in his resolution[2] Although a few days later the news arrived that Akbar had pardoned Khān Zamān, because he sent his mother and his uncle Ibrāhim Khān (No 64) to Court as guarantees of his loyalty, M M attacked Bahādur near Khayrabad Muhammad Yar, son of Iskandar Khan's brother, who commanded the van of the rebels, fell in the first attack, and Iskandar who stood behind him, was carried along and fled from the field The Imperialists, thinking that the battle was decided, commenced to plunder, when suddenly Bahadur, who had been lying in wait, fell upon M M's left wing and put it to flight Not only was Budagh Khan (No 52) taken prisoner but many soldiers went over to Bahādur Flushed with victory, he attacked the

[1] Most MSS have سرواں The Edit Bibl Indica of Badaoni p 78 has سرود *Sardar* but again سرواں on p [illegible] There is no doubt that the district got its name from the *Sarw* River (آبسرواں آبسرو, آبسرو)

[2] Badaoni says Todar Mal's arrival was "*naphta* on Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk's fire" Throughout his work Badaoni shows himself an admirer of Khan Zamān and his brother Bahadur With Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk a Shīʿah of the Shīʿahs he has no patience 'Muʿizzᵘ l-Mulk's ideas' he says were "I and nobody else", he behaved as proudly as Firʿaūn and Shaddad [illegible]
"AM [illegible]
Mashka [illegible]
of you [illegible]
would [illegible]

centre, where the grandees either fled or would not fight from malice (*vide* No 60) Todar Mal's firmness was of no avail, and the day was lost

After the conquest of Bihār, M M got the Pargana of Āra (Arrah) as *jāgīr* In the 24th year, the nobles of Bihār under Maʿṣūm i Kabuli, *tuyūldār* of Patna, rebelled They won over M M, and his younger brother Mīr ʿAli Akbar (No 62), but both soon left the rebels, and M M went to Jaunpūr recruiting, evidently meditating revolt independently of the others In the 25th year, Akbar ordered Asad Khān Turkmān, *jāgīrdār* of Mānikpūr, to hasten to Jaunpūr and convey M M with all his suspicious adherents to Court Asad Khān succeeded in catching M M, and sent him by boat to the Emperor Near Itāwah, however, the boat "foundered", and M M lost his life

62 **Mīr ʿAlī Akbar** (younger), brother of the preceding

He generally served with his brother, and held the same rank In the 22nd year he presented Akbar, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* with a *Mawlūd nāma*, or History of the birth of the Emperor It was in the handwriting of Qāẓī Ghiyāsᵘ 'd Dīn i Jāmī, a man of learning, who had served under Humāyūn, and contained an account of the vision which Humāyūn had in the night Akbar was born The Emperor saw in his dream the new born babe, and was told to call his name Jalalᵘ 'd Din Muhammad Akbar This Mawlūdnāma Akbar prized very much, and rewarded Mīr ʿAli Akbar with a pargana [1] as *inʿām*

When his brother was sent to Bihār, M ʿA A was ordered to accompany him He established himself at Zamāniya, which " lies 6 *kos* from Ghāzīpūr (*vide* p 336), and rebelled like his brother in Jaunpūr After the death of his brother, Akbar ordered M ʿAziz (No 21), who had been appointed to Bihār, to send M ʿA A fettered to Court Notwithstanding his protests that he was innocent, he was taken to the Emperor, who imprisoned him for life

63 **Sharīf Khān**, brother of Atga Khān (No 15)

He was born at Ghaznīn After Bayrām's fall, he held a *tuyūl* in the Panjāb, and generally served with his elder brother Mir Muhammad Khān (No 16)

On the transfer of the *Atga Khayl* from the Panjāb, Sh was appointed to the Sarkār of Qannawj In the 21st year, when Akbar was at Mohinī, he sent Sh, together with Qāẓī Khān i Badakhshi (No 144), Mujāhid Khān, Subhān Quli Turk, against the Ranā He afterwards distinguished

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[1] Called in the *Maʾāsir* ... (though it cannot be Nuddea in Bengal), in my copy of the *Sawāniḥ* ..., but Nadīnah in Sambhal appears to be meant.

himself in the conquest of Kōbhalmir In the 25th year, he was made *atālīq* to Prince Murād, and was in the same year sent to Mālwah as Governor Shujaʿat Khān (No 51) having been killed His son Baz Bahadur (No 188) was ordered to join his father from Gujrat In the 28th year, he served against Muzaffar, and distinguished himself in the siege of Bahroch, which was held for Muzaffar by Chirkis i Rūmī and Nasirā, brother of Muzaffar's wife The former having been killed, Nasirā escaped in the 7th month of the siege through the trench held by Sharif, and the Fort was taken In the 30th year, he was sent with Shihab[u] 'd Din (No 26) to the Dakhin, to assist Mirza ʿAziz (No 21)

In the 35th year he went from Malwah to Court, and was made in the 39th year Governor of Ghaznin an appointment which he had long desired There he remained till the 47th year, when Shah Beg (No 57) was sent there

"Nothing else is known of him" *Maʾāsir*

His son, Baz Bahādur (No 188), held a *jāgir* in Gujrāt, and was transferred to Mālwah as related above He served in the siege of Āsir, and in the Ahmadnagar war In the 46th year, he was caught by the Talingahs but was released when Abū 'l Fazl made peace, and the prisoners were exchanged

IX —Commanders of Two Thousand and Five Hundred

61 **Ibrahim Khān-i Shaybani** (uncle of Khan Zaman, No 13)

He served under Humayūn After the conquest of Hindūstan Humayūn sent him with Shāh Abū 'l Maʿāli to Lahor, to oppose Sikandar Sur, should he leave the Sawaliks After the fall of Mānkot, he received the Pargana of Sarharpur,[1] near Jaunpur, as *jāgīr*, and remained with Khan Zaman During Khān Zamān's first rebellion, Ibrāhīm Khan and Khān Zaman's mother repaired at Munʿim Khān's request to Court as hostages of his loyalty Ibrahim appearing, as was customary, with a shroud and a sword round his neck, which were only taken off when the Emperor's pardon had been obtained

In the 12th year, however, Khan Zamān again rebelled, and Ibrāhīm went with Iskandar (No 48) to Audh When the latter had gone to Bengal, Ibrāhim, at Munʿim's request, was pardoned, and remained with the Khān Khānān

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[1] It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Badā oni II [illegible] where Sarharpur which lies 18 *kos* from Jaunpur", is mentioned as the *jagir* of Abd[u] r Rahman Sikandar Sūr's son who got it after the surrender of Mankot

In the *Tabaqāt*, Ibr is called a Commander of Four Thousand

His son, Ismaʿīl Khān, held from Khān Zamān the town of Sandelah in Audh In the 3rd year, Akbar gave this town to Sultan Husayn Khan Jalāir Ismāʿīl opposed him with troops which he had got from Khan Zamān, but he was defeated and killed

65 Khwaja Jalālu 'd Din Mahmūd Bujuq, of Khurasan

The MSS of the Āʾin have *Muhammad*, instead of *Mahmūd*, which other histories have, and have besides a word after *Muhammad* which reads like البحق and بحق This should be no doubt بحق *bujuq*, the *scriptio defectiva* of the Turkish بحوق *bujuq*, "having the nose cut," as given in the copy of the *Maʾāsir*

Jalālu 'd Din was in the service of M ʿAskari He had sent him from Qandahār to Garmsir, to collect taxes when Humāyūn passed through the district on his way to Persia The Emperor called him, and Jalāl presented him with whatever he had with him of cash and property, for which service Humayun conferred on him the title of *Mīr Sāmān*, which in the circumstances was an empty distinction On Humayūn's return from Persia, Jalāl joined the Emperor, and was ordered, in 959, to accompany the young Akbar to Ghaznin, the *tuyul* of the Prince His devotion to his master rendered him so confident of the Emperor's protection that he treated the grandees rudely, and incessantly annoyed them by satirical remarks In fact, he had not a single friend

Akbar on his accession made him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred, and appointed him to Ghaznin His enemies used the opportunity and stirred up Munʿim Khān, who owed Jalāl an old grudge Jalal soon found his post in Ghaznin so disagreeable that he determined to look for employment elsewhere He had scarcely left Ghaznin, when Munʿim called him to account Though he had promised to spare his life, Munʿim imprisoned him, and had a short time after his eyes pierced Jalāl's sight, however, had not been entirely destroyed, and he meditated a flight to India Before he reached the frontier, Munʿim's men caught him and his son Jalālu 'd Din Masʿud[1] Both were imprisoned and shortly afterwards murdered by Munʿim

This double murder is the foulest blot on Munʿim's character, and takes us the more by surprise, as on all other occasions he showed himself generous and forbearing towards his enemies

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[1] He must not be confounded with the Jalālu d Din Masʿud mentioned in *Tu k* p 67 who ' ate opium like cheese out of the hands of his mother

66 **Haydar Muhammad Khān, Akhta Begi**

He was an old servant of Humāyūn, and accompanied him to Persia He gave the Emperor his horse, when, in the defeat near Balkh, Humāyūn's horse had been shot On the march against Kāmrān, who had left Kābul for Afghanistān, the imperialists came to the River Surkhāb, Haydar, with several other faithful Amīrs, leading the van They reached the river Siyah āb, which flows near the Surkhab, before the army could come up Kamran suddenly attacked them by night, but Haydar bravely held his ground He accompanied the Emperor to Qandahār and to India, and was appointed to Bayānah (*Bad* I, 463), which was held by Ghāzī Khan Sūr, father of Ibrahīm Khān After the siege had lasted some time, Haydar allowed Ghazi to capitulate, but soon after, he killed Ghazi Humāyun was annoyed at this breach of faith, and said he would not let Haydar do so again

After Akbar's accession, H was with Tardī Beg (No 12) in Dihli, and fought under Khān Zaman (No 13) against Hemū After the victory, he went for some reason to Kābul At Munʿim's request he assisted Ghanī Khān (*vide* p 333) in Kabul But they could not agree, and H was called to India He accompanied Munʿim in the 8th year, on his expedition to Kābul and continued to serve under him in India

In the 17th year, H served with Khān i Kalān (No 16) in Gujrat In the 19th year, he was, together with his brother Mirzā Quli, attached to the Bengal Army, under Munʿim Both died of fever, in 983, at Gaur (*vide* p 407)

A son of H is mentioned below (No 326)

Mirzā Qulī, or *Mirzā Qulī Khān*, Haydar's brother, distinguished himself under Humāyūn during the expedition to Badakhshān When Kāmrān, under the mask of friendship, suddenly attacked Humāyūn, M Q was wounded and thrown off his horse His son, *Dost Muhammad*, saved him in time

According to the *Tabaqāt*, M Q belonged to the principal grandees (*umarā i kibār*), a phrase which is never applied to grandees below the rank of Commanders of One Thousand His name occurs also often in the *Akbarnāma* It is, therefore, difficult to say why his name and that of his son have been left out by Abū 'l Fazl in this list

67 **Iʿtimād Khan, of Gujrāt**

He must not be confounded with No 119

Iʿtimād Khān was originally a Hindū servant of Sultān Mahmūd, king of Gujrāt He was "trusted" (*iʿtimad*) by his master, who had allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women

It is said that, from gratitude, he used to eat camphor, and thus rendered himself impotent. He rose in the king's favour, and was at last made an Amīr. In 961, after a reign of 18 years the king was foully murdered by a slave of the name of Burhān who besides killed twelve nobles. I'timād next morning collected a few faithful men, and killed Burhān. Sultān Maḥmūd having died without issue, I't. raised Raẓiyu 'l Mulk, under the title of Aḥmad Shāh to the throne. Razī was a son of Sultān Aḥmad, the founder of Aḥmadābād, but as he was very young, the affairs of the state were entirely in I't.'s hands. Five years later the young king left Aḥmadābād and fled to Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhara,[1] a principal courtier, but I't. followed him up, defeated him, and drove him away. Sultān Aḥmad then thought it better to return to I't., who now again reigned as before. On several occasions did the king try to get rid of his powerful minister, and I't. at last felt so insecure that he resolved to kill the king, which he soon afterwards did. I't. now raised a child of the name of Nathū (نتهو)[2] to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings", but on introducing him to the grandees, I't. swore upon the Qur'an that Nathū was a son of Sultān Maḥmūd, his mother when pregnant had been handed over to him by Sultān Maḥmūd, to make her miscarry, but the child had been five months old, and he had not carried out the order. The Amīrs had to believe the story, and Nathū was raised to the throne under the title of Sultān Muẓaffar.

This is the origin of Sultān Muẓaffar, who subsequently caused Akbar's generals so much trouble (*vide* pp. 344, 354, 355).

I't. was thus again at the head of the government, but the Amīrs parcelled out the country among themselves, so that each was almost independent. The consequence was that incessant feuds broke out among them. I't. himself was involved in a war with Chingiz Khān, son of I'timādu 'l Mulk, a Turkish slave. Chingiz maintained that Sultan Muẓaffar, if genuine, should be the head of the state, and as he was strengthened by the rebellious Mirzās, to whom he had afforded protection against Akbar, I't. saw no chance of opposing him, left the Sultān and went to Dūngarpūr. Two nobles, Alif Khān and Jhujhār Khān took Sultan Muẓaffar to him, went to Chingiz in Aḥmadābād and killed him (Chingiz) soon after. The Mirzās seeing how distracted the country was took possession of Bahrōch and Sūrat. The general confusion only increased when Sultan Muẓaffar fled one day to Sher Khān Fūlādī and

[1] Regarding this distinguished Gujrātī noble vide the biography of his grandson S. Ḥāmid (No. 78).
[2] Some MSS. read Nathū.

his party, and Iʿt retaliated by informing Sher Khān that Nathū was no prince at all But Sher Khan's party attributed this to Iʿt 's malice, and besieged him in Aḥmadabad Iʿt then fled to the Mirzās and soon after to Akbar, whose attention he drew to the wretched state of Gujrāt

When Akbar, in the 17th year, marched to Patan, Sher Khān's party had broken up The Mirzās still held Bahroch, and Sultān Muzaffar, who had left Sher Khān fell into the hands of Akbar's officers (*vide* No 361) Iʿtimād and other Gujrāti nobles had in the meantime proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques and struck coins in his name They now waited on the Emperor Baroda, Champānir, and Sūrat were given to Iʿt as *tuyūl*, the other Amirs were confirmed, and all charged themselves with the duty of driving away the Mirzas But they delayed and did nothing, some of them, as Iʿtimadu 'l Mulk, even fled, and others who were attached to Akbar, took Iʿt and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason Iʿt fell into disgrace, and was handed over to Shahbaz Khān (No 80) as prisoner

In the 20th year Iʿt was released, and charged with the superintendence of the Imperial jewels and gold vessels In the 22nd year, he was permitted to join the party who under Mir Abū Turab (*vide* p 207) went to Makkah On his return he received Patan as *jagīr*

In the 28th year, on the removal of Shihābu 'd Dīn Ahmad (No 26), he was put in charge of Gūjrāt, and went there accompanied by several distinguished nobles though Akbar had been warned, for people remembered Iʿt 's former inability to allay the factions in Gujrāt No sooner had Shihāb handed over duties than his servants rebelled Iʿt did nothing alleging that Shihab was responsible for his men, but as Sultān Muzaffar had been successful in Kathiwar, Iʿt left Ahmadabab and went to Shihāb who on his way to Court had reached Kari, 20 *kos* from Ahmadābād Muzaffar used the opportunity and took Ahmadabad, Shihab's men joining his standard

Shihab and Iʿt then shut themselves up in Patan and had agreed to withdraw from Gujrāt, when they received some auxiliaries, chiefly a party of Gujrātis who had left Muzaffar, to try their luck with the Imperialists Iʿt paid them well, and sent them under the command of his son Sher Khān against Sher Khan Fūladi, who was repulsed In the meantime, M ʿAbdu 'r Rahim (No 29) arrived Leaving Iʿt at Patan, he marched with Shihāb against Muzaffar

Iʿtimad died at Patan in 995 The *Tabaqat* puts him among the Commanders of Four Thousand

In Abū 'l Fazl's opinion, Gujratis are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness, and Iʿtimād was the very type of a Gujrātī

68 **Pāyanda Khān, Mughul, son of Hājī Muhammad Khān Koki's brother.**

Hājī Muhammad and Shāh Muhammad, his brother, had been killed by Humāyun for treason on his return from Persia Hājī Muhammad was a man of great daring, and his value when he was faithful, was often acknowledged by the Emperor

Payanda, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign came with Munʿim from Kabul, and was ordered to accompany Adham Khān (No 19) to Malwa In the 19th year, he accompanied Munʿim to Bengal In the 22nd year, he served under Bhagwān Dās against Rānā Partāb In the Gujrāt war, he commanded M ʿAbdu 'r Rahīm's (No 29) *harāwal*

In the 32nd year, he received Ghorāghāt as jagir, whither he went

This is all the *Maʾāsir* says regarding Payanda

His full name was Muhammad Payanda He had a son Walī Beg who is mentioned below (No 359)

From the *Tuzuk*, p 144, we see that Payanda died in 1024 A H, Jahangīr, in 1017, had pensioned him off, as he was too old *Tuz*, p 68

69 **Jagannāth son of Raja Bihārī Mal (No 23)**

He was a hostage in the hands of Sharafu 'd Din Husayn (No 17, *vide* p 339) After some time he regained his freedom and was well received by Akbar He generally served with Man Singh In the 21st year, when Ranā Partāb of Maiwār opposed the Imperialists, Jagannāt'h during an engagement when other officers had given way, held his ground, and killed with his own hands the renowned champion Rām Dās, son of *Jay Mal* In the 23rd year, he received a jāgīr in the Panjāb, and was, in the 25th year, attached to the van of the army which was to prevent Mirza Muhammad Hakim from invading the Panjab In the 29th year, he again served against the Rānā Later he accompanied Mirzā Yūsuf Khān (No 35) to Kashmīr In the 34th year, he served under Prince Murad in Kābul, and accompanied him, in the 36th year, to Mālwa, of which the Prince had been appointed Governor In the 43rd year, after several years' service in the Dakhin he left Murād without orders, and was for some time excluded from Court On Akbar's return from the Dakhin J met the emperor at Rantanbhūr, his jāgīr, and was then again sent to the Dakhin

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr, he served under Prince Parwīz against

the Rānā, and was in charge of the whole army when the emperor, about the time Khusraw had been captured, called Parwiz to Court (*Tuzuk*, p 33) In the same year, J suppressed disturbances which Dalpat (p 386) had raised at Nagor

In the 4th year, he was made a Commander of Five Thousand, with 3,000 horse

Rām Chand,[1] his son He was under Jahangir a Commander of Two Thousand, 1,500 horse

Rāja Manrūp, a son of Rām Chand He accompanied Prince Shāhjahān on his rebellion, and got on his accession a Command of Three Thousand, with 2 000 horse He died in the 4th year of Shāhjahān He had a son *Gopal Singh*

70 **Makhsus Khan** (younger), brother of Saʿid Khan (No 25)

He served under his brother in Multān In the 23rd year, he served [illegible] and three years later he [illegible] ed under Akbar, [illegible] ammad Hakim

Subsequently, Makhsūs served under Prince Salim In the 49th year, he was a Commander of Three Thousand

He was alive in the beginning of Jahāngir's reign The author of the *Maʾāsir* has not recorded the date of his death

He had a son Maqsūd who did not get on well with his father, for which reason Jahāngir would not give him a *mansab*

71 **The author of the Āʾīn, Abū 'l Fazl**, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor

Abū 'l Fazl's biography will be found elsewhere

X *Commanders of Two Thousand*

72 **Ismaʿīl Khan Dulday**

Dulday, or Dūlday, is the name of a subdivision of the Barlas clan (*vide* p 364 note)

The *Maʾāsir* calls him Ismaʿil Quli *Beg* Dūlday A similar difference was observed in the name of Husayn Qulī Khan (No 24), and we may conclude that *Beg*, at least in India, was considered a lower title than *Khān*, just as *Beglar Begī* was considered inferior to *Khān Khanān*

Ismāʿīl Qulī was a grandee of Bābar and Humayūn distinguished in the field and in council When Humāyūn besieged Qandahar, and the grandees one after the other left M ʿAskarī, Ism also joined the Emperor, and was appointed, after the conquest of Qandahar, Governor of Dawar

[1] The *Tuzuk* p 74 calls him Karm Chand *Vide also Pādishāhnāma* I *b* 318

When Kābul was besieged, Ism and Khizr Khwāja (*vide* p 394, note) attacked Sher ʿAlī, an officer of Mirza Kamran, who at the prince's order had followed up and plundered the Persian caravan (*qāfi'a yuwilāyat*) on its way to Charikan,[1] but as the roads were occupied by the Imperialists, Sher ʿAlī could not reach Kabul, and marched towards Ghaznin, when he was overtaken and defeated Ism and Khizr spoiled the plunderer, and went again to Humāyūn A short time after, Ism and several other grandees left the emperor, because they resented the elevation of Qaracha Khan and followed Mirzā Kāmrān to Badakhshān. Humāyun followed them up and caught them together with Kāmran, Ism among them Ism was, however, pardoned at Munʿim's request

Ism accompanied the emperor on his march to India, and was sent, after the capture of Dihlī together with Shāh Abu 'l Maʿālī to Lāhor

" Nothing else is known of him " *Maʾāsir*

73 **Mir Babus (?), the Ighur (Uighur?)**

The Ighurs are a well known Chaghtaī tribe The correct name of this grandee is a matter of doubt, as every MS has a different *lectio*, *vide* my Text edition, p 224, note 6 The *Maʿāsir* has left out the name of this grandee, nor do I find it in the List of the Ṭabaqāt

74 **Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi, Muhammad Asghar of Sabzwār (?)**

He was a Husayni Sayyid of Mashhad (*Maʿāsir*, Mirʾatu 'l ʿĀlam) The author of the *Ṭabaqāt* says he belonged to the *ʿArabshāhī* Sayyids, " but people rarely make such fine distinctions " Abū 'l Fazl says, he was of Sabzwār, but in the opinion of the *Maʿāsir*, this is an error of the copyists

Ashraf Khān was a clever writer, exact in his style and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the *Taʿlīq* and *Nastaʿlīq* character (pp 107-8) He also understood *jafar*, or witchcraft[2]

Ashraf was in Humāyūn's service, and had received from him the post and title of Mir Munshī After the conquest of Hindūstān, he was made Mir ʿ*Arz* and *Mir Mal* At Akbar's accession, he was in Dihlī, and took part in the battle with Hemū (p 394, No 48) He was imprisoned by Bayrām but escaped and went to Makkah He returned in 968, when Akbar was at Machhīwāra on his way to the Siwāliks where Bayrām

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[1] So the *Maʾāsir* Our maps have *Charikar* (lat. 35°, long 69) which lies north of Kabul and has always been the centre of a large caravan trade Istā'lf (استالف or استالف) lies half way between Kabul and Charikar [Dowson v, 225 has Chārikārān —B]

[[2] *Jafr* divination etc —P]

was He was well received and got a *mansab* In the 6th year, when the emperor returned from Malwa, he bestowed upon him the title of *Ashraf Khān*

In the 19th year, he went with Munʿim to Bengal, was present in the battle of Takaroī, and died in the twentieth year (983)[1] at Gaur (*vide* p 407)

Ashraf was a poet of no mean pretensions

His son, Mīr Abū 'l Muzaffar (No 240) held a Command of 500 In the 38th year, he was Governor of Awadh

Ashraf's grandsons, Husaynī and Burhānī held inferior commands under Shahjahān

75 **Sayyid Mahmud of Barha** (Kūndlīwal)

"Sayyid Mahmūd was the first of the Bārha Sayyids that held office under the Timūrides" He was with Sikandar Sūr (*Badā,onī* II, 18) in Mānkot, but seeing that the cause of the Afghāns was hopeless, he left Sikandar and went over to Akbar He was a friend of Bayram, and served in the first year under ʿAlī Qulī Khan Zaman (No 13) against Hemū In the second year, he took part in the expedition against Hājī Khān in Ajmīr (*vide* Nos 40, 45) In the 3rd year, he conquered with Shah Qulī Mahram (No 45) Fort Jaitaran,[2] and served in the same year under Adham Koka against the Bhadauriyahs of Hatkanth (*vide* p 341, l 8)

After Bayrām's fall, Sayyid Mahmūd got a jagir near Dihli In the 7th year, he brought Munʿim Khan to Court (*vide* p 333) In the 17th year, he served under the Khan i Kalan (No 16) and the emperor in Gujrat, was present in the battle of Sarnal, and followed up Mirza Ibrāhīm Husayn On every occasion he fought with much bravery Towards the end of the 18th year, he was sent with other Sayyids of Barha and Sayyid Muhammad of Amroha (No 140) against Raja Madhukar, who had invaded the territory between Sironj and Gwāliyār S Mahmud drove him away, and died soon after, in the very end of 981

Sayyid Mahmūd was a man of rustic habits, and great personal courage and generosity Akbar's court admired his valour and chuckled at his boorishness and unadorned language, but he stood in high favour with the emperor Once on his return from the war with Madhukar he gave in the State hall a verbal account of his expedition in which his

[1] The *Maʾāṣir* says in the tenth year (973) as stated on p 103 note 6 This is clearly a mistake of the author of the *Maʾāṣir*

[2] The best MSS have [illegible] The name is doubtful Akbar passed it on one of his marches from Ajmir over Pali to Jalor

"I" occurred oftener than was deemed proper by the assembled Amirs "You have gained the victory," interrupted Āsaf Khān, in order to give him a gentle hint, "because His Majesty's good fortune (*iqbāl i pādishāhī*) accompanied you" Mistaking the word "Iqbal" for the name of a courtier, "Why do you tell an untruth?" replied Mahmūd, "Iqbāl i Pādishāhī did not accompany me I was there, and my brothers, we licked them with our sabres" The emperor smiled, and bestowed upon him praise and more substantial favours

But more malicious were the remarks of the Amirs regarding his claim to be a Sayyid of pure blood Jahāngīr (*Tuzuk*, p 366) also says that people doubt the claim of the Bārha family to be Sayyids Once Mahmūd was asked how many generations backwards the Sayyids of Barha traced their descent Accidentally a fire was burning on the ground near the spot where Mahmūd stood Jumping into it, he exclaimed, "If I am a Sayyid, the fire will not hurt me, if I am no Sayyid, I shall get burnt" He stood for nearly an hour in the fire, and only left it at the earnest request of the bystanders "His velvet slippers showed, indeed, no trace of being singed"

For Sayyid Mahmūd's brother and sons, *vide* Nos 91, 105, and 143

Note on the Sayyids of Bārha (Sādāt i Bārha)

In MSS. we find the spelling بارهه *bārha*, and باره *barāh* The lexicographist Bahār i ʿAjam (Tek Chand) in his grammatical treatise, entitled *Jawāhiru 'l Hurūf*, says that the names of Indian towns ending in ه form adjectives in وی, as تته, *Tatta* or تهتهه *Thatha*, forms an adjective تتوی *tatawī* but of بارهه no adjective is formed, and you say *sādat-i bārha* instead of *sādāt i bārhawī*

The name *Bārha* has been differently explained Whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral *bārah*, 12, be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the times of Akbar and Jahāngīr, for both the *Tabaqāt* and the *Tuzuk* derive the name from 12 villages in the Duāb (Muzaffarnagar District), which the Sayyids held [illegible] their origin to [illegible], or genealogical [illegible] ed passage from the *Tuzuk*, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bārha—but

[1] "From him are descended the most renowned Musalmān families in Northern India the Bārha and Belgrām Sayyids and in Khyrābād Futtehpore Huswā and many other places branches of the same stem are found" C A Elliot *The Chronicles of Oonao* Allahabad 1862 p 93

nothing else—was the best proof that they were Sayyids But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul emperors as Sayyid Khān Jahān (Sayyid Abū 'l Muzaffar) and several others

But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour had become a by word Their place in battle was the van (*harāwal*), they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every emperor from the times of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name They delighted in looking upon themselves as Hindustānis (*vide* p 336) Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amrohah, of Mānikpūr, the Khanzādas of Mewāt and even families of royal blood as the Ṣafawis

The Sayyids of Barha are divided into four branches, whose names are 1 *Tihanpurī*, 2 *Chatbanūrī* or *Chatraurī*[1], 3 *Kūndlīwāl*, 4 *Jagnerī* The chief town of the first branch was Jānsath, of the second Sambalhara, of the third, Majhara, of the fourth Bidauli on the Jamna Of these four lines Muhammadan Historians perhaps accidentally, only mention two, viz, the *Kūndlīwal* (كوندلى وال) to which Sayyid Mahmud (No 75) belonged, and the *Tihanpūrī* (ـسـورى) of which Sayyid Khan Jahān was a member

The Histories of India do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Barha before the times of Akbar, but they must have held posts of some importance under the Sūrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Mahmud in Akbar's camp (p 424) is recorded by all historians as an event of importance He and other Sayyids were moreover at once appointed to high *manṣabs* The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humayun, but this is at variance with Abu 'l Fazl's statement that Sayyid Mahmud was the first that served under a Timuride

The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the reign of Muhammad, Shāh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid ʿAbdu 'llah Khān and Sayyid Husayn ʿAli Khan, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Mahmūd and Akbar, and the above two

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[1] *Vide* Sir H Elliot's Glossary (Beames Edition) I p 11 and p 297 On p 12 of

brothers who made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three [1]

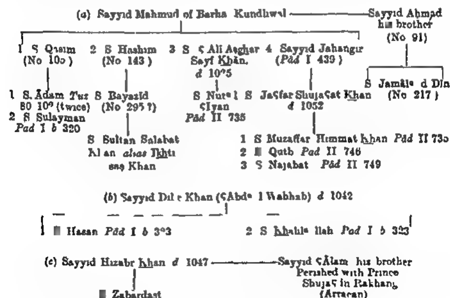
The Sayyids of Barha are even nowadays numerous and "form the characteristic element in the population of the Muzaffarnagar district" (Leeds Report)

Abu l Fazl mentions nine Sayyids in this List of grandees *viz* —

1 Sayyid Mahmūd (No 75)
2 Sayyid Ahmad his brother (No 91)
3 Sayyid Qasim (No 105) } sons of 1
4 Sayyid Hashim (No 143) }
5 Sayyid Raju (No 165)
6 Sayyid Jamal[u] d Din (No 217) son of 2
7 Sayyid Chajhū (No 221)
8 Sayyid Bayazid (No 295)
9 Sayyid Lad (No 409)

The Akbarnama mentions several other Sayyids without indicating to what family they belong Thus S Jamal[u] d Din, a *grandson* of S Mahmud (*vide* under 91), S Salim, S Fath Khan (Bad II 180), etc

The following trees are compiled from the *Tuzuk*, *Pādishahnāma*, and *Ma'asir*



[1] They made Farrukh Siyar Rafiʿ[u] d Darajāt Rafiʿ[u] d Dawla and Muhammad Shāh emperors they dethroned and killed Jahāndar Shāh and Farrukh Siyar whom they had moreover blinded and they blinded and imprisoned Princes Aʿazz[u] d Din ʿAli Tabār and Humāyun Bakht

(*d*) Sayyid Khan Jahān i Shāhjahānī Tihanpūrī —————— A brother
(*alias* S ʿAbdu l Muzaffar Khān) *d* 1055

1 S Manṣur 2 S Sher Zaman, title S Muzaffar Khān. 3 S Munawwar Lashkar Khan — S Wajihu 'd Din Khān

(A brother:) 1 S ʿAli *Pād* II 748 2 S Firūz Ikhtiṣāṣ Khan *d* 1077

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, 312, 319, II, p 733, 734, 735, 741, 752) mentions also S Mākhan, *d* 9th year of Shahjahān, S Sikhan, S ʿAbdu llah, S Muhammad, son of S Afzal, S Khādim, S Sālār, S Shihāb

(*e*) Sayyid Qasim Shahāmat Khan [Chātraurī] —————— a brother
(was alive in the 24th year of Awrangzib)

(A brother:) 1 S Nuṣrat Yār Khān (under Muhammad Shah)

(*f*) Sayyid Husayn Khān *d* 1120

1 S Abu Saʿid Khan 2 Ghayrat Khan. 3 Hasan Khān

(*g*) Sayyid ʿAbdu llah Khan [Tihanpuri] *alias* Sayyid Miyan (under Shāh ʿĀlam I)

1 S Hasan ʿAli Khan *title* Qutbu l Mulk S ʿAbdu llah Khan 2 Amiru l Mamālik S. Husayn ʿAli Khān (killed by Muhammad Shāh)
3 Sayfu d Din Husayn ʿAlī Khān 4 S Najmu d Din ʿAlī Khān

For the following notes, I am indebted to R J Leeds, Esq, C S, Mirzapore, who kindly sent me two Urdū MSS containing a short family history of the *Sādāt i Bārha*, composed in 1864 and 1869 by one of the Sayyids themselves As Mr Leeds has submitted together with his Report "a detailed account in English of the history of the Sayyids," the following extracts from the Urdū MSS will suffice

The date of the arrival in India of the above mentioned Abū 'l Farah from Wāsit is doubtful The two MSS mention the time of Iltitmish (Altamsh) and trace the emigration to troubles arising from Hulagu s invasion of Baghdad and the overthrow of the empire of the Khalifas, while the sons of Abu l Farah are said to have been in the service of Shihābu 'd Din Ghori—two palpable anachronisms

Abū 'l Farah is said to have arrived in India with his twelve sons, of whom four remained in India on his return to his country These four brothers are the ancestors of the four branches of the Sayyids Their names are —

1 Sayyid Daʾūd who settled in the *mawḍaʿ* of *Tihanpur*
2 Sayyid Abu 'l Fazl, who settled in the *qasba* of *Chhatbanurā* (چهتبنورا)

3 Sayyid Abū 'l Fazā'il who settled in the mauza' of *Kūndlī*

4 Sayyid Najm^u 'd Din Husayn who settled in the mauza' of *Jhujar*

These four places are said to lie near Patiyala in the Panjab and have given rise to the names of the four branches Instead of *Chhatbanūrī*, the name of the second branch the MSS have also *Chhatraudī* چهاترودی or چهاترودی, and *Jagnerī* (جگنری) instead of *Jhujarī* (جهجری) although no explanation is given of these alterations

From Patiyala the four brothers went to the Du,ab between the Ganges and Jamna, from where a branch was established at Bilgram in Audh

The etymology of *barha* is stated to be uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhir*, outside because the Sayyids encamped *outside* the imperial camp, some from *bārah imam* the twelve Imams of the Shī'ahs as the Sayyids were Shī'ahs, some derive it from twelve (*barah*) villages which the family held just as the district of Balandshahr Tahsīl Anupshahr, *is said to contain a bārha of Pathans i e 12 villages belonging to a Pathan family*, and others lastly, make it to be a corruption of the Arabic *abrār*,[1] pious

The descendants of S Dā'ūd settled at *Dhasrī* and form the *Tihanpūrī* branch, those of S Abū 'l Fazl at Sambalhara, and form the Chhatbanūrī or Chhatraurī branch, those of S Abū 'l Fazā'il went to Majhara, and are the Kundliwals, and those of S Najm^u 'd Din occupied Bidauli, and form the Jhujarī or Jagnerī branch

A The Tihanpūrīs

The eighth descendant of S Dā'ūd was S Khan Qir (?) (خان قر)[2] He had four sons —

1 *Sayyid 'Umar Shahīd* who settled in Jansath, a village then inhabited by Jats and Brahmins To his descendants belong the renowned brothers mentioned on p 428 (*g*)

The occurrence of the name *'Umar* shows that he, at any rate, was no Shī'ah

2 *Sayyid Chaman*, who settled at Chatora (چتوره) in the Pargana of Joli Jansath To his descendants belongs S Jalal, who during the reign

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[[1] Plural —P]

[2] The

of Shahjahan[1] is said to have founded Kharwa Jalalpūr in the ʿIlāqa of Sirdhana, district Mīrath His son S Shams left the imperial service, hence the family declined He had two sons, Asad ʿAlī and ʿAlī Asghar, whose descendants still exist in Chatora and Jalālpūr respectively They are very poor, and sold in 1843–44 the bricks of the ruined family dwelling, in Chatora for Rs 10 000 to the Government for the construction of works of irrigation The buildings in Chatora are ascribed to S Muhammad Ṣalāh Khan, who served in Audh, and died childless

3 *Sayyid Hunā* (هنا) He settled at Bihāri, Muzaffarnagar He had six sons —

I *Sayyid Quṭb*, whose descendants occupy the village of Bilāspur in the Muzaffarnagar District From this branch come the Ratheri Sayyids

II *S Sulṭān*, whose descendants hold Sirdhaoli[2]

III *S Yūsuf*, whose posterity is to be found in Bihārī and Vhalna (one MS reads *Dubalna*)

IV and *V* *S Jān* and *S Mān*, had no offspring

VI *S Nasīr*ᵘ *'d Dīn* To his descendants belongs S Khān Jahān i Shāhjahānī, p 428 (*d*) On him the Sayyids appear to look as the second founder of their family His first son, *S Manṣūr*, built Manṣūrpūr and his descendants hold nowadays Manṣūrpūr and Khataulī, his second son *Muzaffar Khān* [Sher Zamān] built Muzaffarnagar, where his descendants still exist, though poor or involved

4 *Sayyid Ahmad* He settled at کزال in Joli Jansath, where his descendants still are The MSS mention Tatar Khan, and Dīwan Yar, Muhammad Khan as having distinguished themselves in the reign of Awrangzīb

B *The Chhatbanūrī, or Chhātraurī, Clan*

One of the descendants of S Abū 'l Fazl is called S Hasan Fakhr[u] 'd Din who is said to have lived in the reign of Akbar at Sambalhara, the rājas of which place were on friendly terms with the family His son, S Nadhah, is said to have had four sons —

I *Sayyid ʿAlī*

II *Sayyid Ahmad*, a descendant of whom, S Rawshan ʿAlī Khan, served under Muhammad Shah

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[1] The *Pādishāhnāma* though very minute does not mention S Jalal and S Shams A S. *Jalāl* is mentioned *Tuz*, p 30 He died of his wounds received in the fight at Bhaironwal (*vide* No 99)

[[2] Sandhā olī ?—P]

III. *S Taj*^u^ *'d Dīn* whose son, S ʿUmar settled at Kakrauli

IV. *S Salār* [(perhaps the same on p 428*d*, last line of) who had two sons S Haydar Khān, and S Muhammad Khān The descendants of the former settled at Mīrānpūr, which was founded by Nawab S Shahamat Khān, evidently the same as on p 428 S Muhammad Khan settled at Khatora ("a village so called, because it was at first inhabited by Kaiths") Among his descendants are S Nusrat Yār Khan (p 428) and Rukn^u^ 'd Dawla

C The Kūndlīwāls

S Abū 'l Fazāil settled at Majhara,[1] which is said to have been so called because the site was formerly a jungle of *mūnj*[1] grass The MSS say that many Sayyids of the branch are *mafqūd*^u^ *khabar*, i e it is not known what became of them The Kūndliwals which now exist, are said to be most uneducated and live as common labourers, the condition of Majhara[1] being altogether deplorable

The Kūndlīwāls are now scattered over Majhara,[1] Hashimpūr, Tisang,[2] Tandera, etc

D The Jagnerīs

The son of S Najm^u^ 'd Din, S Qamar^u^ 'd Dīn, settled at Bidaulī A descendant of his, S Fakhr^u^ 'd Din, left Bidaulī and settled at بلری in Joli Jansath, and had also zamīndāris in Chandauri Chandaura, Tulsipūr, and Kharī Nowadays many of this branch are in Bidaulī, ʿIlāqa Panipat, and Dihlī

* * *

The chief places where the Sayyids of Bārha still exist are Mīranpūr, Khatauli, Muzaffarnagar, Jolī, Tisha, Bakhera, Majhara, Chataura, Sambalhera Tisang, Bilāspūr, Morna, Sandhāoli, Kailāodha, Jānsath

[illegible]

... value of the above mentioned two Urdu MSS lies in their geographical details and traditional information A more exhaustive History of the Sadat i Barha based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India—now so accessible—and completed from inscriptions and sanads and other documents still in the possession of the clan would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History and none are better suited for such a task than the Sayyids themselves

There is no doubt that the Sayyids owe their renown and success under the Timurides to the Kundliwals who are the very opposite of *Mafqud*^u^ *l Khabar*

After the overthrow of the Tihanpūrī brothers (p 428, (g)), many emigrated Sayyids of Bārha exist also in Lakhnau, Bareli, Āwla, in Audh, also in Nagina, Maiman, and Chāndpūr in the Bijnor district A branch of the Jolī Sayyids is said to exist in Pūrnia (Bengal), and the descendants of the saint ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Kirmānī of Birbhūm claim likewise to be related to the Barha Sayyids

During the reign of Awrangzib, the Sayyids are said to have professed Sunni tendencies

The political overthrow of the Sādat i Bārha under Muhammad Shāh (vide Elphinstone, Vth edition, p 693) was followed by the disastrous fight at Bhaisi (بهيسى), which lies on the Khatauli road, where the Sayyids were defeated by the Imperialists, and robbed of the jewels and gold vessels which their ancestors, during their palmy days, had collected

76 ʿAbdᵘ llah Khan Mughul

I cannot find the name of this grandee in the *Maʿāṣir* or the *Ṭabaqāt* He has been mentioned above, p 322, l 10 Akbar s marriage with his daughter displeased Bayram because ʿAbdᵘ 'llah's sister was married to Kamran of whose party Bayrâm believed him to be When Bayram, during his rebellion (p 332) marched from Dipālpūr to Jalindhar, he passed over Tihara where Abdᵘ 'llāh defeated a party of his friends under Wali Beg (No 24)

ʿAbdᵘ llah Khān *Mughul* must not be confounded with ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khan *Uzbak* (No 14)

77 Shaykh Muhammad i Bukhāri

He was a distinguished Hindustani Sayyid, and maternal uncle (*tughai* (?)) to Shaykh Farid i Bukhari (No 99) Akbar liked him for his wisdom and faithfulness Fattū Khāsa Khayl Afghan handed over the Fort of Chanār to Akbar, through the mediation of Shaykh Muhammad

In the 14th year, Akbar gave him a *tuyul* in Ajmir, and ordered him to take charge of Shaykh Muʿin i Chishti s tomb, as the *khādims* were generally at feud about the emoluments and distribution of vows presented by pilgrims Nor had the efficacy of their prayers been proved, though they claimed to possess sufficient influence with God to promise offspring to the barren and childless

In the 17th year, Shaykh M was attached to the corps under Mirzā ʿAziz (No 21), whom Akbar had put in charge of Ahmadābad After the Emperor's victory at Sarnāl, Ibrāhim Mirzā joined Husayn Mirzā, Shāh Mirzā, and ʿĀqil Mirzā, at Patan (Gujrat), but having quarrelled with them, he left them, and invaded the District of Āgra The other

three Mirzās remained in Patan and entered into a league with the Fulādī party (*vide* No 67) Mirza ʿAziz had been reinforced by the Malwa contingent under Qutbᵘ 'd Din (No 28), Shah Budagh (No 52) and Matlab Khān (No 83) His army was further increased by the contingent of Shaykh M, whom Akbar had ordered to move from Dholqa to Sūrat Mirza ʿAziz Koka left Sayyid Hamid (No 78) in Ahmadabad, and moved against the Mirzās in Patan The Mirzas and Sher Khan Fūladi, however, wished to delay the fight, as their reinforcements had not arrived, and Sher Khan sent proposals of peace through Shaykh M to M ʿAziz Shah Budagh advised M ʿAziz not to listen to them as the enemies only wished to gain time, and ʿAziz drew up his army He himself, Shāh Budagh, Muʿinᵘ 'd Din i Farankhūdi (No 128), Maʿsūm Khan and his son, and Matlab Khān (No 83) stood in the centre (*qol*) Qutbᵘ 'd Din (No 28), and Jamalᵘ d Din Injū (No 164) on the right wing Shaykh Muhammad, Murād Khān (No 54) Shāh Muhammad (No 95), Shah Fakhrᵘ 'd Din (No 88) Muzaffar Mughul, Payanda (No 68), Haji Khan Afghān, and the son of Khawa Khān on the left wing, Dastam Khān (No 79), Nawrang Khān (*vide* p 331), Muhammad Quli Toqbāi (No 129), and Mihr ʿAli Sildoz (No 130), led the van (*harāwal*), Baz Bahadur (No 188) occupied the *Altmash* (between the van and the commander), and Mirza Muqīm and Chirgis Khān formed the reserve behind the centre The centre of the enemies was held by Sher Khān Fuladi and Junayd i Kararānī, the right wing by the three Mirzas, the left wing by Muhammad Khān (Sher Khān s eldest son) and Sadat Khān, and their van was led by Badr Khān, younger son of Sher Khan The battle then commenced in the neighbourhood of Patan, 18th Ramazān, 980 (22nd January, 1573) The left wing of the Imperialists was defeated by the Mirzas Murād Khan (No 54) preferred to look on Shah Muhammad (No 95) was wounded, and carried off by his men to Ahmadabād Shaykh Muhammad himself was killed with several of his relations, as the son of Sayyid Bahaᵘ 'd Din and Sayyid Jaʿfar, brother of Shaykh Farid (No 99) The Mirzas also fell upon Shah Fakhrᵘ 'd Din and repulsed him Qutbᵘ 'd Din even was hard pressed, when M ʿAziz by a timely attack with his centre put the enemies to flight As usual, the soldiers of the enemies had too early commenced to plunder

Sher Khān fled to Jūnāgadh, and the Mirzas to the Dakhin

78 **Sayyid Hamid i Bukhari**

Sayyid Hamid was the son of S Mīrān son of S Mubārik Sayyid Mubārik was a Gujrātī Courtier (*vide* p 419, note) who, it is said, arrived

from Bukhara with but a horse One day he was attacked by a *mast* elephant when he discharged an arrow that entered the forehead of the animal so deep that only the notch of the arrow was visible From this event the people of Gujrat swore by S Mubarak's arrow He gradually rose to higher dignities When Iʿtimad Khan (No 67) raised Nathu to the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah, S Mubarak got several Mahalls of the Patan Dholqa, and Dandoqa (W of the Peninsula) Districts After his death Dholqa and Dandoqa were given to his son Sayyid Miran and after him to his grandson Sayyid Hamid

When Akbar on his invasion of Gujrat arrived on 1st Rajab 980 at Patan Sayyid Hamid went over to him and was favourably received During the war of Mirza ʿAziz Koka with the Mirza (*vide* No 77) S H was put in charge of Ahmadabad In the 18th year Dholqa and Dandoqa were again given him as *tuyul* Subsequently he served under Qutbu d Din in Kambhait

In the 22nd year he was appointed to Multan, and served in the end of the same year with M Yusuf Khan i Razawi (No 35) against the Baluchis In the 25th year when M Muhammad Hakim invaded Lahor S H with the other *tuyūldārs* of the Panjab assembled and joined the army of Prince Murad, S H commanding the left wing He also served under Akbar in Kabul On the Emperor s return he was permitted to go from Sirhind to his *jagir*

In the 30th year he served under Man Singh in Kabul On his arrival at Peshawar his jagir S H sent most of his men to Hindustan and lived securely in Bigram (on our Maps *Beghram*) leaving his affairs in the hands of a man of the name of Musa This man oppressed the Mahmand and Gharbah (?) Khayl tribes who have ten thousand homes near Peshawar The oppressed Afghans instead of complaining to Akbar chose Jalala yi Tariki as leader and attacked S H He first resolved to shut himself up in Bigram, but having received an erroneous report regarding the strength of the enemies he left the town and was defeated and killed (31st year) The *Maʾasir* says he was killed in 993 In this fight forty of his relations and clients also perished The Afghans then besieged the Fort which was held by Kamal son of S H He held it till he was relieved

S Kamāl during Akbar s reign was promoted to a command of Seven Hundred and, on the accession of Jahangir, to a Hazariship He was made Governor of Dilhi *vice* Shaykh ʿAbdu l Wahhab, also a Bukhari Sayyid (*Tuz* p 35, l 8 from below) Kamal served under Farid i Bukhari (No 99) in the expedition against Prince Khusraw,[1] and commanded

the left wing in the fight near Bhairowāl, rendering timely assistance to the Sayyids of Bārha who, as was customary, led the van.

Sayyid Ya'qūb, son of S Kamāl, was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse, and died in the third year of Shahjahan's reign The *Ma'āsir* says, in the 2nd year

The two lists of Shāhjahān's grandees given in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, 322, II, 740) mention another son of Sayyid Hāmid of the name of Sayyid Bāqir, who held a Command of Five Hundred, 400 horse

79 **Dastam Khān, son of Rustam i Turkistānī**

The correct name of this grandee is *Dastam* دستم, a very unusual name though most MSS of the Ā'in and many of the Akbarnāma give رستم *Rustam* The *Ma'āsir* correctly places his name under the letter *D*

His father's name was Rustam His mother—her name is not clearly written in the MSS of the *Ma'āsir* and *Akbarnāma*, which I have seen, either *Najība* or *Bakhya*—was a friend of Māhum Anaga (*vide* No 19) and had free access to the Harem Dastam appears to have been a playfellow of Prince Akbar

Dastam Khān in the 9th year, served under Mu'izz[u] 'l Mulk (No 61) against 'Abd[u] 'llāh Khan Uzbak (No 14) In the 17th year he served under Mirzā 'Aziz Koka in the battle of Patan (*vide* No 77), distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirzā, and got a flag In the 22nd year he was appointed to the Suba of Ajmir, and got Rantanbhūr as *tuyūl* His administration was praiseworthy, he kept down the rebellious, and protected the oppressed

In the 25th year Uchlā, son of Balbhadr, and Mohan, Sur Dās, Tiluksi, sons of Raja Bihārī Mal's brother, came without permission from the Panjab to Luni (?), their native town, and caused disturbances Dastam, from a wish not to be too hard on Kachhwahas, advised them to return to obedience, but his leniency only rendered the rebels more audacious Akbar then ordered D to have recourse to threats, and if this was not sufficient, to proceed against them D had at last to do so, but he did it hastily, without collecting a sufficient number of troops In the fight,[1] the three nephews of the Raja were killed Dastam received a

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[1] The geographical details given in the Akbarnama are unsatisfactory

Abu 'l Fazl mentions the *Qasba* (small town) of Luni (لنی) as the birth place of the Kachhwaha rebels the fight he says took place in a village (*mauza'*) of the name of *Thor* and Dastam died at *Sherpur* which is also called a *Qasba*. But the Akbar nama ... The *Tabaqat* in its list ... ourhood of ... three are ... erritory for ... is bisected

wound from Uchlā, who had attacked him from an ambush Wounded as he was, he attacked Uchlā, and killed him Immediately afterwards he fainted and fell from his horse His men put him again on horseback—a usual expedient, in order not to dishearten the soldiers The rebels were totally defeated and their estates plundered (988)

Dastam died of his wounds, two days later, at Sherpūr Akbar said that even D 's mother could not feel the loss of her son as much as he did, because D , with the exception of three years had never been away from him

The *Ma'āsir* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand Rantanbhūr was then given to Mirzā ʿAbdurrahīm (No 29) as jagir

A son of Dastam is mentioned below (No 362)

80 Shahbāz Khān i Kambū

Regarding the tribe called *Kambū*, *vide* Beames' Edition of Sir H Elliot's Glossary, I, 304 The Persian hemistich quoted (Metre *Hazaj*) —

[اگر قحط الرحال افتد ازیں سه کس کم اس گیری]
یکی افغان دوم کمبو سوم بدذات کشمیری

" The Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmiris the third, set of scoundrels "

must be very modern, for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, as will be seen just now

The sixth ancestor of Shahbāz was Hajī Ismāʿīl, a disciple of the renowned saint Bahaʾu d Din Zakariyā of Multan Once a beggar asked the saint to give him an *ashrafī*, or gold muhr, for the name of every prophet he would mention, but as Bahaʾu 'd Din could not pay the money, Hājī Ismāʿīl took the beggar to his house, and gave him an Ashrafi for each of the ten or twenty names he mentioned Another time, Hājī Ismaʿīl acknowledged to the saint that his power of understanding was defective, whereupon the saint prayed for him, and from that time the Kambūs are proverbial in Hindustan for sagacity and quickness of apprehension

Shāhbāz at first devoted himself to a life of abstinence and austerity, as his ancestors had done, but the excellent way in which he performed

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the duties of *kotwāl*, drew Akbar's attention to him and he was made an Amīr and appointed *Mīr Tozak* (quarter master)

In the 16th year, when Lashkar Khān (No 90) fell into disgrace, Sh was appointed Mīr Bakhshī In the 21st year he was sent against the rebels in Jodhpūr, especially against Kallah, son of Rāy Rām, and grandson of Rāy Māldeo, and was ordered to take Fort Siwana Shāhbāz first took Fort Daigūr (?),[1] where a large number of Rāthor rebels were killed, after this he took Dūnāra, from where he passed on to Siwanah, which on his arrival capitulated (984)

In the same year, Shāhbāz was sent against Rāja Gajpatī[2] This Rāja was the greatest Zamīndār in Bihar, and had rendered good services during Mun'im's expedition to Bengal But when Da'ūd, king of Orīsa, invaded Bengal after Mun'im's death at Gaur in 983 Gajpatī rebelled and plundered several towns in Bihār Farhat Khan (No 145) *tuyūldār* of Āra, his son Farhang Khān, and Qarātāq Khān, opposed the Raja, but perished in the fight When Shahbāz approached Gajpatī fled, but Sh. followed him up, and gave him no rest, and conquered at last Jagdespūr, where the whole family of the Raja was captured Sh then conquered Shergadh, which was held by Srī Rām Gajpatī's son About the same time, Sh took possession of Rahtās Its Afghān commander, Sayyid Muhammad, who commanded the Fort on the part of Junayd i Kararanī, had been hard pressed by Muzaffar (No 37), he therefore fled to Shāhbāz, asked for protection, and handed over the Fort Sh then repaired to court, where he received every distinction due to his eminent services

In the 23rd year (986) Sh marched against the proud Ranā Partab, and besieged the renowned Fort of Kōbhalmīr (called on our maps Komalnair, on the frontier between Udaipūr and Jodhpūr, lat 25° 10′) The Rānā, unable to defend it, escaped in the disguise of a *Sannāsī* when the fort was taken Goganda and Udaipūr submitted likewise Sh. erected no less than 50 thānas in the hills and 35 in the plains, from Udaipūr to Pūr Mandal He also prevailed upon the rebellious Dauda, son of Ray Surjan Hāḍa (No 96), to submit, and took him to Court After this, Sh was sent to Ajmir, where disturbances frequently occurred

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[1] The MSS. have دکور [illegible] a similar name S W of Jo[illegible] lies on the right bank of th[illegible] went to Siwanah which lies [illegible] Jum[illegible]

[2] So according to the best MSS Stewart calls him *Gujety* the Lakhnau Akbarnāma (III 140) *Kaj* and the Edit Bibl Indica of Badaonī *Kach* [illegible] (p 179 284 28[illegible]) and *Kaj*[illegible] (p 237) which forms are also found in the Lakhnau edition of the Akbarnama

When the military revolt of Bengal broke out Sh was ordered to go to Bihar, but he did not agree with M ʿAzīz Koka—for Sh could not bear to be second or third—and carried on the war independently of him, defeated ʿArab Bahādur, and marched to Jagdespūr At that time the report reached him that Maʿsum Khān Farankhūdi (No 157) had rebelled and ʿArab Bahadur and Niyābat Khān had joined him Sh therefore marched to Audh, and met the enemies near Sultānpūr Bilkari, 25 *kos* from Awadh (Fayzābad) Maʿṣūm, by a timely centre attack, put Sh to flight, and followed him up, Sh fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, a distance of 30 *kos* Accidentally a rumour spread in the army of the enemy that Maʿsūm had been killed, which caused some disorder At this moment Sh 's right wing attacked the enemy, Maʿsūm got wounded, and withdrew to Awadh (Fayzabād) Sh now pursued him, and seven miles from that town, after a hard fight, totally routed him Maʿsūm could not hold himself in Awadh, and his army dispersed

After this, Sh again went to court where he was received by the emperor on his return from Kābul At court, Sh generally gave offence by his pride, and when once, at a parade the Bakhshis had placed the young Mirzā Khan (No 29) above him he gave vent openly to his anger, was arrested and put under the charge of Rāy Sāl Darbarī (No 106)

But an officer of Sh 's usefulness could ill be spared, and when M ʿAziz in the 28th year applied for transfer from Bihār, Sh with other Amirs was sent there He followed up Maʿsūm Khan Kābulī to Ghoraghat, and defeated him He then followed him to Bhaṭi (p 365), plundered Baktarāpūr, the residence of ʿIsā, took Sunnārgāw, and encamped on the Brahmaputra ʿIsā afforded Maʿsūm means and shelter, but being hard pressed by the imperialists he made proposals of peace an Imperial officer was to reside as Sunnārgāw, Maʿsūm was to go to Makkah, and Sh was to withdraw This was accepted, and Sh crossed the river expecting the terms would be carried out But the enemy did nothing, and when Sh prepared to return, his officers showed the greatest insubordination, so that he had to retreat to Ṭanḍa, all advantage being thus lost He reported matters to Court, and the *tuyuldārs* of Bihār were ordered to join him Sh then took the field and followed up Maʿsum In the 30th year, he and Sādiq Khān (*vide* No 43) quarrelled Subsequently, Sh marched again to Bhaṭi, and even sent a detachment "to Kokra (کوکرا), which lies between Orisa and the Dakhin" Madhū Singh, the Zamindar of the district, was plundered, and had to pay tribute In the 32nd year, when Saʿīd (No 25) was made Governor of Bengal, and the disturbances had mostly been suppressed, Sh returned

to Court In the 31th year, he was made *Kotwāl* of the army He was then sent against the Afghāns of Sawād, but he left his duties without orders, and was again imprisoned

After two years he was released, was made *atālīq* to M Shahrukh, who had been appointed to Mālwa, and was on his way to Prince Murad in the Dakhin During the siege of Ahmadnagir, the inhabitants of Shahr i Naw, "which is called *Burhānābād*,' asked the Imperialists for protection, but as they were mostly Shī'as Sh, in his bigotry, fell upon them, plundered their houses, especially the quarter called *Langar i Duwāzda Imām*, the very name of which must have stunk in Sh s nostrils The inhabitants "seeing that they could not rely on the word of the Mughuls" emigrated The Prince was irritated and when Sādiq Khān (No 43) was appointed his *atālīq*, Sh left without permission for Malwa Akbar gave his jāgir to Shāhrukh, and transferred Shāhbāz

In the 43rd year Sh was sent to Ajmīr as Commander of the *manqalā* of Prince Salim (Jahāngir) whom Akbar had asked to go from Ilahabād against the Rānā But Sh was now about seventy years old, and as he had been in the habit of eating quicksilver he commenced to suffer from pain in his hands and wrists He got well again, but had in Ajmir another attack, he rallied again but died suddenly in the 44th year (1008) Salim took quickly possession of Sh's treasures went back to Ilāhabād without having done anything, and continued in his rebellious attitude towards his father

Shāhbāz had expressed a dying wish to be buried in Ajmir within the hallowed enclosure of Mu'in i Chishti But the custodians of the sacred shrine refused to comply, and Sh was buried outside At night, however, the saint appeared in the dreams of the custodians, and told them that Shahbāz was his favourite, whereupon the hero was buried inside, north of the dome

Shahbāz was proverbial for his rigid piety and his enormous wealth His opposition to Akbar's 'Divine Faith" had been mentioned above (p 197) He would neither remove his beard to please the emperor, nor put the word *murid* (disciple) on his signet His Sunnī zeal, no doubt, retarded his promotion as much as his arrogance, for other less deserving officers held higher commands He observed with great strictness the five daily prayers, and was never seen without a rosary in his hand One day the emperor took a walk along the tank at Fathpūr and seized Shahbaz s hand to accompany him It was near the time of the *'asr*, or afternoon prayer, and Sh was restless and often looked up to the sun,

not to miss the proper time Hakīm Abū 'l Fath (No 112) saw it from a distance, and said to Hakim ʿAlī who stood near him, " I shall indeed call Shāhbaz a pious man, if he insists on saying the prayer alone, as he is with the emperor ", (for the prayer had been abolished by Akbar at Court) When the time of prayer had come, Sh mentioned it to the emperor " Oh," replied Akbar, " you can pray another time, and make amends for this omission " But Sh drew away his hand from the grasp of the emperor, spread his *dupatta* shawl on the ground, and said not only his prayer but also his *wird* (voluntary daily religious exercise), Akbar his head slapping all the while, and saying, " Get up ! " Abū 'l Fazl stepped up and interceded for Shāhbāz, whose persistency he admired

Abū 'l Fath says that Shahbāz was an excellent and faithful servant, but he blames him for his bigotry In liberality, he says, he had no equal, and people whispered that he found the *Pāras* stone (*vide* Book III, Sūba of Mālwa) His military contingent was always complete and in good order, during his fights near the Brahmaputr he had 9,000 horse Every Thursday evening he distributed 100 *Ashrafīs* to the memory of the renowned *Ghaus*[u] *'s-saqlayn* (?) (ʿAbd[u] 'l Qādu i Jilani) To the Kambūs he gave so much that no Kambū in India was in bad circumstances

During the time he was Mir Bakhshī he introduced the *Dāgh* law, the most important military reform of Akbar's reign (*vide* pp 252, 265 266)

Shahbaz's brother, Karam[u] 'llāh, was likewise pious He died in 1002 at Saronj (*Ma*ʾ*āsir*) The *Ma*ʾ*āsir* mentions a son of Shāhbāz, Ilhām[u] 'llah He was *Waqiʿa nawīs* (p 268) of the Sarkār of Baglana, where he died

The *Tuzuk* (p 248) mentions another son of his, Ranbāz Khān, who during the reign of Shahjahān was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse He was, in the 13th year, *Bakhshī* and *Wāqiʿa-nawīs* of the corps which was sent to Bangash He held the same rank in the 20th year of Shahjahān's reign [1]

81 Darwīsh Muhammad Uzbak

The *Ma*ʾ*āsir* says nothing about this grandee, the MSS of the *Tabaqāt* merely say that he was dead in 1001

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[1] In the list of Akbar's grandees in the *Tabaqat* Nizam says ' At present (in 1001) Shāhbaz is Mir Bakhshī of Malwa "

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition, II, p 137) we see that he was a friend of Bayrām He was sent by Bayram together with Muzaffar ʿAli (No 37, and p 332, l 6) to Sher Muhammad Diwana, who dispatched both fettered to Court

His name occurs again in the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow edition II, p 250 —where for *Derwish Uzbak Khwaja*, read *Darwish Uzbak o Muzaffar Khwāja*) From the fact that Abu l Fazl has given his name in this list, it is evident that Akbar pardoned him on Bayram s submission

82 Shaykh Ibrahim, son of Shaykh Mūsa, elder brother of Shaykh Salim of Fathpūr Sikri

His father, Shaykh Musa lived a retired life in Sikrī As Akbar had at first no children he asked the Sikri Shaykhs to pray for him, which they did, and as at that time one of Akbar's wives became pregnant (with Salim), Akbar looked upon the Shaykhs with particular favour To this lucky circumstance, the Sikri family owes its elevation

Shaykh Ibrāhīm lived at first at Court, chiefly in the service of the princes In the 22nd year he was made Thanahdār of Ladla,i, and suppressed the disturbances In the 23rd year he was made Governor of Fathpūr Sikrī In the 28th year he served with distinction under M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) in Bihar and Bengal, and was with Vazir Khan (No 11) in his expedition against Qutlū of Orisā When Akbar, in the 30th year, went to Kabul he was made Governor of Āgra, which post he seems to have held till his death in 999 (36th year)

According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was not only the brother but also the son in law of Shaykh Salim i Sikriwāl

83 ʿAbdᵘ 'l Matlab Khan, son of Shah Budāgh Khān (No 52)

The *Maʾasir* makes him a Commander of Two Thousand Five Hundred

ʿAbdᵘ l Matlab accompanied Sharafᵘ d Din Husayn (No 17) on his expedition to Mirtha In the 10th year he served together with his father under Muʿizzᵘ 'l Mulk (No 61) against Iskandar and Bahādur Khan and fled from the battlefield of Khayrābād In the 12th year he served under Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās (No 31) against Iskandar Khān in Audh He then retired to his *tuyūl* in Malwa

In the 17th year he belonged to the auxiliaries of M ʿAziz Koka and was present in the battle of Patan (p 433) In the 23rd year, when Qutbᵘ 'd Din's men (No 28) brought Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā from the Dakhin to Court, ʿAbdᵘ 'l Matlab attached himself as convoy and saw the Mirza safely to Court In the 25th year he accompanied Ismāʿīl Quli Khan (No 46) on his expedition against Niyābat Khan ʿArab In the

following year he received a reprimand for having murdered Fath Dawlat, son of ʿAlī Dost He was, however, subsequently pardoned, and was put in command of the left wing of the army which was sent to Kābul In the 27th year, Akbar honoured him by being his guest in Kālpī, his jāgīr

In the 30th year he accompanied M ʿAzīz Koka to the Dakhin, and was sent, two years later, against Jalāla Tārīkī, the Afghān rebel One day, Jalāla fell upon the van of the Imperialists, which was commanded by Beg Nūrīn Khān (No 212), Salīm Khān (No 132), and Sheroya Khān (No 168) They were in time, and, assisted by Muhammad Qulī Beg, routed Jalala, who escaped to the mountains ʿAbdu 'l-Matlab "had not the good fortune of even mounting his horse to take part in the fight" He seems to have taken this to heart, for when the victorious army returned to Bangash, he had an attack of madness and was sent to Court He died soon after

His son, Sherzād, was under Jahāngīr, a Commander of Three Hundred, 200 horse

84 Iʿtibār Khān, the Eunuch

His name, like that of many other Eunuchs, was ʿAmbar He was one of Babar's Eunuchs When Humayūn left Qandahar for ʿIrāq, he despatched Iʿtibār and others to conduct Maryam Makānī (Akbar's mother) to his camp In 952 he left Kābul and joined the emperor, who attached him to Prince Akbar's suite

In the 2nd year of Akbar's reign he accompanied Akbar's mother and the other Begams from Kābul to India Akbar appointed him Governor of Dihli, where he died

He must not be confounded with No 86

85 Rāja Bīr Bal [Bīr Bar], the Brahman

He was a Brahman of the name of Mahesh Dās (*Maʾāsir*, the *Ed Bibl Indica of Badāonī*, II, p 161, calls him *Brahman Dās*) and was a *Bhāt*, or minstrel, a class of men whom the Persians call *bādfarosh*, "dealers in encomiums" He was very poor, but clear headed, and remarkable for his power of apprehension According to Badāonī, he came soon after Akbar's accession from Kālpī to Court where his *bonmots* in a short time made him a general favourite His Hindī verses also were much liked, and Akbar conferred on him the title of *Kab Rāy*, or (Hindu) Poet Laureate,[1] and had him constantly near himself

[1] Just as *Jotik Rāy* the (Hindu) Court Astrologer The (Persian) Poet Laureate [Fayzī] had the title of *Maliku sh Shuʿarā*, or 'King of Poets'

In the 18th year Rāja Jai Chand of Nagarkot, who was at Court happened to displease the emperor, and was imprisoned Nargakot was given to Kab Rāy as jāgīr He also received the title of Raja Bīr Bar But Jai Chand's son, Budh Chand (or Budhī Ch, or Badī Ch — the MSS differ) shut himself up in Nagarkot, and Husayn Qulī Khān (No 24) was ordered to conquer it The invasion of Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā, as related above, forced Husayn Qulī to raise the siege, and Bīr Bar, in all probability, did not get his jāgīr He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadabād, 24th Rabi' II, 981 (*Vide* note to No 101)

He was often employed in missions Thus in the 21st year he was sent with Rāy Lon Karan to Dūngarpūr, the Rāy of which town was anxious to send his daughter to Akbar's Harem In the 28th year, again, B B and Zayn Koka (No 34) conducted Raja Ram Chand (No 89) to Court

Bīr Bar spent his time chiefly at Court In the 34th year Zayn Khan Koka marched against the Yūsufzā,īs in Bijūr and Sawad, and as he had to ask for reinforcements, Bīr Bar was sent there together with Hakīm Abū l Fath (No 112) It is said that Akbar determined by lot whether Abū 'l Fazl or Bīr Bar should go, and the lot fell on the latter, much against Akbar's wish

The result of this campaign has been related above (pp 214, 367) Bīr Bar and nearly 8,000 Imperialists were killed during the retreat— the severest defeat which Akbar's army ever suffered [1]

How Akbar felt Bīr Bar's loss has been mentioned on p 214 There is also a letter on this subject in Abū l Fazl's *Maktūbāt*

The following passages from Badā,onī (*Ed Bibl Ind*, pp 357, 358) are of interest— "Among the silly lies —they border on absurdities—which during this year (993) were spread over the country, was the rumour that Bīr Bar, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell The Hindūs by whom His Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr Bar's loss, and invented the story that Bīr Bar had been seen in the hills of Nagarkot, walking about with Jogīs and Sannāsīs His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr Bar was ashamed to come to Court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzā,īs; and it was, besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogīs,

[1] A similar catastrophe befell Aurangzīb when several thousand soldiers of the army commanded by Amīn Khān were killed in the Khaibar Pass on the 3rd Muharram 1083 or 21st April 1672 *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī* p 117 Vide *Journal A S Bengal* for 1862 p 261

inasmuch as he had never cared for the world An Ahadī was therefore sent to Nagarkot to inquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity"

"Soon after, His Majesty received a report that Bir Bar had been seen at Kalinjar (which was the jāgir of this dog), and the collector of the district stated that a barber had recognized him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen, when one day Bir Bar had engaged him to rub his body with oil, from that time, however, Bir Bar had concealed himself His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to Court, and the Hindū Krori (collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment giving out that he was Bir Bar The Krori could, of course, send no barber to Court, he therefore killed the poor traveller, to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bir Bar in reality, but he had since died His Majesty actually went through a second mourning, but he ordered the Krori and several others to come to Court They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed His Majesty before, and the Krorī had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine"

Bir Bar was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent His short verses bon mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindūstān

The hatred which Badaonī Shāhbāz Khan (No 80) and other pious Muslims showed towards Bir Bar (vide pp 192, 198 202, 209, 214) arose from the belief that Bir Bar had influenced Akbar to abjure Islām

Bir Bar's eldest son, *Lāla*, is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Hundred (No 387) He was a spendthrift, and as he got no promotion, and his property was squandered away, he resigned court life, and turned *faqīr* in order to live free and independent (end of 46th year)

86 Ikhlas Khan Iʿtibar, the Eunuch

The *Maʾasir* does not give his name The list of Akbar's grandees in the *Tabaqāt* has the short remark that Ikhlās Khan was a Eunuch, and held the rank of a Commander of *One Thousand*

87 Bahar Khan (Muhammad) Asghar, a servant of Humayūn

The name of this grandee is somewhat doubtful, as some MSS read *Bahādur Khān* The *Maʾāsir* does not give his name The list of the *Tabaqāt* mentions a "Bahar Khān a Khāsa Khayl Afghan, who held a command of Two Thousand" Bahar Khan Khāsa Khayl is also mentioned in several places in the *Akbarnāma* He is therefore most probably the same as given by Abū'l Fazl in this list Perhaps we have

to read *Pahāṛ Khān*, instead of *Bahār Khān*, *vide* No 407 The notice in the *Ṭabaqāt* implies that he was dead in 1001

88 Shāh Fakhr[u] 'd Dīn, son of Mīr Qasim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad

Shāh Fakhr[u] 'd Dīn came, in 961, with Humāyūn to India In the 9th year of Akbar's reign he served in the army which was sent against ʿAbd[u] 'llah Khān Uzbak (No 14) In the 16th year he was in the *manqalā*, or advance corps, commanded by Khān i Kalān (No 16) When Akbar arrived at Patan, he sent Sh F and Hakim ʿAyn[u] 'l Mulk to Mīr Abū Turab and Iʿtimād Khān (No 67) On the road he fell in with the former, and went to Iʿtimād whom he likewise induced to pay his respects to Akbar He was among the auxiliaries of M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) and was present in the battle of Patan (p 433) He was also among the grandees who accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Gujrāt (p 343, note, where according to the *Akbarnāma* we have to read *24th Rabīʿ* II, for *4th Rabīʿ* I) After this, he was made Governor of Ujjain, and received the title of *Naqābat Khān*[1] In the end of the 24th year, he was made Governor of Patan (Gujrat), *vice* Tarsō Muhammad Khān (No 32), where he soon after, probably in the beginning of 987, died (986 *Ṭabaqāt*)

89 Rāja Rām Chand Baghela

A few MSS read *Bhagela*, which form Tod says is the correct one *Baghela*, however, is the usual spelling

Rām Chand was Raja of Bhath (or *Bhaʿtah*, as the *Maʾāṣir* spells it) Among the three great Rajas of Hindūstān whom Bābar mentions in his Memoirs, the Rajas of Bhath are the third

Rām Chand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer Tansīn, regarding whom *vide* the List of Musicians at the end of this book His fame had reached Akbar, and in the 7th year, the Emperor sent Jalal[u] 'd Din Qūrchi (No 213) to Bhath, to induce Tansin to come to Āgra Ram Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite, with his musical instruments and many presents to Āgra, and the first time that Tansin performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of rupees Tānsin remained with Akbar Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstan

When Āsaf Khan (I) led his expedition to Gaḍha (p 396)[2] he came in

[1] The Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma* (III p 222) calls him *Naqīb Khān* (?)
[2] On p 396 *Rām Chand* is by mistake called *Ram Chandr*

contact with Ram Chand but by timely submission the Raja became a servant of Akbar In the 14th year Yam Chand lost Fort Kalinjar as related on p 399 He sent his son Bir Bhadr to Court but from distrust would not pay his respects personally In the 28th year, therefore when Akbar was at Shahabad he ordered a corps to march to Bhath but Bir Bhadr through the influence of several courtiers prevailed upon the Emperor to send a grandee to his father and convey him to Court Raja Bir Bar and Zayn Koka were selected for this office and Ram Chand came at last to Court where he was well received

R Ch died in the 37th year and Bir Bhadr succeeded to the title of Raja But on his way from Court to Bhath he fell from his palanquin and died soon after in the 38th year (1001 *vide* p 385) His sudden death led to disturbances in Bandhu of which Bikramajit a young relation of Ram Chand had taken possession Akbar therefore sent Raja Patrdas (No 196) with troops to Bandhu and the Mughuls according to custom erected throughout the district military stations (*thanas*) At the request of the inhabitants Akbar sent Isma'il Quli Khan (No 46) to Bandhu to convey Bikramajit to Court (41st year) their intention being to prevent Bandhu from being conquered But Akbar would not yield he dismissed Bikramajit and after a siege of eight months and several days Bandhu was conquered (42nd year)

In the 47th year Durjodhan a grandson of Ram Chand was made Raja of Bandhu In the 21st year of Jahangir's reign Amr Singh another grandson of Ram Chand acknowledged himself a vassal of Dihli In the 3th year of Shahjahan when 'Abdu llah Khan Bahadur marched against the refractory zamindar of Ratanpur Amr Singh brought about a peaceful submission Amr Singh was succeeded by his son Anup Singh In the 24th year when Raja Pahar Singh Bundela Jagirdar of Chaura gadh attacked Anup because he had afforded shelter to Dairam a zamindar of Chauragadh Anup Singh with his whole family withdrew from Rewa (which after the destruction of Bandhu had been the family seat) to the hills In the 30th year however Sayyid Salabat Khan Governor of Ilahabad (*vide* p 427) conducted him to Court where Anup turned Muhammadan He was made a Commander of Three Thousand 2 000 horse and was appointed to Bandhu and the surrounding districts

90 Lashkar Khan Muhammad Husayn of Khurasan

He was *Mir Bakhshi* and *Mir 'Arz* In the 11th year Muzaffar Khan (No 37) had him deposed In the 16th year he came one day drunk to the Darbar and challenged the courtiers to fight him Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse and then put him into prison

He was subsequently released, and attached to Mun'im's Bengal corps In the battle of Takaroī (p 406) he was severely wounded Though his wounds commenced to heal, he did not take sufficient care of his health, and died, a few days after the battle, in Orisā

He is mentioned as having had a contingent of 2,000 troopers (*Ma'āsir*, 1,000)

The *Ma'āsir* has a long note in justification of the extraordinary punishment which Akbar inflicted on him

The title of *Lashkar Khān* was conferred by Jahangir on Abū 'l Hasan Mashhadī, and by Shahjahān on Jān Nisār Khān Yādgār Beg

91 Sayyid Ahmad of Barha

He is the younger brother of Sayyid Mahmūd (p 427) In the 17th year he served in the *manqāla*, which, under the command of Khan i Kalan (No 16), was sent to Gujrat After the conquest of Ahmadabād, he was ordered with other Amirs to pursue the sons of Sher Khan Fulādi (p 432), who had removed their families and property from Patanto Īdar A portion of their property fell into the hands of Imperialists When Akbar afterwards encamped at Patan, he gave the town to Mirzā Abd[u] 'r Rahīm (No 29), but appointed S A as Governor In the same year, Muhammad Husayn Mīrza, Shāh Mirzā, and Sher Khān Fūlādī, besieged Patan, but they dispersed on the approach of M 'Azīz

In the 20th year S A. and his nephews S Qāsim and S Hāshim quelled the disturbances in which Jalāl[u] d' Din Qurchī (No 213) had lost his life In 984 he served under Shahbāz Khān (No 80) in the expedition to Siwānah According to the *Tabaqāt*, which calls him a Commander of Three Thousand, he died in 985

Abu 'l Fazl mentioned Sayyid Ahmad above on p 300, l 11 from below

Sayyid Ahmad's son *S Jamāl[u] 'd-Dīn* was killed by the untimely explosion of a mine during the siege of Chitor (p 398)

This S Jamal[u] 'd Din must not be confounded with the notorious S Jamal[u] 'd Dīn who was executed in 993 (*Badā,onī* II, 345) He was a grandson of S Mahmūd (No 75) S Qasim being called his uncle

92 Kākar 'Ali Khan i Chishtī

He came with Humāyūn to Hindūstān In the 11th year (973) he was sent together with Shāh Qulī Naranjī (No 231) to Gadha Katanga, because Mahdi Qasim Khan (No 36) had gone without leave to Makkah Kākar served also under Mu'izz[u] 'l Mulk (No 61) and was present in the battle of Khayrabād He took part in the bloody fight at Sarnāl (middle of Sha'ban, 980, *vide* p 353) He was then attached to Mun'im's

corps, and served in the siege of Patna, during which he and his son were killed (end of 981, *Ma'āṣir*, 980)

93 **Ray Kalyān Mal, Zamīndār of Bikānīr.**

He is the father of Rāy Singh (No 44), and has been mentioned above, p 384

94 **Tahir Khan, Mīr Farāghat, son of Mīr Khurd, who was** *atālīq* to Prince Hindāl

His name is not given in the *Ma'āṣir* The *Ṭabaqāt* merely says that he was a grandee of Humāyūn, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand According to the same work, he had a son *Bāqī Khan*, who likewise served under Akbar

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, p 274) we see that he was one of Akbar's companions Together with Dastam Khān (No 79) Qutluq Qadam Khan (No 123), Peshraw Khān (No 280), Ḥakimᵘ l Mulk, Muqbil Khān, and Shimāl Khan (No 154), he assisted in the capture of the wild and mad Khwāja Mu'azzam, brother of Akbar's mother

95 **Shah Muhammad Khān of Qalāt**

As Qalat belongs to Qandahār, he is often called Shāh Muhammad Khan i Qandahari The *Ma'āṣir* says that the name of the town of Qalat is generally spelt with a ق, *Q*, but that the Hazāras pronounce *Kalāt*, with a *K*

Shāh Muhammad Khan was a friend of Bayrām, and was with him in Qandahār, which Humayūn had given Bayrām as *jāgīr* Bayram, however, left it entirely in S M's hands Bahadur Khan (No 22) was then governor of Dawar, and had bribed several grandees to hand over Qandahar to him, but S M discovered the plot and killed the conspirators Bahadur then marched against Qandahar S M knew that he could expect no assistance from Humayun, and wrote to Shah Ṭahmāsp of Persia that it was Humāyūn's intention to cede Qandahār, he should therefore send troops, defeat Bahadur, and take possession of the town Ṭahmasp sent 3,000 Turkman troopers furnished by the *jāgīrdārs* of Sistān, Farah, and Garmsir Their leader, 'Ali Yar, surprised Bahādur and defeated him so completely, that Bahādur could not even keep Dawar He therefore fled to India S M had thus got rid of one danger, he treated the Persian Commander with all submissiveness, but would not hand over the town Shāh Ṭahmāsp then ordered his nephew, Sulṭan Husayn Mirza, son of Bahram Mirza (*vide* No 8), Wali Khalifa Shāmlū, and others, to besiege Qandahār The siege had lasted for some time, when Sulṭān Husayn Mirzā felt disgusted and withdrew

Tahmāsp felt annoyed, and sent again Sultān Ḥusayn Mirza with ʿAlī Sultān, Governor of Shīrāz, to Qandahār, with positive orders to take the town. ʿAlī Sultān was shot during the siege, and Sultan Husayn Mirza remained encamped before the town without doing anything. At this juncture, Akbar, who in the meantime had succeeded to the throne, ordered S M to hand over Qandahār to the Persians, according to Humāyūn's promise, and come to India.

This account of the cession of Qandahār, observes the author of the *Maʾāṣir*, differs from Munshī Sikandar's version of his great work entitled *ʿĀlamārā-yi Sikandarī*. According to that history, Tahmāsp, at the very first request of Shah Muhammad sent Sulṭān Husayn Mirza with Walī Khalifa and other nobles to Qandahār. They defeated Bahadur, but as S M would not hand over Qandahar, Tahmasp sent ʿAlī Sulṭan with a stronger army, and appointed Sultān Hussayn Mirza governor of Dawar and Qandahār. Shāh Muhammad held out for six months, but as he got no assistance from India, he capitulated, and withdrew to Hindūstān.

Be this as it may, S M arrived in the end of the third year of Akbar's reign in India, was made a Khan, and gradually rose to the rank of a Commander of Two Thousand. In the beginning of the 6th year (968) he led the van in the battle near Sarangpūr, in which Baz Bahādur lost Malwa, and served, in the 9th year, in the war against ʿAbdu llah Khan Uzbak (No 14). In the 12th year he was made governor of Kotha. In the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Mirzā ʿAziz Koka, and was wounded in the battle of Patan (p 432).

Regarding ʿĀdil Khan, S M's son, *vide* below, No 125.

96. **Ray Surjan Hada**

He is often merely called Rāy Hadā. The Hadas are a branch of the Chauhāns. The Sarkār of Rantanbhūr is called after them *Hadautī*.

Rāy Surjan was at first in the service of the Rana, and defied the Mughuls, because he thought himself safe in Rantanbhur. Akbar, after the conquest of Chitor (p 398), besieged in the end of the 13th year, Rantanbhur, and R S, despairing of holding out longer—the siege having lasted about a month—sent his sons Dauda and Bhoj (No 175) to Akbar's camp to sue for peace. The Emperor received them well and gave each a dress of honour. When they were taken behind the tent enclosure to put on the garments, one of their men, suspecting foul play, rushed sword in hand towards the audience tent, and killed several people, among them Shaykh Bahāʾu 'l Dīn Majẕūb of Badāʾon, but was cut down by one of Muzaffar Khān's men. As R S's sons were entirely innocent, the accident did not change Akbar's goodwill towards them;

and he sent them back to their father At R S 's request, Husayn Qulı Khan (No 24) was then sent to the Fort and escorted R S to the Emperor Rantanbhūr was annexed (Shawwal, 976, or beginning of the 14th year)

R S was made Governor of Gadha Katanga, from where, in the 20th year, he was transferred to Fort Chanadh (Chunar)

Soon after, Dauda fled and created disturbances in Būndī Zayn Khan Koka (No 34), R S and his second son Bhoj were therefore sent to Bundī, which was conquered in the beginning of 985 After the conquest, R S was made a commander of Two Thousand Daudā who had escaped, submitted, in the 23rd year, to Shāhbāz Khān (p 436) Not long after, Dauda fled again He died in the 30th year

R S served in the 25th year, after Muzaffar's (No 37) death in Bihar The *Ma*ʾ*asır* does not mention the year of his death From the *Tabaqāt*, it is clear, that he had been dead for some time in 1001

For R S 's son, Ray Bhoj, *vide* below, No 175

97 **Shāham Khān Jalā,ır**

Jala ır is the name of a Chaghtā,ī tribe

Shāham's father was Bāba Beg, who had been under Humāyūn, governor of Jaunpūr Bābā Beg also took part in the battle of Chausa, in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh The Emperor fled to Āgra, and ordered Bābā Beg and other grandees to bring up the camp and the Begams In attempting to rescue the ladies of the Harem, Babā Beg was killed by an Afghan near the imperial tent

Shaham Khān was made an Amir by Akbar

In the beginning of the 4th year (966) he served together with the two Jalā ırs mentioned below, Hājī Muhammad Khan ı Sıstānī (No 55), Chalma Beg (58) Kamal Khān, Ghakkar, and Qıyā Khān Gung (No 33), under Khān Zamān (No 13) in the Jaunpūr District against the Afghans The war continued till the sixth year, in which Sher Shāh, son of ʿAdlı, Mubārız Khan, after Bayrām's death, made a final attempt to overthrow the Mughuls In the 10th year Sh Kh served against Khān Zamān

In the 19th year he served under Munʿım in the Bengal and Orısā wars, was present in the battle of Takaroı and pursued with Todar Mal the Afghans to Bhadrak (p 406) After Munʿım's death at Gaur (p 407), the grandees put Sh Kh in command of the army till the Emperor should send a new commander In the 21st year he took part in the battle near Āg Mahall (p 350) In the 24th year he was *jāgīrdār* of Hajıpūr (opposite Patna) After Muzaffar's death (No 37) in 988, before Todar Mal had arrived he defeated and killed Saʿid ı Badakhshī, one of the Bengal rebels Subsequently, he pursued ʿArab Bahādūr, whom Shāhbāz Khān

(p 438) had defeated In the 26th year Sh Kh was stationed at Narhan In this year, Ma'sūm Khān i Farankhūdi (No 157) had been driven by the imperialists from Bahrā,ich over Kalyānpūr to Muhammadābad, which he plundered, and prepared to attack Jaunpūr Sh Kh from Narhan, Pahār Khān (No 407) from Ghazīpūr and Qasim from Jaldpūr, united their contingents, and pursued Ma'sūm so effectually that he applied to M 'Aziz Koka to intercede for him with the Emperor In the 32nd year he was made Governor of Gadha, and soon after, of Dihli In the end of the same year he accompanied Sultān Murad, who conducted M Sulaymān (No 5) to Court In the beginning of the 33rd year he assisted Ṣādiq Khān (No 43) in his expedition against Jalala Tariki in Terāh

In the 43rd year, after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, Akbar made Dihlī his residence It was proved that Sh had been oppressive, and he was therefore reprimanded Two years later, he served in the Āsir war, and died during the siege of that fort, Zi Hijjah 1009

The *Ṭabaqāt* says that Shāham Khān was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand

The *Akbarnāma* mentions two other Jalā,ir Grandees —

1 *Sultan Husayn Khān Jalā,ir* He was mentioned above, p 417, l 3

2 *Muhammad Khān Jalā,ir* The *Tabaqāt* says of him, ' he is an old Amir, and is at present (1001) mad " He served under Khān Zaman in the war with Hemū In the beginning of the 4th year all three Jalā,irs served under Khan Zamān against the Afghans in the Jaunpūr District

98 **Āṣaf Khan (III)**, [Mirza Qiwāmu d' Din] Ja'far Beg son of Badi'u 'z Zaman of Qazwin

His father Mirza Badi'u 'z Zaman was the son of Āgha Mulla Dawatdār of Qazwin (*vide* p 398) M Badi during the reign of Shah Ṭahmasp, had been *wazīr* of Kāshān, and Ja'far had also been introduced at the Persian Court

In the 22nd year of Akbar's reign (985), Ja'far Beg came to India, and was presented to Akbar by his uncle M Ghiyāsu 'd Din 'Ali Āsaf Khān II (No 126), on his return from the Idar expedition The new *Dāgh* law having then been introduced, Akbar made Ja'far a Commander of Twenty (*Bisti*) and attached him to the *Dākhilīs* (p 252) of his uncle According to *Badā,onī* (III, 216) people attributed this *minimum* of royal favour to the malice of Ja'far's uncle The post was so low that Ja'far threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal, to which province Muzaffar Khan (No 37) had just been appointed governor He was with

him when the Bengal military revolt broke out, and fell together with Shams[u] 'd Din i Khafi (No 159) into the hands of the rebels Ja'far and Shams found means to escape, the former chiefly through his winning manners On arriving at Fathpur, Ja'far met with a better reception than before, was in a short time made a Commander of Two Thousand, and got the title of *Āsaf Khān* He was also appointed Mir Bakhshi *vice* Qazi 'Ali In his first expedition against the Rana of Udaipūr, Āsaf was successful

In the 32nd year he was appointed Thānadār of Swād (Swat), *vice* Isma'il Quli Khan, who had been reprimanded (p 388, where for *Wajūr* read *Bijur*) In the 37th year Jalala Rawshani fled to 'Abd[u] 'llah Khan Uzbak, king of Tūrān, but finding no support, he returned to Terāh, and stirred up the Āfridi and Ūrakzā i Afghāns Āsaf was sent against him and with the assistance of Zayn Khān Koka, defeated Jalala The family of the rebel fell into the hands of the imperialists, his women were given to Wahdat 'Ali, who was said to be Jalala's brother, while the other members of his family were taken to Court

In the 39th year Āsaf was sent to Kashmir, M Yūsuf Khan (No 35) having been recalled He re distributed the lands of the Jagir holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kabuli (No 191) Muhammad Quli Afshar, and Hasan 'Arab were the most important The cultivation of *Za'farān* (saffron, *vide* p 89) and hunting were declared monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qazi 'Ali *i e* at one lakh of *kharwars*, at 24 *dāms* each (*vide* p 370) Āsaf stayed only three days in Kashmir and returned to Lahor In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the Jagir holders Āsaf was made Governor of the province In the 44th year (beginning of 1008) he was appointed *Dīwān i kull vice* Patr Das (No 196)

In 1013 Prince Salim (Jahangir) rebelled against Akbar, but a reconciliation was effected by Akbar's mother, and Salim was placed for twelve days under surveillance After this he received Gujrat as *tuyul* and gave up the Sūbas of Ilahābād and Bihar of which during his rebellion he had *taken possession Bihar was given to Āsaf, who, more* over, was appointed to a Command of Three Thousand

On Jahangir's accession, Āsaf was called to Court, and appointed *atālīq* to Prince Parwiz, who had taken the command against the Rana The expedition was, however, interrupted by the rebellion of Prince Khusraw In the 2nd year, 1015, Jahangir, after suppressing Khusraw's revolt, left Lahor for Kabul, and as Sharif Khan Amir[u] l Umara[*] remained

dangerously ill in India, Āsaf was made Vakil and Commander of Five Thousand. He also received a pen box studded with jewels.[1] But he never trusted Jahāngīr, as the Emperor himself found out after Āsaf's death (*Tuzuk*, p. 109).

From the time of Akbar's death, the kings[2] of the Dakhin had been restless, and Malik ʿAmbar had seized upon several places in the Balāghāt District. The Khān Khanān (No. 29), with his usual duplicity, had done nothing to recover the loss, and Jahāngīr sent Prince Parwiz to the Dakhin, with Āsaf Khān as *atālīq*, and the most renowned grandees of the Court, as Rāja Man Singh (No. 30), Khān Jahān Lodi, Khān i Aʿzam (No. 21), ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān, "each in himself sufficient for the conquest of a country." But incessant drinking on the part of the Prince, and the jealousy and consequent insubordination of the Amirs, spoiled every thing, and the Mughuls suffered a check and lost their prestige. Not long after, in 1021, Āsaf died at Burhāmpūr. The *Tārikh* of his death is —

صد حیف ز آصف خان. A hundred times alas! for Āsaf Khān.

The *Tuzuk* (p. 108) says that he died at the age of sixty three.

Āsaf Khan is represented as a man of the greatest genius. He was an able financier, and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with his own hands in his gardens; and he often transacted business with a garden spade in his hand. In religious matters, he was a free thinker, and one of Akbar's disciples (p. 218–9). He was one of the best poets of Akbar's age, an age most fruitful in great poets. His Masnawi, entitled *Nūrnāma* ranks after Nizam's *Shīrīn Khusraw*. *Vide* below among the poets of Akbar's reign.

Āsaf kept a great number of women, and had a large family.

His sons. 1. *Mīrzā Zaynᵘ 'l ʿĀbidin.* He was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 500 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahān's reign. He had a son *Mīrzā Jaʿfar*, who like his grandfather was a poet, writing under the same *takhallus* (Jaʿfar). He, Zāhid Khān Koka, and M. Shāfi (*Pādishāhnāma*; Sāqi, *Maʾāsir*) son of Sayf Khan, were such intimate friends, that Shahjahān dubbed them *sih yār*, "the three friends." He

[1] It was customary under the Mughul Government to confer a pen box or a golden inkstand or both as *insignia* on Diwāns. When such officers were deposed they generally returned the presents.

[2] Mughul historians do not like to call the rulers of the Dakhin *kings*. The word which they generally use is *dunyādār*, which is a meaningless title. I have not found this title used in histories written before the *Akbarnāma*.

later resigned the service, and lived in Āgra on the pension which Shāhjahān granted and Awrangzib increased He died in 1094

2 *Suhrāb Khān* He was under Shahjahān a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,200 horse, and died in the 13th year of Shahjahān

3 *Mirzā ʿAlī Asghar* He was a hasty youth, and could not bridle his tongue In the Parenda expedition, he created dissensions between Shāh Shujāʿ and Mahābat Khān He served in the war against Jujhār Bandela, and perished at the explosion of a tower in Fort Dhamūnī, as related in the *Pādishāhnāma* He had just been married to the daughter of Muʿtamid Khān Bakhshī (author of the *Iqbālnāma-yi Jahāngīrī*), but as no cohabitation had taken place, Shāhjahān married her to Khān Dawrān He was a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse

4 *Mirzā ʿAskarī* He was in the 20th year of Shāhjahān a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse

The lists of grandees in the *Pādishahnāma* mention two relations of Āsaf—1 *Muhammad Salih*, son of Mirzā Shāhī, brother or nephew of Āsaf He was a Commander of One Thousand, 800 horse, and died in the second year of Shāhjahan's reign 2 *Muqīm*, a Commander of Five Hundred, 100 horse

XI *Commanders of One Thousand and Five Hundred*

99 **Shaykh Farīd i Bukhārī**

The *Iqbālnāma*, according to the *Maʾāşir*, says he belonged to the *Mūsawī* Sayyids, but this is extraordinary, because the Bukhārī Sayyid's trace their descent to Sayyid Jalal i Bukhāri, seventh descendant of Imām ʿAli Naqī Alhādī

The fourth ancestor of Shaykh Farid was Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l Ghaffār of Dihli, who when dying desired his family to give up depending on Suyūrghal tenures, but rather to enter the military service of the kings This they seem to have done

Shaykh Farīd was born at Dihli (*Tuzuk*, p 68) He entered Akbar's service early In the 28th year, when M ʿAzīz (No 21) resigned from ill health the command of the Bihar army, S F accompanied Vazir Khān (No 41) to the neighbourhood of Bardwān, where Qutlū of Orisā had collected his Afghāns Qutlū having made proposals of peace, S F was ordered to meet him In doing so he nearly perished through Qutlū' treachery (*vide* Stewart's Bengal) In the 30th year, he was made Commander of 700, and gradually rose, till the 40th year, to a comm of 1,500 He was also appointed Mir Bakhshī, and had also for some

the *Daftar i Tan* in his charge, i e, he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jāgīr holders

His elevation under Jahāngīr was due to the decided support he gave Jahāngīr, immediately before his accession, and to the victory he obtained over Prince Khusraw at Bhairōwāl When Prince Salīm occupied Ilāhabad during his rebellion against his father, appointing his servants to *mansabs* and giving them *jāgīrs*, Akbar favoured Prince Khusraw so openly, that every one looked upon him as successor Soon after, a sort of reconciliation was effected, and Salīm's men were sent to Gujrāt When Akbar lay on the death bed, he ordered Salīm to stay outside the Fort of Āgra, and M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) and Raja Mān Singh, who from family considerations favoured Khusraw's succession, placed their own men at the gates of the fort, and asked Shaykh Farīd to take command But S F did not care for their arrangements and went over to Prince Salīm outside, and declared him emperor, before Akbar had closed his eyes On the actual accession S F was made a commander of 5 000, received the title of *Sāhib^u 's sayf w^a 'l qalam*,[1] and was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*

A short time after, on the 8th Zi Hijjah, 1014, Prince Khusraw suddenly left Āgra and went plundering and recruiting to Lāhor S F, with other Bukhārī and many Barha Sayyids was sent after him, whilst Jahāngīr himself followed soon after, accompanied by Sharīf Khan Amīr^u 'l Umarā' and Mahābat Khān who were hostile to S F, and took every possible opportunity of slandering him Sultān Khusraw had gone to Lahor and besieged the town, when he heard of S F's arrival with 1[illegible] 000 horse at the *Āb ī Sultānpūr* He raised the siege, and arrived at the Biyah which S F had just crossed Khusraw was immediately attacked The fight was unusually severe The Barha and Bukhārī Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight, the former in the van under the command of Sayf Khān, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Kundliwal (p 427) and Sayyid Jalāl There were about 50 or 60 of the Barha Sayyids opposed to 1,500 Badakhshī troopers, and had not S Kamāl (*vide* No 78) come in time to their rescue, charging the enemy with loud cries of *Pādishāh salāmat* the Barha Sayyids would have been cut down to a man Sayyid Sayf Khān got seventeen wounds, and S Jalal died a few days after the battle About four hundred of Khusraw's troopers were killed, and the rest dispersed Khusraw's jewel box fell

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[1] This title we also find in old inscriptions e g in those of Tribeni and Satgāw Hugli District It means *Lord of the sword and the pen*

into the hands of the Imperialists The fight took place in the neighbourhood of Bhairōwāl[1] In the evening Jahāngīr arrived, embraced S F, and stayed the night in his tent The District was made into a Pargana of the name of Fathābād, and was given S F as a present He received, besides, the title of *Murtazā Khān*, and was appointed governor of the Sūba of Gujrāt

In the 2nd year, S F presented Jahāngir with an immense ruby made into a ring, which weighed 1 *misqāl*, 15 *surkhs*, and was valued at 25,000 Rs As the relations of the Shaykh oppressed the people in Gujrāt, he was recalled from Ahmadābād (*Tuzuk*, p 73) In the 5th year he was made governor of the Panjab In 1021 he made preparations to invade Kāngra He died at Pathān in 1025, and was buried at Dihli (*Tuz* p 159) At the time of his death, he was a Commander of Six Thousand, 5,000 horse

Sayyid Ahmad, in his work on the antiquities of Dihli, entitled *Āsār"s Sanādīd*, No 77, says that the name of S F's father was Sayyid Ahmad i Bukhari Of Farid's tomb, he says, nothing is left but an arcade (*dālān*) But he wrongly places the death of the Shaykh *in the 9th year, or* 1033 A H, instead of *in the eleventh year*, or 1025 A D Sayyid Ahmad also mentions a *Sāra,ī*, built by Shaykh Farid in Dihli, which has since been repaired by the English Government, and is now used as a jail (جیل خانه, *jel khāna*)

According to the *Tuzuk*, p 65, Salimgadh (Dihli) belonged to S Farid It had been built by Salim Khān the Afghān during his reign in the midst (*dar miyān*) of the Jamna. Akbar had given it to Farid[2]

When Shaykh Farid died only 1,000 Ashrafis were found in his house, which very likely gave rise to the *Tārīkh* of his death —

داد [1] خرد برد *dād, khurd burd* (1025 A H)

"He gave,[1] and left (carried off) little"

Shaykh Farīd was indeed a man of the greatest liberality. He always gave with his own hands. Once a beggar came to him seven times on one day, and received money, and when he returned the eighth time, Farīd gave him again money, but told him not to tell others, else they might take the money from him. He gave widows a great deal, and his jagir lands were given as free land tenures to the children of his servants or soldiers who had been killed. When in Gujrat, he had a list made of all Bukhārī Sayyids in the province,[2] and paid for every marriage feast and outfit, he even gave pregnant women of his clan money for the same purpose for the benefit of their yet unborn children. He never assisted singers, musicians, or flatterers.

He built many *sarā,īs*. The one in Dihlī has been mentioned above. In Ahmadabad, a *mahalla* was adorned by him and received as a memorial of him the name of Bukhāra. In the same town he built the Masjid and Tomb of Shah Wajīhu 'd Dīn (*died* 988, *Badā,onī*, III, 43). He also built *Farīdābād* near Dihlī, the greater part of the old pargana of Tilpat being included in the pargana of Farīdabād (Elliot's Glossary, Beame's Edition, II, p 123). In Lāhor also, a Mahalla was built by him, a large bath, and a *chauk*, or bazar. The Government officers under him received annually three *khilʿats*, to his footmen he gave annually a blanket, and his sweepers got shoes. He never made alterations in his gifts.

His contingent consisted of 3 000 picked troopers. Neither in the reign of Akbar, nor that of Jahangir did he build a palace for himself. He always lived as if on the march. He paid his contingent personally, little caring for the noise and tumult incident to such offices. One of his best soldiers, an Afghan of the name of Sher Khān, had taken leave in Gujrāt, and rejoined after an absence of six years, when Sh Farīd was in Kalanur on his march to Kāngra. The Shaykh ordered Dwarkā Dās, his Bakhshī, to pay the man his wages and the Bakhshī wrote out the Descriptive Roll, and gave the man one day's pay. But Farīd got angry, and said "He is an old servant, and though he comes rather late, my affairs have not fared ill on account of his absence, give him his whole pay." The man got 7,000 Rs, his whole pay for six years.

[1 *Khurd* eat enjoyed —P]

[2] In Dihlī Ahmadābād and many other places in Gujrāt do we find Bukhārī Sayyids. Vide Nos 77 78.

'N ght and day," exclaims the author of the *Ma'āṣir*, "change as before, and the stars walk and the heavens turn as of old, but India has no longer such men Perhaps they have left for some other country!"

Shaykh Farid had no son His daughter also died childless He had adopted two young men, Muhammad Sa'id and Mir Khān They lived in great pomp, and did not care for the emperor Though often warned, they would noisily pass the palace in pleasure boats to the annoyance of the emperor, their boats being lighted up with torches and coloured lamps One night they did so again, and Mahābat Khān, whom Jahāngir had given a hint, sent one of his men and killed Mir Khān S F. demanded of the emperor Mahābat's blood, but Mahābat got together several "respectable" witnesses who maintained before the emperor that Mir Khān had been killed by Muhammad Sa'id, and Shaykh F had to remain quiet

Muhammad Sa'id was alive in the 20th year of Shāhjahān, and was a Commander of Seven Hundred, 300 horse (*Pādishāhn*, II, 743)

Sayyid Ja'far, S F's brother, was also in Akbar's service He was killed in the battle of Patan (p 433)

The *Pādishāhnāma (I, b, 316, 313, II, 739) also mentions Sayyid Badr*, son of Shaykh Farid's sister, a Commander of 700, 500 horse; and *Sayyid Bhalar*, son of Sh F's brother, a Commander of Five Hundred, 300 horse

100 Samānjī Khān, son of Chalma Beg

For *Samānjī* we often find in MSS *Samājī* The Turkish *samān* means *hay*, so that *Samānjī* or *Samānchī* would mean *one who looks after the hay*

The name of this grandee is neither given in the *Ma'āṣir*, nor the *Tabaqāt* Nor have I come across his name in the *Akbarnāma* It remains, therefore, doubtful whether he is the son of No 58

Another Samānjī Khān will be found below, No 147

101 Tardī Khān, son of Qiyā Khān Gung (No 33)

He has been mentioned above, on p 367 The *Tabaqāt* says that, in 1001, he was governor of Patan (Gujrāt)[1]

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[1] Tardi Khan is also mentioned in Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* p 19 l 15

102 Mihtar Khan, Anis^u 'd Dīn, a servant of Humāyūn

The word *mihtar*, prop a prince, occurs very often in the names of *Humāyūn's servants* Thus in the *Akbarnama* (Lucknow Edition, Vol I, p 269—a very interesting page, which gives the names of the grandees, etc, who accompanied the emperor to Persia)

Mihtar Khān was the title of Anis^u 'd Dīn He was Humāyūn's treasurer on his flight to Persia, and returned with the emperor

In the 14th year, when Rantanbhūr had been conquered (*vide* No 96), the fort was put in his charge In the beginning of the 21st year (beginning of 984) he accompanied Man Singh on his expedition against Ranā Partāb of Maiwār, and distinguished himself as leader of the *Chandāuul* (rear) *In the 25th year he held a jāgir in Audh, and distinguished himself* in the final pursuit of Maʿsūm Khān Farankhūdi (No 157)

Anis was gradually promoted He was at the time of Akbar's death a Commander of Three Thousand According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was in 1001 a Commander of 2 500

He died in the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign, 1017, eighty four years old If I read the MSS of the *Maʿāsir* correctly, he was a Katī and looked upon his tribe with much favour He was a man of great simplicity It is said that he paid his contingent monthly

Mūnis Khan, his son was during the reign of Jahangir a Commander of Five Hundred, 130 horse *Abu Tālib*, son of Munis Khan, was employed as treasurer (*Khizānchī*) of the Sūba of Bengal

103 Rāy Durga Sisodia

Rāy Durgā is generally called in the *Akbarnāma*, Ray Durga Chandrāwat, (چندراوت). The home of the family was the Pargana of Rampūr, also called Islampur, near Chitor

In the 26th year of Akbar's reign Rāy Durgā accompanied Prince Murād on his expedition against Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul In the 28th year he was attached to Mirzā Khan s (No 29) corps, and distinguished himself in the Gujrāt war In the 30th year he was with M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) in the Dakhin In the 36th year he followed Prince Murād to Malwa, and later to the Dakhin

In the 45th year Akbar sent him after Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā He then accompanied Abu 'l Fazl to Nāsik, and went afterwards home on

departure ... on the 5th Jumada I 981 Hence the date 5th Jumada I 980 which

leave He returned, but after six weeks went again home, apparently without permission

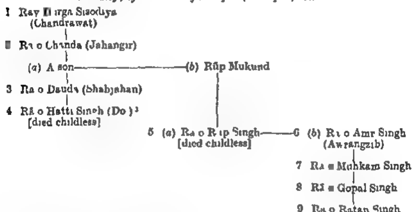
He died towards the end of the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign

According to the *Tuzuk* (p 63) he had served Akbar for upwards of forty years Jahangir says he had at first been in the service of Rānā Udai Singh, and reached, during the reign of Akbar, the dignity of Commander of Four Thousand He is said to have been a good tactician

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred

The *Ma*ʿ*āsir* continues the history of his descendants from which the following tree has been taken

Genealogy of the Raos of Rampur (Islampur) Chitor



Ra,o Ratan Singh turned Muhammadan and got the title of *Muslim Khan* (Awrangzib Jahāndār Shah)

104 **Madhū Singh**, son of Raja Bhagwan Dās (No 27)

He was present in the fight at Sarnal (p 353) In the beginning of the 21st year (Muharram 984) he served under Man Singh against Rāna Kika, and distinguished himself in the battle of Goganda (21st Rabiʿ I, 984)[2] In the 30th year he accompanied Mirzā Shāhrukh (No 7)

[1] There is some confusion in the MSS and printed editions regarding his name Thus

year

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on his expedition to Kashmīr In the 31st year after the death of Sayyid Hamid (No 78), he took the contingent of Rāja Bhagwān from Thana Langar, where he was stationed, to ʿAli Masjid, where Mān Singh was

In the 48th year he was made a Commander of Three Thousand, 2,000 horse According to the *Tabaqāt*, he had been, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000

His son, *Chatr Sāl*, or *Satr Sāl*, was at the end of Jahāngīr's reign a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, 1,000 horse He was killed together with his two sons, Bhim Singh and Anand Singh in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāhjahān's reign His third son, *Ugar* Sen, was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse (*vide* Pādishahn, I, p 294, I, b, pp 305, 314)

105 **Sayyid Qāsim, and 143 Sayyid Hashim,** sons of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān of Barha, Kūndliwal (No 75)

In the 17th year S Qāsim served under Khan ʿĀlam (No 58) in the pursuit of Muhammad Husayn Mirza, who after his defeat by M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) had withdrawn to the Dakhin

S Hashim served, in the 21st year, with Ray Rāy Singh (No 44) against Sultān De,ora, ruler of Sarohi, and distinguished himself in the conquest of that place

In the 22nd year both brothers served under Shahbāz Khān (No 80) against the Rānā In the 25th year, when Chandr Sen, son of Māldeo, raised disturbances both brothers, who had *jāgīrs* in Ajmir, were ordered to march against him Both again distinguished themselves in the 28th year, and served in the *harāwal* of Mirzā Khān (No 29) in the Gujrat war

S Hāshim was killed in the battle of Sarkich, near Ahmadabad S Qāsim was wounded He was subsequently appointed Thānadār of Patan When Mirza Khan went to Court, leaving Qulij Khan as Governor of Ahmadabād, Qāsim was again appointed to a command and operated successfully against Muzaffar, Jām (zamīndar of Little Kachh), and Khangār (zamindar of Great Kachh)

On the transfer of Mirza Khan, Khan i Aʿzam (No 21) was appointed Governor of Gujrāt Qasim continued to serve in Gujrat, and distinguished himself especially in the 37th year Later, he commanded the left wing of Sultān Murād's Dakhin corps

Qāsim died in the 41th year (1007) He was at his death a Commander of 1,500

Regarding their sons, *vide* p 427

XII Commanders of Twelve Hundred and Fifty

106 Rāy Sal Darbarī, Shaykhāwat

He is also called Raja Rāy Sāl Darbārī, and is the son of Rājā Soja, son of Ray Ray Mal Shaykhāwat, in whose service Hasan Khan Sūr (father of Sher Shah) was for some time

As remarked above (No 23) the Kachhwāhas are divided into Rajawats and Shaykhawats To the latter branch belong Raja Lō Karan Rāy Sal, etc , the former contains Mān Singh's posterity (the present rulers of Jaipūr)

The term *Shaikhāwat*, or *Shekhāwat*, as it is generally pronounced, is explained as follows One of the ancestors of this branch had no sons A Muhammadan Shaykh however, had pity on him, and prayed for him till he got a son From motives of gratitude, the boy was called *Shaykh* [1] Hence his descendants are called the Shaykhawat Branch

Rāy Sal was employed at Court, as his title of *Darbari* indicates He was in charge of the Harem During the reign of Jahangir, he was promoted and served in the Dakhin He died there at an advanced age He had twenty one sons each of whom had a numerous posterity

Whilst Ray Sal was in the Dakhin, Madhu Singh and other grand children of his collected a lot of ruffians and occupied Ray Sal s paternal possessions [2] But Mathurā Das a Bengali, who was Ray Sal s Munshi and Vakil recovered a portion of his master s lands

After Rāy Sāl's death, his sons and grandsons lived, according to the custom of the Zamindārs of the age, in feud with their neighbours and with each other Raja Girdhar Ray Sāl s son is almost the only one that distinguished himself at Court

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that Ray Sal entered early Akbar's service for he was present in the battle of Khayarbad (p 414) in the fight at Sarnal (*vide* 27), and accompanied the Emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābad (p 458 note)

The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b , p 314) mentions another son of Rāy Sal's, Bhoj Raj, who was a Commander of Eight Hundred, 400 horse

The *Tabaqat* says that Ray Sal, was in 1001 a Commander of Two Th[illegible]sand Abū l Fazl calls him in this list a Commander of 1250 This m[illegible]b is unusual and Ray Sal stands alone in this class It does rot

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[1] He is the same as the [illegible] een a grandson of Udaikaran [illegible]

[2] Called in the *Ma'asir* [illegible] ons a Khandhar near Amber

occur in the lists of Grandees in the *Pādishahnāma* From other histories also it is clear that the next higher Mansab after the *Hazārī* was the *Hazār o pānsadī*, or Commander of Fifteen Hundred

XIII Commanders of One Thousand

107 Muhibb ʿAlī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfa

This grandee must not be confounded with *Muhibb ʿAlī Khān Rahtāsī* (p 166)

Muhibb ʿAlī Khān is the son of Mīr Nizāmᵘ 'd Dīn ʿAlī Khalīfa, the "pillar of Babar's government" He had no faith in Humāyūn, and was opposed to his accession He therefore favoured Mahdī Khwāja, Babar's son in law Mahdī, a short time before Babar's death, assumed a royal deportment One day, Mīr Khalīfa happened to be in Mahdī's tent, and when he left, Mahdī thinking himself alone, put his hand to his beard and exclaimed, "Thou shalt by and by follow me" He had scarcely uttered these words when he observed Muqīm i Harawī [1] in the corner of the tent Muqīm reported these words to Mīr Khalīfa, and upbraided him for giving Mahdī his support Mīr Khalīfa thereupon changed his mind, forbade people to visit Mahdī, and raised, on Bābar's death, Humāyūn to the throne

His son Muhibb ʿAlī Khān distinguished himself under Babar and Humāyūn His wife was Nahīd Begam, daughter of Qāsim Koka Qāsim had sacrificed himself for Babar Babar had fallen into the hands of ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān Uzbak, when Qāsim stepped forward and said that *he* was Babar He was cut to pieces, and Bābar escaped In 975, Nahīd Begam went to Thatha, to see her mother, Hājī Begam (daughter of Mīrza Muqīm son of Mīrzā Zū 'l Nūn) After Qāsim Koka's death, [illegible] ʿIsa Tarkhan, king [illegible] ha Mīrzā ʿIsa died [illegible] and her daughter Hājī Begam therefore collected a few desperate men and watched for an opportunity to get hold of M Bāqī's person The plot was, however, discovered, and Hājī Begam was put into prison Nāhīd Begam escaped and went to Bhakkar, where she was well received by Sultān Mahmūd, ruler of the District He persuaded her to ask Akbar to send her husband Muhibb ʿAlī to Bhakkar, and he would give him an army, if he liked to attack Thatha Nahīd Begam did so on coming to Court, and Akbar,

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[1] Father of the Historian Nizāmᵘ 'd Dīn Ahmad author of the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*. Muqīm was then *Dīwān i Buyūtāt*

in the 16th year (978), called for Muhibb, who had then retired from court life, and ordered him to proceed to Bhakkar

Muhibb set out, accompanied by *Mujāhid Khān*, a son of his daughter Saʿīd Khān (No 25), Governor of Multān, had also received orders to assist Muhibb, but at Sultan Mahmūd's request, Muhibb came alone, accompanied by only a few hundred troopers When he arrived at Bhakkar Sultān Mahmūd said that he had changed his mind he might go and attack Thatha without his assistance, but he should do so from Jaisalmir, and not from Bhakkar Muhibb, though he had only 200 troopers, resolved to punish Sultan Mahmūd for his treachery, and prepared himself to attack Bhakkar Mahmūd had 10,000 horse assembled near Fort Māthila (ماتیله) Muhibb attacked them, dispersed them, and took soon after the fort itself He then fitted out a larger corps, and moved to Bhakkar, where he again defeated Mahmūd The consequence of this victory was that Mubarak Khān, Sultan Mahmūd's *vazīr*, left his master and went with 1 500 horse over to Muhibb But as Mubarak's son, Beg Oghlū, was accused of having had criminal intercourse with a concubine of Sultān Mahmud, Muhibb wished to kill Beg Oghlū Mubarak, who had not expected this now tried to get out of Muhibb's power Muhibb therefore killed Mubarak, and used the money which fell into his hands to complete his preparations for the siege of Bhakkar

The siege had lasted three years, when famine and disease drove the inhabitants to despair The swelling which is peculiar to the district decimated the people, and the bark of the *Sirs* tree (p 238) the best remedy for it, could only be had for gold Sultan Mahmūd at last sent a message to Akbar, and offered the fort as a present to Prince Salim, if Muhibb were recalled and another grandee sent in his stead, who was to take him (Mahmūd) to Court, for he said, he could not trust Muhibb Akbar accepted the proposal, and sent Mir Gesu, Bakawal begi, to Bhakkar [1] Before Mir Gesū arrived Sultān Mahmud had died New complications arose on his arrival Mujāhid Khān just besieged Fort Ganjaba [2] and his mother Samiʿa Begam (Muhibb s daughter), who felt offended at Akbar's proceedings dispatched a few ships against Mir Gesū and nearly captured him In the meantime Muqim i Harawi also arrived and dissuaded Muhibb from hostilities against Mir Gesū

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[1] The conq est of Bhakkar [illegible]

The latter now entered Bhakkar (981) and the inhabitants handed the keys over to him

But neither Muhibb nor Mujahid felt inclined to leave for the Court, though their stay was fraught with danger Muhibb therefore entered into an agreement with Mir Gesu, according to which Mujāhid should be allowed to go to Thatha, and that he himself with his whole family should be accommodated in Lohari The arrangement had been partially carried out, when Mir Gesū dispatched a flotilla after Mujāhid Muhibb upon this withdrew to Mathila Samuʿa Begam fortified the environs, and when attacked by Gesū's men, she successfully repulsed them for one day and one night Next day, Mujahid arrived by forced marches, defeated the enemy,[1] and occupied the land east of the river

In the meantime Akbar had sent Muhammad Tarso Khan (No 32) as governor to Bhakkar, and Muhibb thought it now wise to go to Court

In the 21st year, Muhibb received an appointment at Court, as a sort of *Mir ʿArz* As he gave the emperor satisfaction, Akbar, in the 23rd year, allowed him to choose one of four appointments, the office of *Mīr ʿArz*, the guard of the Harem the governorship of a distant province, or the governorship of Dihli Muhibb chose the last, and entered at once upon his office

He died as Governor of Dihlī in 989

Muhibb is placed in the *Ṭabaqāt* among the Commanders of Four Thousand

Regarding the town of Bhakkar, Abū l Fazl says that it is called in old books *Manṣūra* Six rivers united pass by it in several branches, two branches lie to the south one to the north The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar On the second branch another town lies, called Lohari and near it is the Indus

Mirza Shah Husayn Arghūn, king of Thatha, had Bhakkar fortified, and appointed as Commander his foster brother, Sultān Mahmūd After Shāh Husayn's death Sultan Mahmūd declared himself independent at Bhakkar, and Mirzā ʿĪsa Tarkhan (p 390) at Thatha Both were often at war with each other Sultān Mahmūd is said to have been a cruel man

As Bhakkar was conquered and annexed before Thatha it was attached to the Ṣūba of Multān

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[1] If Prof Dowson's MSS agree with his version (I p 241) the *Tārīkh i Maʿṣumi* would contradict the *Akbarnāma*. Mujahid Khan is again mentioned l.c p 28?

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[1] The conquest of Bhakkar [illegible]

[illegible]

[2] [illegible] called Ganjaba

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He died as Governor of Dihli in 989

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[1] If Prof Dowson s MSS agree with his version (I p 241) the *Tārīkh i Maʿṣūmī* would contradict the *Akbarnāma*. Mujāhid Khan is again mentioned *l.c.*, p 252

[Muhibb ʿAli Khan Rahtasi.]

Like Muhibb ʿAli Khan son of Mir Khalifa Muhibb ʿAli Khan Rahtasi is put in the *Tabaqat* among the Commanders of Four Thousand It is impossible to say why Abu l Fazl had not mentioned him in this list His name however occurs frequently in the *Akbarnama* and other histories As he was a long time Governor of Rahtas in S Bihar he is generally called *Rahtasi* This renowned Fort had passed in 945 into the hands of Sher Shah During his reign as also that of Salim Shah Fath Khan Batni commanded the Fort Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulayman and Junayd i Karrarani The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander As related above (p 437) he handed it over to Shahbaz Khan (No 80) at the time of the war with Gajpati and his son Sri Ram (984)

In the same year Akbar appointed Muhibb ʿAli Khan governor of Rahtas and Shabbaz Khan made over the Fort to him

Muhibb rendered excellent services during the Bengal Military Revolt His son also Habib ʿAli Khan (*vide* No 133) distinguished himself by his bravery but was killed in a fight with one Yusuf Mitti who had collected a band of Afghans and ravaged S Bihar His death affected his father so much that he became temporarily insane

In the 31st year two officers having been appointed to each Suba Muhibb was ordered to join Wazir Khan (No 41) Governor of Bengal In the 33rd year Bihar was given to the Kachhwahas as *jagir* and Akbar called Muhibb to Court intending to make him governor of Multan But as the emperor was just about to leave for Kashmir (997) Muhibb accompanied him

Soon after entering Kashmir Muhibb fell ill and died on the emperor s return near the *Koh i Sulayman* Akbar went to his sick bed and saw him the moment he died

In the *Akbarnama* (III p 245) a place *Muhibb ʿAlipur* [1] is mentioned which Muhibb founded near Rahtas

108 Sultan Khwaja ʿAbdu l ʿAzim son of Khwaja Khawand Dost

He is also called Sultan Khwaja *Naqshbandi* [2] His father Khawand Dost was a pupil of Khwaja ʿAbdu sh Shahid fifth son of Khwaja

ʿAbdᵘ 'llah (generally called Khwajagan Khwaja, *vide* No 17), son of the renowned saint Khwaja Naṣirᵘ 'd Din Ahrar (born 806, died 29th Rabiʿ I, 895)

When ʿAbdᵘ sh Shahid came from Samarqand to India, he was well received by Akbar, and got as present the Pargana Chamari He remained there some time, but returned in 982 to Samarqand, where he died two years later

Sultan Khwāja, though neither learned in the sciences nor in *taṣawwuf* (mysticism), had yet much of the saintly philosopher in him He possessed in a high degree the confidence and the friendship of the emperor In 984 he was made *Mīr Hajj*, and as such commanded a numerous party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Makkah Never before had so influential a party left for Arabia Sultan Khwaja was to distribute six *lākhs* of rupees and 12 000 *khilʿats* to the people of Makkah

On his return in 986 (23rd year) he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and appointed *Sadr* of the realm (p 284) He held that office till his death, which took place in the 29th year (992) He was buried outside the Fort of Fathpur, to the north

His daughter, in the beginning of the 30th year, was married to Prince Danyal

His son, Mir Khwaja was in the 46th year a Commander of 500

According to Bada oni and Abu l Fazl Sultan Khwaja belonged to the elect of the Divine Faith (*vide* p 214)

109 Khwaja ʿAbdᵘ llah, son of Khwaja ʿAbdᵘ l Latif

His name is not given in the *Maʿasir* and the *Tabaqat* The *Akbar nāma* mentions a Khwaja ʿAbdᵘ 'llah who served in the war against Abdᵘ llah Khan Uzbak (No 14), in Malwah (971–2) during the last rebellion of Khan Zaman (No 13), and in the fight at Sarnal (middle of Shaʿbān 980, *vide* No 27) He also accompanied the emperor on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad *Vide* the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnāma*, II, 285, 287, 367, III, 24

110 Khwaja Jahan, Aminā of Hirat

His full name is Khwaja Aminᵘ 'd Din Mahmūd of Hirat The form Amina is modern Irani which likes to add a long *ā* to names

Amin was an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligrapher He accompanied Humayūn on his flight to Persia On the return of the emperor, he was made Bakhshi of Prince Akbar

On Akbar s accession, Amin was made a Commander of One Thousand, and received the title of *Khwāja Jahān* He was generally employed in financial work, and kept the great seal In the 11th year he was

accused by Muzaffar Khān (No 37) of want of loyalty shown in the rebellion of Khan Zamān Amīn was reprimanded, the great seal was taken from him, and he was dismissed to Makkah

On his return, he was pardoned In the 19th year (981-2) Akbar besieged Hajipūr, but Amin had been compelled by sickness to remain behind at Jaunpūr When the emperor returned from Hajipūr over Jaunpūr to Āgra, Amin followed him On the march, he was once charged by a *mast* elephant, his foot got entangled in a tent rope, and he fell to the ground The accident had an injurious effect on Amin, convalescent as he was He died near Lakhnau in the beginning of Shaʿban, 982

According to the chronology of the *Tabaqāt*, his death took place in 983

A son of Amin's brother is mentioned His name was Mirza Beg He was a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of *Shahri* He withdrew from Court, and died in 989

Jahangir also conferred the title of Khwaja Jahan on the officer (Dost Muhammad of Kabul) who had served him as Bakhshi while Prince

111 **Tatar Khān, of Khurāsan**

His name is Khwaja Tahir Muhammad In the 8th year he accompanied Shah Budagh Khan (No 52) and Rumi Khān (No 146), and pursued Mir Shah Abu l Maʿali, who withdrew from Hisar Firuza to Kabul

He was then made governor of Dihli where he died in 986

The *Tabaqāt* says he was for some time *Vazir* and died in 985

Regarding his enmity with Mulla Nur[u] d Din Tarkhan *vide* Badaoni III, 199

112 **Hakim Abu l Fath** son of Mulla ʿAbd[u] r Razzaq of Gilan

His name is Masih[u] d Din Abu l Fath Mawlana ʿAbd[u] r Razzaq his father was a learned and talented man and held for a long time the post of *Sadr* of Gilan When Gilan in 974 came into the possession of Tahmasp, Ahmad Khan ruler of the country was imprisoned, and ʿAbd[u] r Razzaq was tortured to death Hakim Abū l Fath with his distinguished brothers Hakim Humam (No 205) and Hakim Nur[u] d Din[1] left the country and arrived, in the 20th year in India (p 184) They went to Court and were well received Abu l Fath, in the 24th year, was made *Sadr* and *Amin* of Bengal At the outbreak of the military

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[1] He is mentioned below among the poets of Akbar's reign His *takhallus* is Qarari Their fourth brother Hakim Lutf[u] llah came later from Iran to India and received through Abu l Fath's influence a Command of Two Hundred (No 354) He did not live long

revolt, he was captured with several other officers (*vide* Nos 98 and 159), but he escaped from prison, and went again to Court He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour, and possessed an immense influence in state matters and on the emperor himself Though only a Commander of One Thousand, he is said to have had the power of a *Vakīl*

As related above (p 367), he accompanied Bir Bar on the expedition against the Yūsufzā,is in Sawād and Bijor On his return, he was reprimanded, for the emperor, correctly enough, ascribed the disastrous issue of the campaign to Abu 'l Fath's insubordinate conduct towards Zayn Koka (No 34)

In the 34th year (997) he went with the emperor to Kashmir and from there to Zābulistān On the march he fell sick, and died According to Akbar's order, Khwaja Shams^u d Din (No 159) took his body to Hasan Abdal, and buried him in a vault which the Khwāja had made for himself (*Tuzuk*, p 48) On his return, the emperor said a prayer at Abu 'l Fath's tomb

The great poet ʿUrfi of Shirāz (*vide* below, among the poets) is Abū 'l Fath's encomiast Fayzi also has composed a fine *marsiya*, or elegy, on his death

Abū l Fazl and Bada oni speak of the vast attainments of Abu 'l Fath A rare copy of his *Munshiyāt*[1] is preserved in the Library of the As Soc Bengal (No 780) He had a profound contempt for old Persian poets thus he called Anwari diminutively *Anwariyak*, and of Khaqani he said, he would give him a box on the ears if he were to come to him to rouse him from his sleepiness, and would send him to Abū 'l Fazl, who would give him another box and both would then show him how to correct his verses (Bada oni, III, 167)

Bada,onī mentions Abū 'l Fath s influence as one of the chief reasons why Akbar abjured Islam (p 184)

Abū 'l Fath had a son, Fath^u llah He was killed by Jahangir, as he was an accomplice of Khusraw (*Tuzuk*, p 58)

A grandson of Abū l Fath is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (II, p 739) His name is Fath Ziya, he was a Commander of Nine Hundred, 150 horse

113 **Shaykh Jamal** son of Muhammad Bakhtyar

His full name is Shaykh Jamal Bakhtyar, son of Shaykh Muhammad Bakhtyar The Bakhtyār clan had possessions in Jalesar, near Dihli

Shaykh Jamāl s sister held the post of superintendent in Akbar s

[1] His *Munsh yat* contain interesting letters addressed by Abu l Fath to his brother Hakim Humam the Khan Khanan (No 29) Khwaja Shams (No 159) and others

harem, and procured for her brother a command of One Thousand Jamal's elevation excited much envy. One day, after taking some water, he felt suddenly ill. Rūp also, one of Akbar's servants, who had drunk of the same water, fell immediately ill. Akbar had antidotes applied, and both recovered.

In the 25th year he accompanied Ismāʿīl Qulī Khān (No 46) on his expedition against the rebel Niyabat Khan. Niyabat Khān was the son of Mīr Hashim of Nishapur; his name was ʿArab. Before his rebellion he held Jhosi and Arail (Jalalabas) as jagir. In the fight which took place near "Kantit, a dependency of Panna,"[1] Shaykh Jamal was nearly killed, Niyabat Khan having pulled him from his horse.

In the 26th year he marched with Prince Murad against Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul.

Shaykh Jamal drank a great deal of wine. One day he brought such a smell of wine to the audience hall that Akbar felt offended, and excluded him from Court. Jamal therefore squandered and destroyed the things he had with him, and assumed the garb of a *jogī*. This annoyed the emperor more, and Jamal was put into prison. Soon after, he was pardoned, but he continued his old vice, and brought *delirium tremens* on himself. In the 30th year, when Akbar set out for Zabulistan, Shaykh Jamal had to remain sick in Lūdhiyana. He died there in the same year (993).

Jamal has been mentioned above on p. 200.

114. Jaʿfar Khan, son of Qazaq Khan.

He is generally called in the histories *Jaʿfar Khān Taklu*, Taklu being the name of a Qizilbash tribe.

His grandfather, Muhammad Khan Sharaf-ud Din Oghlu Taklu, was at the time of Humayūn's flight governor of Hirat and *lalla*[2] to Sultan Muhammad Mirza, eldest son of Shah Tahmasp-i Safawi. At the Shah's order, he entertained Humayun in the most hospitable manner. When he died he was succeeded in office by his son Qazaq Khan. But Qazaq showed so little loyalty, that Tahmasp in 972 sent

[1] The Bibl Indi ... (قسـ) a dependency ... (Beames' Glossary ... make in the name ... above on p 13)

tutor.—P. [illegible]

Ma'ṣūm Beg i Safawī against him Qazāq fell ill, and when the Persians came to Hirāt, he died Ma'ṣūm seized all his property

Ja'far thinking himself no longer safe in Persia, emigrated to India, and was well received by Akbar He distinguished himself in the war with Khan Zamān, and was made a *Khān* and a Commander of One Thousand From *Badā onī* (II, p 161), we see that he had a *jāgīr* in the Panjab, and served under Husayn Quli Khān (No 24) in the expedition to Nagarkot

According to the *Tabaqāt*, Ja'far's father did not die a natural death, but was killed by the Persians

Ja'far had been dead for some time in 1001

115 Shāh Fanā'ī, son of Mīr Najafī

His name is not given in the *Ma'āsir* and the *Tabaqāt* From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, II, 170, 172) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa and took part in the battle near Sārangpūr (beginning of the 6th year, *vide* No 120)

The poet *Fanā'ī* who is mentioned in *Badā onī* (III, 296), the *Tabaqāt*, and the *Mir'āt ul 'Ālam*, appears to be the same He travelled a good deal, was in Makkah, and distinguished himself by personal courage in war Akbar conferred on him the title of *Khān* He was a Chaghtā'ī Turk of noble descent Once he said, in Akbar's presence, that no one surpassed him in the three *C's*—chess, combat, composition, when the emperor replied that he had forgotten a fourth, viz conceit For some reason, he was imprisoned, and when set at liberty it was found that he had become mad He ran into the wilderness, and was no more heard of

116 Asad^u 'llāh Khan, of Tabrīz

His name is not given in the *Ma'āsir* and the *Tabaqāt* An Asad^u 'llah Khan is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (end of the 12th year) He served under Khan Zamān (No 13) and commanded the town of *Zamāniyā* (p 337, l 14) After Khān Zamān's death, he wished to make over the town to Sulaymān, king of Bengal But Mun'im (No 11) sent a man to him to convince him of his foolishness, and quickly took possession of the town, so that the Afghāns under their leader, Khan Khanān Lodī, had to withdraw This incident, however, brought the Afghan's into contact with Mun'im , and as they found him a tractable man, a meeting was arranged, which took place in the neighbourhood of Patna This meeting was of importance, inasmuch as Khan Khānan Lodī, on the part of Sulaymān, promised to read the *Khutba*, and to strike coins in

Akbar s name Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulayman in 980 [1]

The *Akbarnama* mentions another officer of a similar name *Asad^u Ilah Turkman* He was mentioned above under 61

117 Sa'adat 'Ali Khan of Badakhshan

From the *Akbarnama* (III 295) we see that he was killed in 988 in a fight with the rebel 'Arab Bahadur Shahbaz Khan had sent Sa'adat to a Fort [2] near Rahtas where he was surprised by 'Arab defeated and slain It is said that 'Arab drank some of his blood

118 Rupsi Bairagi brother of Raja Bihari Mal (No 23)

The *Ma'asir* says that Rupsi was *the son* of Raja Bihari Mal s brother He was introduced at Court in the 6th year

According to the *Tabaqat* he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred

Jaymal Rupsi s son was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23) He served some time under Sharaf^u d Din (No 17) jagirdar of Ajmir and was Thanadar of Mirtha When Sharaf rebelled Jaymal went to Court In the 17th year he served in the *mangala* of Khan Kalan (*vide* No 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad (p 458 note) In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Dauda son of Ray Surjan (No 96) and the conquest of Bundi (Muharram 985) Subsequently he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal but on reaching Chausa he suddenly died

Jaymal s wife a daughter of Moth Raja (No 121) refused to mount the funeral pile but Udai Singh Jaymal s son wished to force her to become a *Sati* Akbar heard of it and resolved to save her He arrived just in time Jagnath (No 69) and Ray Sal (No 106) got hold of Udai Singh and took him to Akbar who imprisoned him

The story of the heavy armour which Jaymal wore in the fight with Muhammad Husayn Mirza after Akbar s forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad is known from Elphinstone s History (Fifth Edition p 509 note) Rupsi was offended because the emperor ordered Karan (a grandson of Maldeo) to put on Jaymal s armour and angrily demanded it back Akbar then put off his own armour Bhagwan Das however thought it necessary to ask the emperor to pardon Rupsi s rudeness

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[1] [illegible] ...ked upon as a mistake *Vide note 3* p 179

[2] The MSS call the Fort کسب کسی کسب etc It is said to be a dependency (*az muzafat*) of Rohtas

119 Iʿtimād Khān, Khwājasarā

He has been mentioned above, p 13, note His appointment to Bhakkar was made in 984, when Sayyid Muhammad Mir ʿAdl (vide No 140) had died

Maqsūd ʿAli, who killed Iʿtimad, is said to have been blind in one eye When he explained to Iʿtimād his miserable condition, his master insulted him by saying that someone should put urine into his blind eye Maqsūd stabbed him on the spot According to another account, Iʿtimād was murdered by Maqsūd, whilst getting up from bed

Iʿtimad built *Iʿtimādpūr*, 6 *kos* from Āgra He had there a villa and a large tank He also lies buried there [1]

120 Baz Bahādur, son of Shajāwal Khān [Sur]

Abū 'l Fazl says below (Third Book, Suba of Malwa) that his real name was *Bāyazīd*

Bāz Bahādūr's father was Shujāʿat Khān Sūr, who is generally called in histories *Shajawal*, or *Sajawal, Khān* The large town Shajāwalpūr, or Sajāwalpūr, in Mālwa bears his name, [2] its original name, *Shujāʿatpūr*, which Abū 'l Fazl gives below under Sarkar Sarangpūr, Mālwa, appears to be no longer in use

When Sher Shāh took Malwa from Mallū (Qadir Khān), Shujāʿat Khān was in Sher Shah's service, and was made by him governor of the conquered province In Salim's reign, he returned to Court, but feeling dissatisfied with the king, he returned to Malwa Salim dispatched a corps after him, and Shujāʿat fled to the Raja of Dūngarpur Some time after, he surrendered to Salim, and remained with him, Malwa being divided among the courtiers Under ʿAdli, he was again appointed to Mālwa After a short time, he prepared himself to assume the royal purple, but died (962)

Baz Bahādur succeeded him He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Malwa His expedition to Gadhā was not successful, Rānī Dūrgawatī (p 397) having repulsed him He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindustan, especially the beautiful *Rupmatī*, who is even nowadays remembered

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[1] The [illegible]

Akbar's name Bengal therefore enjoyed peace till the death of Sulaymān in 980[1]

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another officer of a similar name, *Asad^u 'llāh Turkmān* He was mentioned above under 61

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118 Rupsī Bairāgī, brother of Rāja Bihārī Mal (No 23)

The *Ma'āsir* says that Rūpsī was *the son* of Rāja Bihārī Mal's brother He was introduced at Court in the 6th year

According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was a commander of Fifteen Hundred

Jaymal, Rūpsī's son, was the first that paid his respects to Akbar (under 23) He served some time under Sharaf^u 'd Dīn (No 17), jagīrdār of Ajmīr, and was Thanadār of Mirtha When Sharaf rebelled, Jaymal went to Court In the 17th year he served in the *manqala* of Khān Kalan (*vide* No 129) and accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad (p 458, note) In the 21st year he served in the expedition against Dauda, son of Ray Surjan (No 96), and the conquest of Būndī (Muharram, 985) Subsequently, he was sent by Akbar on a mission to the grandees of Bengal, but on reaching Chausā, he suddenly died

Jaymal's wife, a daughter of Moth Rāja (No 121), refused to mount the funeral pile, but Udai Singh, Jaymal's son, wished to force her to become a *Satī* Akbar heard of it, and resolved to save her He arrived just in time Jagnath (No 69) and Ray Sal (No 106) got hold of Udai Singh, and took him to Akbar, who imprisoned him

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120 **Baz Bahadur**, son of Shajawal Khān [Sūr]

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Baz Bahādur succeeded him He defeated several opponents, and declared himself, in 963, king of Malwa His expedition to Gadha was not successful, Rani Dūrgawatī (p 397) having repulsed him He now gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury his singers and dancing women were soon famous throughout Hindūstan, especially the beautiful *Rūpmatī*, who is even nowadays remembered

In the very beginning of the 6th year of Akbar's reign Adham Koka (No 19) was ordered to conquer Malwa. Pir Muhammad Khan (No 20), ʿAbdu llah Khan Uzbak (No 14), Qiya Khan Gung (No 33), Shah Muhammad Khan of Qandahar (No 95) and his son ʿAdil Khan (No 125), Sadiq Khan (No 43), Habib ʿAli Khan (No 133), Haydar Muhammad Khan (No 66), Muhammad Quli Toqbaʾi (No 129), Qiya Khan (No 184), Mirak Bahadur (No 208), Samanji Khan (No 147), Payanda Muhammad Mughul (No 68), Mihr ʿAli Sildoz (No 130), Shah Fanaʾi (No 115), and other grandees accompanied Adham. They met Baz Bahadur three *kos* from Sarangpur and defeated him (middle of 968).[1] Baz Bahadur fled to the jungles on the Khandesh frontier. He collected a new army, but was defeated by Pir Muhammad, who had succeeded Adham. He then fled to Miran Shah of Khandesh, who assisted him with troops. Pir Muhammad in the meantime conquered Bijagadh, threw himself suddenly upon Burhanpur, sacked the town, and allowed an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. B. B. marched against him and defeated him. As related above, Pir Muhammad fled and was drowned in the Narbada. The imperialists thereupon got discouraged, and the jagirdars left for Agra, so that Baz Bahadur without opposition re-occupied Malwa.

In the 7th year Akbar sent ʿAbdu llah Khan Uzbak to Malwa. Before he arrived, B. B. fled without attempting resistance, and withdrew to the hills. He lived for some time with Bharji, Zamindar of Baglana, and tried to obtain assistance from Chingiz Khan and Sher Khan of Gujrat, and lastly even from the Nizamu l-Mulk. Meeting nowhere with support, B. B. went to Rana Udai Singh. He then appears to have thrown himself on Akbar's generosity; for in the 15th year Akbar ordered Hasan Khan Khizanchi[2] to conduct Baz Bahadur to Court. He now entered the emperor's service, and was made on his arrival a commander of One Thousand. Some time later he was promoted to a *mansab* of Two Thousand. He had been dead for some time in 1001.

Baz Bahadur and his Rupmati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. *Vide* No. 188.

121. **Udai Singh Moth Raja**, son of Ray Maldeo.

The *Tabaqat* says that he was in 1001 a Commander of Fifteen Hundred, and ruler of Jodhpur.

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[1] The 6th year of Akbar's reign commences on the 24th Jumada II, 968, and the battle of Sarangpur took place in the very beginning of the 6th year.

[2] This officer was often employed on missions. In the beginning of Akbar's reign he was sent to Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orisa.

In 981 he was at Kambhait, which he left on the approach of Muhammad Husayn Mirza, and withdrew to Ahmadabad to M. ʿAziz Koka (No 21).

Akbar, in 994, married Udai Singh's daughter to Jahāngīr On p 8 of the *Tuzuk*, Jahangir says that her name was *Jagat Gosā'inī* She was the mother of Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), *vide* p 323, l 18

Mirza Hadi in his preface to Jahangir s Memoirs (the Tuzuk i Jahangiri) has the following remark (p 6) "Raja Udai Sing is the son of Raja Māldeo, who was so powerful that he kept up an army of 80,000 horse Although Rānā Sānka, who fought with Firdaws makāni (Babar) possessed much power, Māldeo was superior to him in the number of soldiers and the extent of territory, hence he was always victorious"

From the *Akbarnāma* (Lucknow Edition, III, p 183) we see that Moth Rāja accompanied in the 22nd year Sadiq Khān (No 43), Rāja Askaran, and Ulugh Khan Habshī (No 135) on the expedition against Madhukar (26th Rabi' I, 985) In the 28th year he served in the Gujrat war with Muzaffar (*Akbarnāma*, III, 422)

Another daughter of Moth Rāja was married to Jaymal, son of Rupsi (No 118)

122 **Khwaja Shāh Mansur, of Shiraz**

Mansūr was at first *mushrif* (accountant) of the *Khushbū Khana* (Perfume Department) Differences which he had with Muzaffar Khān (No 37) induced Sh Mansūr to go to Jaunpur, where Khan Zaman made him his *Dīwān* Subsequently he served Mun'im Khan Kh̲ānan in the same capacity After Mun'im's death he worked for a short time with Todar Mal in financial matters In the 21st year (983), he was appointed by the emperor *Wazīr*. He worked up all arrears, and applied himself to reform the means of collecting the land revenue The custom then was to depend on experienced assessors for the annual rate of the tax, but this method was now found inconvenient, because the empire had become greater, for at different places the assessment differed, and people and soldiers suffered losses For this reason, the Khwaja in the 24th year, prepared a new rent roll, based upon the preceding *Dahsala* roll, and upon the prices current in the 24th year The empire itself, which did not then include Orisa, Thathah, Kashmīr, and the Dakhin, was divided into 12 parts, called *Sūbas*, and to each sūba a *sipahsālār* (Military Governor), a *Dīwān*, a *Bakhshī* (Military Paymaster and Secretary), a *Mīr 'Adl*, a *Sadr*, a *Kotwāl*, a *Mīr Bahr*, and a *Wāqi'a Navīs* (p 268) were to be appointed The strictness which the Khwāja displayed towards jāgir holders led to serious results In the 25th year he lowered the value of the jagirs of the grandees in Bengal by one fourth of their former value, and those in Bihar by one fifth As Bengal and South Bihār were then not completely subjugated, and the Afghāns still mustered large forces

in Eastern and Southern Bengal, in Orīsa, and along the Western frontier of Bengal, Mansūr's rigour was impolitic, for Akbar's officers looked upon the old jāgīr emoluments as very moderate rewards for their readiness to fight the Afghāns Akbar some time before, in consideration of the troubled state of both provinces, and the notorious climate of Bengal, had doubled the allowances of Bengal officers and increased by 50 *per cent* the emoluments of those in Bihār This Mansūr cut down. he allowed Bengal officers an increase of 50, and Bihār officers an increase of only 20 *per cent* He then wrote to Muzaffar to enforce the new arrangements But the dissatisfaction was also increased by the innovations of the emperor in religious matters, and his interference with Suyurghāl tenures brought matters to a crisis The jagir holders in Jaunpūr, Bihār, and Bengal rebelled That religious excitement was one of the causes of this military revolt, which soon after was confined to Bengal, is best seen from the fact that not a single Hindū was on the side of the rebels [1] Todar Mal tried to prevent the outbreak by reporting Mansūr and charging him with unnecessary harshness shown especially towards Maʿsūm Khān i Farankhūdi (No 157) and Muhammad Tarsō (No 32) Akbar deposed Mansūr and appointed temporarily Shāh Quli Mahram (No 45), but having satisfied himself of the justice of Mansūr's demands, he reinstated him in his office, to the great anxiety of the courtiers

In the same year, Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, at Maʿsūm Khan i Kābulī's instigation, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and Akbar prepared to leave for the north Mansūr's enemies charged him with want of loyalty, and showed Akbar letters in the handwriting of Mirzā M Hakim's Munshī, addressed to Mansūr Accidentally Malik Sanī Hakīm's Diwan, who had the title of *Vazīr Khān*, left his master, and paid his

[1] The chief rebel was Maʿsum Khan i Kabuli who has been frequently mentioned

The editors of the *Padishahnama* Ed Bibl Indica have entered Shuja's name twice, I, [illegible] 304 and p 308 As he was a Commander of Fifteen Hundred the second entry is wrong [Regarding his death *vide* Akbarn III 810 —B]

respects to Akbar at Sonpaṭ As he put up with Manṣūr, new suspicions got afloat Several words which Manṣūr was said to have uttered, were construed into treason, and letters which he was said to have written to M M Ḥakim were sent to Akbar Another letter from Sharaf Beg, his collector, was likewise handed to the emperor, in which it was said that Farīdūn Khān (maternal uncle to M M Ḥakim) had presented the Beg to the Mirza Akbar, though still doubtful, at the urgent solicitations of the grandees gave orders to arrest Manṣūr, he should remain in arrest till any of the grandees should stand bail for him, but as none dared to come forward, they ordered the Khidmat Rāy (p 262) to hang Manṣūr on a tree near Sarā Kot Khachwa (beginning of 989)[1]

This foul murder gave the nobles the greatest satisfaction But when Akbar came to Kābul (10th Rajab 989) he examined into Mansur's treasonable correspondence It was then found, to the sorrow of Akbar, that every letter which had been shown to him had been a forgery, and that Mansur was not guilty of even one of the malicious charges preferred against him

It is said, though at the time it was perhaps not proved, that Karam[u] 'llah, brother of Shāhbāz Khan i Kambū (p 440, l 23), had written the letters, chiefly at the instigation of Rāja Todar Mal

Mansur had been Vazir for four years

123 **Qutlugh Qadam Khan, Ākhta begi**[2]

The Turkish word *qutlugh* means *mubārak*, and *qadam-i mubārak*, is the name given to stones bearing the impression of the foot of the Prophet The *Tabaqāt* calls him *Qutlū*, instead of *Qutlugh*, which confirms the conjecture in note 2, p 383

Qutlugh Qadam Khān was at first in the service of Mirzā Kāmrān, and then went over to Humāyūn

In the 9th year of Akbar's reign, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and served in the same year in Mālwa against 'Abd[u] 'llah Khan Uzbak (No 14) In the battle of Khayrabād, he held a command in the van

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[1] So the *Akbarnama* سراي كوت كهچوه Kot Khachwa ■ a village on the road from Ka[illegible]

In the 19th year, he was attached to Mun'im's Bengal corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroī (p 406) He was no longer alive in 1001

His son, Asad (?) Khān, served under Prince Murad in the Dakhin, and was killed by a cannon ball before Dawlatabād

124 ʿAlī Qulī Khan, Indarābī

Indarāb is a town of Southern Qunduz A straight line drawn from Kabul northwards to Tālikhān passes nearly through it

ʿAlī Qulī had risen under Humāyun When the Emperor left Kabul for Qandahār to inquire into the rumours regarding Bayram's rebellion, he appointed ʿAlī Qulī governor of Kabul Later, he went with Humāyūn to India

In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān (No 13) in the war with Hemu, and accompanied afterwards Khizr Khwaja (p 394, note 1) on his unsuccessful expedition against Sikandar Sūr

In the fifth year, he served under Atga Khan (No 15), and commanded the van in the fight in which Bayram was defeated

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001

125 ʿAdil Khan, son of Shah Muhammad i Qalatī (No 95)

He served under Adham Khan (No 19) in Malwa, and took a part in the pursuit of ʿAbdu 'l Khan Uzbak Later, he assisted Muhammad Qulī Khan Barlas (No 31) on his expedition against Iskandar Uzbak, and was present at the siege of Chitor (p 397). In the beginning of the 13th year (Ramazan, 975), Akbar was on a tiger hunt between Ajmir and Alwar ʿAdil, who was at that time *muʿtāb*, i e, under reprimand and not allowed to attend the Darbars, had followed the party A tiger suddenly made its appearance, and was on the point of attacking the Emperor, when ʿĀdil rushed forward and engaged the tiger, putting his left hand into its mouth, and stabbing, with the dagger in his right, at the animal's face The tiger got hold of both hands of his opponent when others came up and killed the brute with swords In the struggle ʿĀdil received accidentally a sword cut

He died of his wounds after suffering for four months In relating his end, Abu 'l Fazl says that the wrath of heaven overtook him He had been in love (*taʿalluq i khātir*) with the wife of his father's Diwan,[1] but he was not successful in his advances His father remonstrated with him, and ʿĀdil in his anger struck at him with a sword

Qiyām Khān, brother of ʿĀdil Khān Jahangir made him a Khān He served the Emperor as *Qarāualbegī* (officer in charge of the drivers)

126. **Khwāja Ghiyās^u 'd-Dīn [ʿAlī Khān, Āsaf Khān II] of Qazwīn**

He is not to be confounded with Mīr Ghiyās^u 'd-Dīn ʿAlī Khān (No 161) For his genealogy, *vide* p 398 The family traced its descent to the renowned saint Shaykh Ghiyās^u 'd-Dīn Suhrawardī,[1] a descendant of Abū Bakr, the Khalifa

Khwāja Ghiyās was a man of learning On his arrival from Persia in India, he was made a *Bakhshī* by Akbar In 981, he distinguished himself in the Gujrātī war, and received the title of *Āsaf Khān* He was also made Bakhshī of Gujrāt, and served as such under M ʿAzīz Koka (No 21) In the 21st year, he was ordered to go with several other Amīrs to Īdar, "to clear this dependency of Gujrāt of the rubbish of rebellion" The expedition was directed against Zamindar Nara'in Dās Rāthor. In the fight which ensued, the van of the Imperialists gave way, and Muqīm i Naqshbandi, the leader, was killed The day was almost lost, when Āsaf, with the troops of the wings, pressed forward and routed the enemies

In the 23rd year, Akbar sent him to Mālwa and Gujrat, to arrange with Shihāb Khān (No 26) regarding the introduction of the *Dāgh* (pp 252, 265)

He died in Gujrāt in 989

Mīrzā Nūr^u 'd Dīn, his son After the capture of Khusraw (p 455) Jahāngīr made Āsaf Khān III (No 98), Nūr^u 'd Dīn's uncle, responsible for his safety. Nūr^u 'd Dīn, who was an adherent of the Prince, found thus means to visit Khusraw and told him that at the first opportunity he would let him escape But soon after, Khusraw was placed under the charge of Iʿtibār Khān, one of Jahangir's eunuchs, and Nūr^u 'd Dīn had to alter his plans He bribed a Hindū, who had access to Khusraw, and sent the Prince a list of the names of such grandees as favoured his cause In four or six months, the number had increased to about 400, and arrangements were made to murder Jahāngīr on the road But it happened that one of the conspirators got offended, and revealed the plot to Khwāja Waisī, Dīwān of Prince Khurram, who at once reported matters to his august father Nūr^u 'd Dīn and Muhammad Sharīf, son of Iʿtimād^u 'd Dawla, and several others were impaled The paper containing the list of names was also brought up, but Jahāngīr, at the request of Khān Jahān Lodī, threw it into the fire without having read it, "else many others would have been killed"

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[1] Author of the ʿ*Awārif^u 'l Maʿārif* He died at Baghdad in 632 His uncle ʿAbd^u 'l Najīb (died 563) was also a famous saint Wüstenfeld s Jacut III p 203 *Nafhāt^u 'l Uns*, pp 478, 544 *Safīnat^u 'l Awliyā* (Lahore Edition), pp 681, 683

127 **Farrukh Husayn Khan**, son of Qasim Husayn Khan His father was an Uzbak of Khwarazm his mother was a sister of Sultan Husayn Mirza

The *Ma'asir* and the *Tabaqat* say nothing about him A brother of his is mentioned in the *Akbarnama* (II p 335)

128 **Mu'in[u] d Din [Ahmad] Khan i Farankhudi**[1]

Mu'in joined Humayun s army when the Emperor left Kabul for Hindustan In the 6th year of Akbar s reign he was made Governor of Agra during the absence of the Emperor in the Eastern provinces In the 7th year when 'Abd[u] llah Khan Uzbak was ordered to re-conquer Malwa Mu'in was made a Khan After the conquest he divided the province into *khalisa* and jagir lands and performed this delicate office to Akbar s satisfaction In the 18th year Mu'in was attached to Mun'im s Bihar corps He then accompanied the Khan Khanan to Bengal was present in the battle of Takaroi and died of fever at Gaur (*vide* p 407)

The *Tabaqat* merely says of him that he had been for some time *Mir Saman*

For his son *vide* No 157

Bada oni (III p 157) mentions a Jami' Masjid built by Mu'in at Agra

129 **Muhammad Quli Toqba**

Toqba'i is the name of a Chaghta'i clan

Muhammad Quli served under Adham Khan (No 19) in the conquest of Malwa (end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th year) and in the pursuit of Mirza Sharaf[u] d Din (No 17) in the 8th year In the 17th year (980) he served in the *manqala* of the Khan i Kalan (No 16)[2] In the 20th

[1] Many MSS have *Faranjud* The *Mu'jam* me t o s a place فرنكد *Farankad* wh ch

[2] There are ser ous d screpanc es n the MSS rega ding the day and year of Pr n e

year, he was attached to Mun'im's corps, and was present in the battle of Takaroi, and the pursuit of the Afghāns to Bhadrak (p 375)

130 Mihr 'Alī Khan Sildoz

Sildoz is the name of a Chaghtā'i clan According to the *Tabaqāt*, he was at first in Bayram's service In the end of 966, Akbar sent him to Fort Chanadh (Chunar) which Jamal Khan, the Afghan Commander, wished to hand over to the Imperialists for a consideration (*vide* Bada oni II, 32) Akbar offered him five parganas near Jaunpur, but Jamal did not deem the offer sufficiently advantageous, and delayed Mihr 'Ali with vain promises Mihr 'Ali at last left suddenly for Agra

On his journey to Chanadh he had been accompanied by the Historian Bada oni, then a young man to whom he had given lodging in his house at Āgra On his return from the Fort Bada oni nearly lost his life during a sudden storm whilst on the river Bada oni calls him Mihr 'Ali *Beg*, and says that he was later made a Khan and Governor of Chitor

He served under Adham Khan (No 10) in Malwa, and in the Gujrat wars of 980 and 981 In the 22nd year, Akbar was on a hunting tour near Hisar, and honoured him by being his guest In the following year, he attended Sakina Banu Begum whom Akbar sent to Kabul to advise his brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim In the 25th year, he served under Todar Mal against the rebel 'Arab

The *Tabaqat* makes him a Commander of Fifteen Hundred and says that he was dead in 1001

131 Khwaja Ibrahim i Badakhshī

He is not mentioned in the *Ma'asir* and the *Tabaqat* From the *Akbarnama* (II p 207) we see that he was Jagirdar of Sakit (in the Mainpūri District) Near this town there were eight villages inhabited by robbers In consequence of numerous complaints Akbar resolved to surprise the dacoits A great number were killed and about one thousand of them were burnt in dwellings in which they had fortified themselves Akbar exposed himself to great dangers, no less than seven

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Ikhtyaru l Mulk also appeared and marched upon Ahmadabad Muhammad Husayn

arrows struck in his shield and his elephant fell with one foot in a grain pit which threw the officer who was seated behind him with much force upon him The fight chiefly took place in a village called in the MSS فرونکه or فرونکه [1]

The *Tabaqat* mentions a Sultan Ibrahim of Awba (near Hirat) among Akbar s grandees His name is not given in the A'in He was the maternal uncle of Nizam' d Din Ahmad author of the *Tabaqat* He conquered Kama on and the Daman i Koh

132 Salim Khān Kakar [2]

Several MSS of the A'in call him *Salīm Khan Kakar ʿAlī* The *Akbarnama* calls him *Salīm Khan Kakar* or merely Salim Khan or *Salīm Khan Sirmur* The *Tabaqat* has *Salīm Khān Sirmur Afghan*

He served in the beginning of the 6th year in the conquest of Malwa and later under Muʿizzu l Mulk (No 61) in Audh and was present in the battle of Khayrabad In 980 he took a part in the fight of Sarnal He then served in Bengal and was jagirdar of Tajpur In the 28th year he accompanied Shahbaz Khan (No 80) to Bhati As there were no garrisons left in Upper Bengal Vazir Khan having gone to the frontier of Orisa Jabari (*vide* p 400 note 2) made an inroad from Kūch Bihar into Ghoraghat and took Tajpur from Salim s men and Purni a from the relations of Tarso Khan (No 32) Jabari moved as far as Tanda The Kotw Hasan ʿAli was sick and Shaykh Allah Bakhsh Sadr fled in precipitate haste Fortunately Shaykh Farid arrived and Jabari withdrew to Tajpur In the 32nd year Salim served under Matlab Khan (No 83) against the Tarikis and shortly after in the 33rd year under Sadiq Khan against the same Afghan rebels

He was no longer alive in 1001

133 Habīb ʿAli Khan.

He is not to be confounded with the Habib ʿAli Khan mentioned on p 406

Habib was at first in the service of Bayram Khan In the third year when Akbar had marched to Agra he ordered Habib to assist Qiya Khan (No 33) in the conquest Towards the end of the fourth year Akbar sent him against Rantanbhur This fort had formerly been in the possession of the Afghans and Salim Shah had appointed Jhujhar Khan governor On Akbar s accession Jh saw that he would not be able to hold it against the Imperialists and handed it over to Rav Surjan (No 96) who was then in the service of Rana Udai Singh But Habib had to raise the siege

[1 Pa obl n nteen kos south of S yalkot —B]
[2 Should be *Orma* —B]

Abū 'l Fazl attributes this want of success partly to fate, partly to the confusion which Bayrām's fall produced

In the 6th year (968) he served under Adham (No 19), in Mālwa According to the *Tabaqāt,* he died in 970

134 **Jagmal**, younger brother of Rāja Bihāri Mal (No 23)

He must not be confounded with No 218 Jagmal was mentioned on p 348 In the 8th year, he was made governor of Mirtha In the 18th year, when Akbar marched to Patan and Ahmadābād, he was put in command of the great camp

His son Kangār He generally lived with his uncle Raja Bihārī Mal at Court When Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirzā threatened to invade the Āgra District, he was ordered by the Rāja to go to Dihli In the 18th year, he joined Akbar at Patan In the 21st year, he accompanied Mān Singh's expedition against Rānā Partāb Later, he served in Bengal, chiefly under Shahbāz Khan (No 80) When Shahbāz returned unsuccessfully from Bhātī (p 438) Kangar, Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khan (No 189), Rāja Gopāl Mirzāda ʿAlī (No 152) met a detachment of rebels, and mistook them for their own men Though surprised, the Imperialists held their ground and killed Nawrūz Beg Qaqshal, the leader They then joined Shāhbaz, and arrived after a march of eight days at Sherpūr Murcha

According to the *Tabaqāt,* Kangār was in 1001 a Commander of Two Thousand The phraseology of some MSS implies that he was no longer alive in 1001

135 **Ulugh Khān Habshī**, formerly a slave of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrat

Ulugh Khān is Turkish for the Persian *Khān i Kalān* (the great Khān)

He rose to dignity under Mahmud of Gujrat The word *Habshī*, for which MSS often have *Badakhshī*, implies that he was of Abyssinian extraction, or a eunuch In the 17th year, when Akbar entered for the first time Ahmadābād, he was one of the first Gujrātī nobles that joined the Imperialists

In the 22nd year, he served with distinction under Sadiq (No 43) against Rāja Madhukar Bundela, Zamindār of Ūndcha In the 24th year, he followed Sadiq who had been ordered to assist Raja Todar Mal on his expedition against the rebel ʿArab (Niyābat Khān) in Bihār He commanded the left wing in the fight in which Khabīta (p 383, note 1) was killed

He died in Bengal

136 ***Maqṣūd ʿAlī Kor***

The *Tabaqāt* says that Maqsud was at first in Bayrām Khān's service He had been dead for a long time in 1001

From the *Akbarnāma* (II, 96) we see that he served under Qiyā Khān (No 33) in the conquest of Gwaliyar

137 **Qabul Khān**

From the *Akbarnāma* (II, p 450, last event of the 15th year of Akbar's reign) we see that Qabūl Khan had conquered the District of Bhimbar on the Kashmir frontier One of the Zamīndārs of the District, named Jalal, made his submission, and obtained by flattery a great power over Qabūl, who is said to have been a good hearted Turk Jalāl not only managed on various pretexts to send away Qabūl's troops, but also his son Yadgar Husayn (No 338), to Nawshahra The Zamindārs of the latter place opposed Yadgar, and wounded him in a fight Exhausted and wounded as he was, Yadgar managed to escape and took refuge with a friendly Zamīndār About the same time Jalāl collected his men and fell over Qabūl, and after a short struggle killed him (5th Ramazān, 978)

Akbar ordered Khān Jahan to invade the District The lands of the rebellious Zamindārs were devastated and summary revenge was taken on the ringleaders

Yadgār Husayn recovered from his wounds He is mentioned below among the commanders of Two Thousand

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another Qabūl Khān among the officers who served in the Afghan war in Bengal under Munʿim Khān Khanān He was present in the battle of Takaro i and pursued the Afghans under Todar Mal to Bhadrak (p 406)

Neither of the two Qabūl Khāns is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and the *Maʾāsir*

Commanders of Nine Hundred[1]

138 **Kuchak ʿAlī Khan i Kolabī**

Kolāb is the name of a town and a district in Badakhshān, long 70°, lat 30° The District of Kolab lies north of Badakhshan Proper, from which it is separated by the ʿĀmū (Oxus), but it was looked upon as part of the kingdom of Badakhshan Hence Kūchak ʿAlī is often called in the *Akbarnāma* Kūchak ʿAlī Khān i Badakhshi

[1] Not all MSS of the Āʾīn have these words they count the officers from No 138 to 175 amongst the Hazāris But the best MSS have this *mansab* In the lists of grandees in the *Pādishāhnāma* also the *mansab* of Nine Hundred occurs

He served under Mun'im Khan Zamān, and was present at the reconciliation of Baksar (Buxar) in the 10th year

He also served under Mun'im Khān in Bengal, and held a command in the battle of Takaro,i (p 406)

His sons are mentioned below, No 148 and No 380

139 Sabdal Khan, Sumbul, a slave of Humayun

140 Sayyid Muhammad, Mir 'Adl, a Sayyid of Amroha

Amroha, formerly a much more important town than now, belongs to the Sarkar of Sambal Its Sayyids belonged to old families of great repute throughout India Mir Sayyid Muhammad had studied the Hadis and law under the best teachers of the age The father of the Historian Badā,onī was his friend Akbar made Sayyid Muhammad, *Mīr 'Adl* When the learned were banished from Court (*ikhraj-i 'ulamā*) he was made governor of Bhakkar[1] He died there two years later in 984 (*vide* Nos 119 and 251)

From the *Akbarnāma*, we see that S Muhammad with other Amroha Sayyids served in the 18th year, under S Mahmud of Barha in the expedition against Raja Madhukar

He advised the Historian Bada,oni to enter the military service of the emperor, instead of trusting to learning and to precarious *Madad i ma'āsh* tenures, an advice resembling that of 'Abdu 'l Ghaffar (*vide* No 99, p 454) S Muhammad s sons were certainly all in the army, *vide* Nos 251, 297, 363

141 Razawi Khān, Mirza Mirak, a Raẓawi Sayyid of Mashhad

He was a companion of Khan Zaman (No 13) In the 10th year, he went to the camp of the Imperialists to obtain pardon for his master When in the 12th year Khan Zaman again rebelled, Mirzā Mirak was placed under the charge of Khan Baqi Khan (No 60), but fled from his custody (at Dihli, *Badā onī* II 100) After Khan Zamān's death, he was captured, and Akbar ordered him daily to be thrown before a *mast* elephant, but the driver was ordered to spare him as he was a man of illustrious descent This was done for five days when at the intercession of the courtiers he was set at liberty Shortly afterwards he received a mansab, and the title of *Ra awī Khān* In the 19th year, he was made Diwan of Jaunpur, and in the 24th year, Bakhshī of Bengal in addition to his former duties

At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (25th year), he was with Muzaffar Khan (No 37) His harsh behaviour towards the dis satisfied grandees is mentioned in the histories as one of the causes of

[1] In 983 the 20th year (*Akbarnāma* III, 138). *Badā,onī* (III, p. 73) has 984

the revolt When the rebels had seceded (9th Zi Hijjah, 987) and gone from Ṭānḍa to Gaur, Muẓaffar sent Razawī Khān, Rāy Patr Das (No 196) and Mīr Ahmad Munshī to them to try to bring them back to obedience Things took indeed a good turn, and everything might have ended peacefully when some of Rāy Patr Dās's Rājpūts said that the opportunity should not be thrown away to kill the whole lot Rāy Patr Dās mentioned this to Razawi Khān, and through him, it appears, the rebels heard of it They took up arms and caught Rāy Patr Dās Razawī Khān and Mir Ahmad Munshī surrendered themselves

The *Maʾāsir* says that nothing else is known of Razawi Khān The *Tabaqāt* says that he was a Commander of Two Thousand, and was dead in 1001

Mirza Mirak is not to be confounded with *Mīrak Khān*, "an old grandee, who died in 975" (*Tabaqāt*), or with *Mīrak Bahādur* (208)

Shāhjahan conferred the title of *Razawī Khān* on Sayyid ʿAli, son of Ṣadrᵘ ṣ' Ṣudūr Miran B Jalāl of Bukhārā

142 **Mīrzā Najat Khān**, brother of Sayyid Barka, and

143 **Mīrzā Husayn Khan**, his brother.

Both brothers, according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, were dead in 1001 Their names are often wrongly given in MSS, which call them *Najābat*, instead of *Najāt*, and *Hasan* instead of *Husayn*

From the *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) we see that both brothers accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India

Mirza Najat served, in the 10th year, against Khān Zamān (No 13). In the end of the 21st year, he was attached to the corps which under Shihab Khan (No 26) moved to Khandesh, the king of which, Raja ʿAli Khān, had shown signs of disaffection Later, he served in Bengal When the Military Revolt broke out, Bābā Khān Qāqshal (*vide*, p 399, note 2), Jabārī (p 400), Vazīr Jamīl (No 200), Saʿid i Toqbāʾī, and other grandees, marched on the 9th Zī Hijja, 987, from Ṭanda to Gaur across the Ganges Mir Najāt was doubtful to which party to attach himself, and when Muzaffar sent his grandees [Mir Jamālᵘ 'd Din Husayn Injū (No 164), Razawi Khān (No 141), Tīmūr Khān (No 215), Ray Patr Das (No 196), Mir Adham, Husayn Beg, Hakim Abū 'l Fath (No 112), Khwāja Shamsᵘ 'd Din (No 159), Jaʿfar Beg (No 98), Muhammad Quli Turkman (No 203), Qasim Khān i Sistānī, ʿIwaz Bahādur, Zulf ʿAli Yazdi, (Sayyid Abū Is hāq i Ṣafawi (No 384), Muzaffar Beg, etc] to the banks of the Ganges, where the rebels had drawn up their army, Mir Najat stayed with Vazir Jamil, although Muzaffar, who was Najāt's father in law, fully expected him to join He must have soon after left

the rebels and gone to Southern Bengal, for in the end of the 25th year he was at Satgāw (Huglī) Abū 'l Fazl mentions him together with Murād Khān at Fathabad (No 34), and Qiya Khān in Orīsā (No 33), as one of the few that represented Imperialism in Bengal (*Akbarn* III, 291) But these three were too powerless to check the rebels. Murād died, and Qiyā was soon after killed by the Afghāns under Qutlū, who looked upon the revolt as his opportunity Mīr Najāt also was attacked by Qutlū and defeated near Salīmābād (Sulaymanābād), ■ of Bardwān He fled to the Portuguese governor of Hūglī[1] Bābā Khan Qāqshāl sent one of his officers to get hold of Najāt, but the officer hearing of Qutlū's victory, attacked the Afghāns near Mangalkot, N.E of Bardwān. Qutlū, however, was again victorious

143 Sayyid Hashim, son of Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha *Vide* No 105, p 461

144 Ghazi Khān i Badakhshī

In MSS, *Ghāzī* is often altered to *Qāzī*, and *Badakhshī* to *Bakhshī*, and as Ghāzī Khān's first title was *Qāzī Khān*, his name is often confounded with No 223 Other *Ghāzī Khāns* have been mentioned above, on pp 396, 418

Ghazi Khan's name was Qāzi Nizam He had studied law and Hadis, under Mullā ʿIsāmᵘ 'd Din Ibrāhīm, and was looked upon as one of the most learned of the age He was also the *murīd* of Shaykh Husayn of Khwārazm, a renowned Sūfī His acquirements procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, king of Badakhshān (No 5), who conferred upon him the title of *Qāzī Khān* At the death of Humayūn, Sulaymān, wishing to profit by the distracted state of the country, moved to Kābul and besieged Munʿim (No 11) After the siege had lasted for some time, Sulaymān sent Qāzī to Munʿim to prevail on him to surrender But Munʿim detained him for several days, and treated him "to the most sumptuous fare, such as Badakhshis cannot enjoy even in peaceful times". The good dinners made such an impression on Qāzī Khān that he advised Sulaymān to raise the siege, as there was no lack of provisions in the fort Sulaymān thereupon returned to Badakhshan

Subsequently Qāzi Khān left his master, and went to India At Khānpūr he was introduced to the emperor on his return from Jaunpūr (*Akbarn*, III, 85) He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwānchī* writer (p 273) Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a Commander of One Thousand He also bestowed upon

[1] The MSS of the *Akbarnāma* call him *Bartab Bar Firingī*, or *Partāb Firingī*

him the title of *Ghāzī Khān*, after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions

In the 21st year, Ghāzī Khān commanded the left wing of Mān Singh's corps in the war with the Rāna Though his wing gave way, he returned with the troops and joined the van, and fought bravely He then received Awadh as *tuyūl*, and distinguished himself in Bihār against the rebellious grandees

He died at Awadh in the 29th year (992) at the age of seventy, about the same time that Sultān Khwāja died (No 108)

Ghāzi Khan is the author of several works (*vide* Badā,onī III, 153) The *sijda*, or prostration, which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the Court, was his invention (*vide* p 167, note)

His son *Husām*[u] *'d Dīn* Akbar made him a Commander of One Thousand, and sent him with the Khān Khānān (No 29) to the Dakhin. Suddenly a change came over Husām, and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as a faqir at the tomb of Nizām[u] 'd Din Awliya in Dihlī The Khān Khānān persuaded him in vain to give up this mad idea, but Husam next day laid aside his clothes, smeared his body with clay and mud, and wandered about in the streets and bazars Akbar permitted his resignation Husām lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Dihli Khwaja Baqī Billah (born at Kābul and buried at Dihlī) conferred on him power of "guiding travellers on the road of piety" He died in 1034 His wife was Abū 'l Fazl's sister She gave at the request of her husband her ornaments to Darwishes, and fixed an annual sum of 12,000 Rupees as allowance for the cell of her husband *Vide* Tuzuk, p 80

145 **Farhat Khān, Mihtar Sakā,ī, a slave of Humāyun**

The MSS have *Sakā*'ī and *Sakāhī* Farhat Khān is first mentioned in the war between Humāyūn and Mirzā Kamran, when many grandees joined the latter In a fight, Beg Babā of Kolab lifted up his sword to strike Humāyūn from behind He missed and was at once attacked by Farhat, and put to flight When Humāyun left Lāhor on his march to Sarhind, where Sikandar Khan was, Farhat was appointed *Shiqdār* of Lāhor [1] Subsequently, Mir Shah Abu 'l Ma'āli was appointed Governor of Lahor He sent away Farhat, and appointed his own men instead Farhat therefore joined Prince Akbar on his arrival in the Panjāb

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[1] [illegible]
of t [illegible]
Safa [illegible]
Sarhind on the 7th Rajab

After Akbar's accession, Farhat was made *Tuyuldār* of Korra He distinguished himself in the war with Muhammad Husayn Mirza near Ahmadabād When the Mirza was brought in a prisoner, Farhat refused him a drink of water which he had asked for, but Akbar gave him some of his own water, and remonstrated with Farhat for his cruelty In the 19th year, he served in Bihār and was made *jāgīrdār* of Āra In the 21st year (984), Gajpati (p 437) devastated the district Farhang Khān, Farhat's son, marched against him, but was repulsed and slain Farhat then moved against the enemy to avenge the death of his son, but met with the same fate (*vide* No 80)

146 **Rumi Khan,** Ustad Jalabi (?), of Rūm

He is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* and the *Maʿāsir*, and but rarely in the *Akbarnāma* In the 20th year, he and Baqi Khān (No 60) and ʿAbdu'r Rahmān Beg (No 186) accompanied a party of Begams from Court on their road to Makkah The party consisted of Gulbadan Begam, Salima Sultān Begam, Hāji Begam, Gulʿazār Begam, Sultān Begam (wife of Mirza ʿAskarī), Umm Kulsūm Begam (granddaughter of Gulbadan Begam), Gujnār Āgha (one of Babar's wives), Bībi Safiya, Bībi Sarw i Sahi and Shaham Āgha (wives of Humayūn), and Salima Khānum (daughter of Khizr Khwāja) They left in Rajab, 983

Rūmī Khān has also been mentioned above (No 111)

147 **Samanji Khān Qurghuji** (*vide* No 100)

He was a grandee of Humāyūn During the reign of Akbar, he reached the dignity of a Commander of Fifteen Hundred The *Tabaqāt* says he was, in 1001, a Commander of 2,000 In the same work he is called a *Mughul*

In the beginning of the 6th year (middle of 968) he served in Malwa under Adham Khan (No 19) and was present in the battle of Sarangpūr In the 9th year, he accompanied Muhammad Qāsim Khān i Nishapūri (No 40) and pursued ʿAbdu 'llah Khan Uzbak (No 14) In the 13th year, he was ordered, together with Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī (No 74), to go to Rantanbhur and suppress the disturbances created by Mirza Muhammad Husayn in Malwa Later, he held a *jāgīr* in Āra [1] He joined at first the rebellious grandees, but convincing himself of their selfishness, he went back to the Imperial camp

In the 39th year, he was allowed to come to Court, and died a few years later His sons received employments in the army

From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 156) we see that he also served in the

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[1] The *Maʿāsir* has *Awadh* At the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt, he was Jāgīrdār [illegible] the Āra District (*Akbarn* III, 244)

21st year under Khan Jahān (No 24) and was present in the battle of Āg Mahall In the 30th year, he was in Malwa and was ordered to join the Dakhin corps Two years later, he served under Shihāb Khan (No 26) against Raja Madhukar

148 **Shahbeg Khan**, son of Kuchak ʿAlī Khān of Badakhshān (Nos 138 and 380)

His name is not given in the *Maʿāsir* and the *Tabaqāt* Amir Beg, a Pansadi under Shahjahan appears to be his son

149 **Mirza Husayn Khan**, brother of Mirza Najāt Khan (*vide* No 142)

150 **Hakim Zanbīl**, brother of Mirzā Muhammad Ṭabīb of Sabzwar

Zanbīl means " a basket " In the list of the physicians of the Court, lower down, he is called Hakim Zanbil Beg Bada,oni says, he was a *muqarrib*, or personal attendant on the emperor [1]

151 **Khudawand Khan i Dakhini**

Khudāwand Khan was a Nizamshahī Grandee As his father was born at Mash had, Kh is often called *Mash hadī* He was of course a Shiʿah

He was a man of imposing stature and well known for his personal courage When Khwāja Mirak of Iṣfahan, who had the title of Chingiz Khan, was the Vakil of Murtaza Nizam Shah, Kh rose to dignity He held several districts in Barar as jagir The Masjid of Rohankhera [2] was built by him

In 993, when Mir Murtaza of Sabzwar (No 162) commanded the army of Barar, and was no longer able to withstand Salabat Khan Chirgis in the Dakhin Kh accompanied M Murtaza to Hindustan Both were well received by Akbar, and Kh was made a Commander of One Thousand He received Paṭan in Gujrat as *tuyul*

He was married to Abu 'l Fazl s sister, and died at Kari in the end of the 34th year, before the middle of 995 (*Bada,onī* II 372, where in the *Tārikh* of his death the word *Dakhinī* must be written without an *h*)

Once Abū 'l Fazl had invited several grandees, Khudawand among them The dishes placed before Kh contained fowls and game and different kinds of vegetables whilst the other guests had roast meat He remarked it, took offence, and went away Although Akbar assured him that Abū l Fazl had treated him to fowls and game according to a Hindūstani custom, Kh disliked Abu l Fazl, and never went again to his house " Hence Dakhinis are notorious in Hindūstan for stupidity "

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[1] The Edit Bibl Indica of Bada oni (III 164) calls him wrongly *Hakim Zinal Shirāzi* Zinal is the reading of bad MSS , and *Sabzwārī* is often altered to *Shirāzī* Other bad MSS have *Panbal*

[2] Rohankhera lies in West Barar in the district of Buldana In Abu l Fazl s list of parganas in Sarkār Talingana, there is one called *Qiryāt i Khudawand Khan*

The *Tabaqāt* puts Kh among the Commanders of Fifteen Hundred, and says that he died in 995 The *Maʾāṣir* has 997

152 **Mīrzada ʿAlī Khan, son of Muhtaram Beg**[1]

He served in the 9th year in Mālwa during the expedition against ʿAbdu 'llah Khan Uzbak (No 14) In the 17th year, he served in the Gujrat war under the Khan i Kalān (No 16) Two years later, he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū, who with a corps of Afghāns ravaged the frontiers of Bihār In the 23rd year, he accompanied Shahbāz Khān in the war with Rāna Partāb[2] He then served in Bihar under Khān i Aʿzam (25th year) and in Bengal under Shāhbāz Khān (*vide* No 134, p 483) In the 30th year (993) he was present in the fight with Qutlu near Mangalkoṭ (Bardwan) In the 31st year, he was ordered to join Qasim Khan (No 59), who was on his way to Kashmīr Not long after, in 995 (32nd year) he was killed in a fight with the Kashmīrīs who defeated an Imperial detachment under Sayyid ʿAbdu 'llah Khan (No 189)

Badāonī (III, p 326) says he was a poet He places his death in 996

153 **Saʿadat Mīrzā, son of Khizr Khwāja Khān** (p 394, note)

154 **Shimāl Khan Chela**

Chela means "a slave" The *Tabaqāt* says he was a Qurchī, or armour-bearer of the emperor, and a genial companion He was made a *Hazārī* and was no longer alive in 1001

In the 9th year, he assisted in the capture of Khwāja Muʿazzam, In the 20th year, he served in the war against Chandr Sen, during which Jalal Khan (No 213) had lost his life, and afterwards under Sayyid Ahmad (No 91) and Shāhbāz (No 80) in the expedition to Siwāna

155 **Shah Ghāzi Khan, a Sayyid from Tabriz**

The *Tabaqāt* calls him a Turkman, and says, he was dead in 1001 He served in the 19th year with Mirzāda ʿAli Khan (No 152) against Qāsim Khān Kāsū

He may be the Shāh Ghazi Khan mentioned below under No 161

156 **Fāzil Khan, son of Khan i Kalān (No 16)**

He was mentioned above, on p 339

157 **Maʿṣum Khan, son of Muʿinu 'd Din Ahmad Farankhūdi** (No 128)

He is not to be confounded with Maʿsūm Khān i Kābulī (p 476, note)

[1] He is also called *Mirzād ʿAli* Khān. My text edition has wrongly *Mirzā ʿAli Khān* For *Muhtaram* many MSS read wrongly *Mahram*
His father, Muhtaram Beg was a grandee of Humāyūn's Court

[2] Generally called in the Histories *Rānā Kīka*

Maʿṣūm was made a *Hazārī* on the death of his father, and received Ghāzīpūr as *tuyūl* He joined Todar Mal in Bihār, though anxious to go over to the rebels (pp 376–7) Not long afterwards, Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's brother, threatened to invade the Panjāb, and as the emperor had resolved to move personally against him, Maʿsūm thought it opportune to rebel He seized Jaunpūr and drove away Tarsō Khān's men (No 32) As Akbar had known him from a child, he was inclined to pardon him, provided he left Jaunpūr, and accepted Awadh as *tuyūl* This M did, but he continued to recruit, and when Shāh Qulī Mahram and Raja Bir Bar had failed to bring him to his senses, Shāhbāz Khān, on hearing of his conduct, determined to punish him The events of the expedition have been related on p 437

After his defeat near Awadh, M. threw himself into the town, but as several rebel chiefs had left him, he absconded, without even taking his family with him He applied to two Zamindārs for assistance, but the first robbed him of his valuables, and the latter waylaid him, and had it not been for a bribe, M would not have escaped About this time one of his friends of the name of Maqsūd joined him and supplied him with funds M collected men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahraich Vazir Khan (No 41) and others moved from Hājipūr against him, but M escaped them After plundering the town of Muhammadābād, he resolved to surprise Jaunpūr, when the tuyūldārs of the district marched against him Being hard pressed, he applied to M ʿAzīz Koka (No 21) to intercede for him Akbar again pardoned him, and gave him the Pargana Mihsī, Sarkār Champāran, as *tuyul* But M continued in a rebellious attitude, and when M ʿAzīz prepared to punish him, he applied for leave to go to Court He arrived, in the 27th year, in Āgra, and was again pardoned, chiefly at the request of Akbar's mother

Soon after, on going home one night from the Darbar, he was killed on the road An inquiry was ordered to be held, but without result, and people believed that Akbar had connived at the murder Compare with this the fate of Nos 61 and 62, two other Bihar rebels

158 Tolak Khan Qūchīn

Tolak commenced to serve Babar He joined Humayūn on his return from Persia When the emperor had seized on Kābul, and M Kārām came near the town under the mask of friendship, many of Humayun s grandees went over to him, and the emperor was obliged to retreat northwards to Zahak (ضحاک) and Bamiyan, where he hoped to find faithful officers He sent, however, Tolak and several others to Kābul,

to bring him correct information, but Tolak alone returned For his faithfulness he was made Qurbegī

Tolak accompanied Humayūn to India After the emperor's death, he belonged to those who supported the young Akbar, and was instrumental in the capture at a dinner party of Mīr Shāh Abū 'l Maʿālī Afterwards, T went to Kābul, where he remained for a long time In the 7th year of Akbar's reign, he was suddenly imprisoned by the young and hasty Ghanī Khān, son of Munʿim Khan (No 11), who was in charge of Kabul Tolak managed to escape, and went to Bābā Khātūn, his jāgīr, collecting men to take revenge on Ghanī A favourable opportunity presented itself when Ghanī one day had left Kabul for a place called Khwaja Sayyaran (خواجه سياران), to waylay a caravan from Balkh He was just feasting with his companions, when Tolak Khān fell upon them Ghanī, who was drunk, was caught, and Tolak marched to Khwāja Awash (خواجه اواش), a place two *kos* distant from Kabul But he was opposed by Fazil Beg (Munʿim's brother) and his son Abū 'l Fath (called wrongly *ʿAbdu 'l Fath*, on p 318), and thought it advisable to let Ghanī go Ghanī immediately collected men and pursued Tolak, who now prepared himself to go to Hindustān Ghanī overtook him near the Āb i Ghorband and killed Babā Quchin, and several other relations and friends of Tolak Tolak himself and his son Isfandiyār managed to cut their way through the enemies, and arrived safely in India Akbar gave Tolak a jāgīr in Mālwa, where he remained for a long time

In the 28th year, T served under Khan Khānan (No 29) in Mālwa and Gujrat, and defeated Sayyid Dawlat in Kambha,it He distinguished himself in the fights with Muzaffar, and served under Qulij Khan (No 42) in the conquest of Bahroch In the 30th year, he was attached to the corps which under M ʿAzīz Koka was to be sent to the Dakhin Having indulged in slander during the disagreement between M ʿAzīz Koka and Shihābu 'd Din, he was imprisoned After his release he was sent to Bengal, where in the 37th year he served under Man Singh against the Afghāns

He died in the beginning of the 41st year (1004)

159 Khwaja Shamsu 'd Din Khawafī

Khawāfī means ' coming from Khawaf ", which is a district and town in Khurasan Our maps have ' Khaff ' or " Khāf ', due west of Hirāt, between Lat 60° and 61° According to the *Muʿjamu 'l Buldān*, " Khawāf is a large town belonging [at the time the author wrote] to the revenue district of Nishāpūr Near it lies on one side Būshanj which belongs to the districts of Hirat, and on the other Zuzan Khawāf

contains one hundred villages and three towns (Sanjān, Sirāwand, and Kharjard)" Amīn Rāzī in his excellent *Haft Iqlīm* says that the district of Khawāf is famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men it has produced The dynasty called, Āl i Muzaffar, of whom seven kings ruled for 59 years over Fārs and Shīrāz,[1] were Khawāfis The author of the *Zakhīrat*[u] *'l Khawānīn* says that the people of Khawāf were known to be bigoted Sunnīs When Shāh ʿAbbās i Ṣafawī, in the beginning of his reign, came to Khawāf, he forced the inhabitants to abuse, as is customary with Shiʿas, the companions of the Prophet (*sabb-i ṣaḥāba*), but as the people refused to do so, he had seventy of the principal men thrown down from a Masjid Although then no one was converted, the Khwāfīs are now as staunch Shiʿas as they were formerly bigoted Sunnīs

Khwāja Shams[u] 'd-Dīn was the son of Khwāja ʿAlāʿu 'd-Dīn, who was a man much respected in Khawāf Shams accompanied Muzaffar Khān (No 37), his countryman, to Bihār and Bengal At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was caught by the rebels, and Maʿsūm-i Kābulī had him tortured with a view of getting money out of him Shams was half dead, when at the request of ʿArab Bahādur he was let off and placed under ʿArab's charge, who lay under obligations to him. But Shams eluded his vigilance, and fled to Singrām, Rāja of Kharakpūr (Bihār)[2] As the roads were all held by the rebels, Shams could not

[1] They succumbed to Timūr The Histories disagree regarding the length of their

make his way to the Imperial army He collected men, attacked the rebels, and carried off some of their cattle, and when some time after dissensions broke out among the mutineers, he found means to escape Akbar received him with every distinction, and appointed him in the same year (26th) to superintend the building of Fort Atak (built 990–1) on the Indus, near which the Imperial camp then was [1]

After this, Shams was for some time Diwan of Kabul In the 39th year, when Qulij Khān (No 42) after the death of Qasim Khan (No 59) was made Sūbadar of Kabul, Shams was made Diwan of the empire (*Dīwan i kul'l*) *vice* Qulij [2] When Akbar in the 43rd year, after a residence of fourteen years in the Panjāb, moved to Agra to proceed to the Dakhin, the Begams with Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) were left in Lahor, and Shams was put in charge of the Panjab, in which office he continued, after Akbar's mother had returned, in the 44th year, with the Begams to Āgra

Shams died at Lāhor in the 45th year (1008) The family vault which he had built near Babā Hasan Abdāl having been used for other purposes (p 469) he was buried in Lahor in that quarter of the town which he had built, and which to his honour was called *Khawafīpūra*

He is said to have been a man of simple manners, honest and faithful, and practical in transacting business

Like Shaykh Farid i Bukhari (No 99), whom he in many respects resembles, he died childless

His brother, Khwāja Mumin Khawāfī, was made, on his death, Diwan of the Panjāb Mumin's son, ʿAbdu 'l Khaliq was a favourite of Āsaf Khan IV (p 398) He was killed by Mahabat Khan, when Āsaf had been removed by Mahābat from Fort Atak and imprisoned

160 **Jagat Singh, eldest of Raja Man Singh (No 30)**

Kūwar Jagat Singh served in the 42nd year under Mirzā Jaʿfar Āsaf Khan (No 98) against Rāja Basū, zamindar of Mau and Pathan (Nūrpūr, N E Panjab) In the 44th year (1008) when Akbar moved to Malwa, and Prince Salim (Jahangir) was ordered to move against Rānā Amr Singh,

Man Singh was called from Bengal and Jagat Singh was ordered to go to Bengal as *na'ib* of his father While still at Agra he died from excessive drinking Regarding J S s daughter, *vide* p 323 and No 175

Maha Singh Jagat s younger son was appointed in his stead His youth and inexperience inclined the Afghans under ʿUsman and Shuj ʿwal Khan to attack him They defeated him and Partab Singh son of Raja Bhagwan Das (No 336) near Bhadrak in Orisa (45th year) Man Singh hastened to Bengal and after defeating in 1009 the Afghans near Sherpur ʿAta i between Shi uri (Sooree) in Birbhum and Murshidabad recovered Lower Bengal and Orisa

Maha Singh died soon after like his father from excessive drinking

161 **Naqib Khan** son of Mir ʿAbdu l Lat f of Qazwin

Naqib Khan is the title of Mir Ghiyas d Din ʿAli His family belongs to the Sayfi Sayyids of Qazwin who were known in Iran for their Sunni tendencies His grandfather Mir Yahya was a well known theologian and philosopher who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time

In the opening of his career Mir Yahya was patronized by Shah Tahmasp i Safawi who called him Yahya Maʿsum [1] and was treated by the king with such distinction that his enemies envious of his good fortune endeavoured to poison his patron s mind against him by representing that he and his son Mir ʿAbdu l Lat f were the leading men among the Sunnis of Qazwin They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king when he was on the borders of Azarbayjan to order Mir Yahya and his son together with their families to be imprisoned at Isfahan At that time his second son ʿAlaʿu d Dawla was in Azarbayjan and sent off a special messenger to convey his intelligence to his father Mir Yahya being too old and infirm to flee accompanied the king s messenger to Isfahan and died there after one year and nine months in A H 96? at the age of 77 years [2]

Mir ʿAbdu l Latif however immediately on receipt of his brother s

[2] Some fix the date of Mir Yahya s death two years earlier

communication, fled to Gīlān,[1] and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humāyun went to Hindūstān, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hafiz The Mīr was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,[2] that each party used to revile him for his indifference "

" When Bayram Khan had incurred the displeasure of the emperor and had left Āgra and proceeded to Alwar with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjab, the emperor sent the Mir to him, to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign " *Elliot, Index, l c*

Mir ʿAbdu 'l Latif died at Sikrī on the 5th Rajab, 981,[3] and was buried at Ajmir near the Dargāh of Mir Sayyid Husayn Khing Suwar

ʿAbdu 'l Latif had several sons The following are mentioned 1 Naqīb Khan, 2 Qamar Khān, 3 Mir Muhammad Sharīf The last was killed in 984 at Fathpūr by a fall from his horse, while playing hockey with the emperor (Bad II, 230) For Qamar Khan, *vide* No 243

Naqīb Khān arrived with his father in India, when Akbar after his accession was still in the Panjāb (*Akbarn* II, 23) and soon became a personal friend of the emperor (II, 281) In the 10th year, he conveyed Akbar's pardon to Khan Zamān, for whom Munʿim Khān had interceded (II, 281) In the 18th year, N accompanied the emperor on the forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad (p 491, note), and in the following year to Patan In the end of the 21st year, he took part in the expedition to Idar (III, 165) and was sent in the following year to Malwa or Gujrāt, after the appointment of Shihab to the latter province After the outbreak of the Military Revolt in Bengal, N with his brother Qamar Khan served under Todar Mal and Sadiq Khān in Bihār against Maʿsūm i Kābulī (III, 273) In the 26th year, he received the title of *Naqīb Khān*[4] Though

[1] The MSS. of the *Maʾasir* have گیلان, so also Badāoni *l c*

[2] He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *sulh i kull* peace with all the Persian term which Abu l Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration Abu l Fazl (*Akbarn* III 23) says that ʿAbdu l Latif was accused in Īrān of being a Sunni and in Hindustan of being a Shiʿah

[3] [illegible]

he does not even mention his name.

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[1] *I e* exempt probably from losing life and property for [illegible]

[2] Mir Yahya [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

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communication, fled to Gīlān,[1] and afterwards at the invitation of the emperor Humāyūn went to Hindūstān, and arrived at Court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and appointed in the second year of his reign as his preceptor At that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Hāfiz The Mīr was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments,[2] that each party used to revile him for his indifference "

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[3] Elliot has by mistake 971 The *Tārīkh* of his death in the ...

during the reign of Akbar he did not rise above the rank of a *Hazari* he possessed great influence at Court He was Akbar s reader and super intended the translations from Sanscrit into Persian mentioned on p 110 Several portions of the *Tarikh i Alfi* also (p 113) are written by him

Naqib had an uncle of the name of Qazi ʿIsa who had come from Iran to Akbar s Court where he died in 980 His son was Shah Ghazi Khan (*vide* No 155) Akbar married the latter to Sakina Banu Begam sister of Mirza Muhammad Hakim (Akbar s half brother) and as Naqib Khan in the 38th year reported that Qazi ʿIsa had expressed a dying wish to present his daughter to Akbar the emperor married her Thus two of Naqib s cousins married into the imperial family

On the accession of Jahangir N was made a Commander of 1 500 (*Tuzuk* p 12) He died in the 9th year of J s reign (beginning of 1023) at Ajmir and was buried at the side of his wife within the enclosure of Muʿin i Chishti s tomb (*Tuzuk* p 129) His wife was a daughter of Mir Mahmud *Munshiy*ᵘ *l Ma nalik* who had been for twenty five years in Akbar s service (Bada oni III 321)

Naqib s son ʿAbdᵘ l Lat f was distinguished for his acquirements He was married to a daughter of M Yusuf Khan (No 35) and died insane

Naqib Khan like his grandfather excelled in history It is said that he knew the seven volumes of the *Rawzat*ᵘ *s ṣafa* by heart Jahangir in his Memoirs praises him for his remarkable memory and Bada oni who was Naqib s schoolfellow and friend says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqib Once on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying he responded instantly without making a mistake of even one

162 Mir Murtaza Khan, a Sabzwari Sayyid

Mir Murtaza Khan was at first in the service of ʿAdil Shah of Bijapur Murtaza Nizam Shah called him to Ahmadnagar and made him Military Governor of Barar and later Amirᵘ l Umaraʾ He successfully invaded at Nizam Shah s order ʿAdil Shah s dominions But Nizam Shah suffered from insanity and the government was left in the hands of his Vakil Shah Quli Salabat Khan and as he reigned absolutely several of the nobles especially the *tuyuldars* of Barar were dissatisfied Ṣalabat Khan being bent on ruining them Mir Murtaza Khudawand Khan (No 151) Jamshed Khan i Shirazi and others marched in 992 to Ahmadnagar Salabat Khan and Shahzada Miran Husayn surprised them and routed them Mir Murtaza lost all his property and unable to resist Salabat Khan he went with Khudawand Khan to Akbar who made him a Commander of One Thousand

his brother Qutbᵘ 'd Din (No 28), though Akbar had appointed the latter *Atālīq* of the Prince But Khān i Kalan did not get on well with M M Hakim, especially when the Prince had given his sister Fakhrᵘ 'n Nisa Begum (a daughter of Humāyun by Jūjak Begum, and widow of Mir Shah ʿAbdᵘ 'l Maʿāli) to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi in marriage To avoid quarrels, Khan i Kalan left Kābul one night and returned to Lāhor

In the 13th year (976) the *Atga Khayl* was removed from the Panjab, and ordered to repair to Āgra Khān i Kalān received Sambhal as jāgir, whilst Husayn Quli Khan (No 24) was appointed to the Panjab In 981, he was sent by Akbar in advance, for the reconquest of Gujrat (*Bad* II, 165) On the march near Sarohī (Ajmir), he was wounded by a Rājput, apparently without cause, but he recovered After the conquest, he was made governor of Patan (Nahrwala) He died at Patan in 983

He was a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of 'Ghaznawi", in [allu]sion to his birthplace Badaoni (III 287) praises him for his [rhy]ming

His eldest son Fazil Khan (No 156) was a *Hazārī* and was killed when Mirzā ʿAziz Koka (No 21) was shut up in Ahmadnagar His second son, Farrukh Khan (No 232) was a *Panṣadī* Nothing else is known of him

17 Mirza Sharafᵘ d Din Husayn son of Khwaja Muʿin

He was a man of noble descent His father, Khawja Muʿin was the son of Khawand Mahmud second son of Khwaja Kalan (known as Khwajagan Khwaja) eldest son of the renowned saint Khwaja Nasirᵘ 'd Din ʿUbaydᵘ 'llah Ahrar Hence Mirza Sharafᵘ 'd Din Husayn is generally called *Ahrārī*

His grandfather, Khawand Mahmud, went to India, was honorably received by Humayūn and died at Kabul

His father, Khwaja Muʿin, was a rich, but avaricious man, he held the tract of land called 'Rūdkhāna yi Nasheb, and served under ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khan ruler of Kāshghar He was married to Kijak Begum, daughter of Mir ʿAlaʿᵘ 'l Mulk of Tirmiz who is a daughter of Fakhr Jahan Begum daughter of Sultan Abu Saʿid Mirzā "Hence the blood of Timur also flowed in the veins of Mirza Sharafᵘ 'd Din Husayn As the son did not get on well with his father, he went to Akbar Through the powerful influence of Mahum, Akbar s nurse, and Adham Khān, her son (No 19), Mirza Sharaf was appointed *Panjhazārī* In the 5th year, Akbar gave him his sister Bakhshi Banū Begum in marriage, and made him governor of Ajmir and Nagor In 969, when Akbar went to Ajmir, Mirza Sharaf joined the emperor, and distinguished himself in the siege

of Mārtha, which was defended by Jagmal and Devidās, the latter of whom was killed in an engagement subsequent to their retreat from the fort

In 970, Mirzā Sharaf's father came to Āgra, and was received with great honours by Akbar In the same year, Mirzā Sharaf, from motives of suspicion, fled from Āgra over the frontier, pursued by Husayn Quli Khān (No 24), and other grandees His father, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Hijāz, but died at Cambay The ship on which was his body, foundered Mirzā Sharaf stayed for some time with Changiz Khān, a Gujrāt noble, and then joined the rebellion of the Mirzās When Gujrat was conquered, he fled to the Dakhin, and passing through Baglāna, was captured by the Zamīndār of the place, who after the conquest of Sūrat handed him over to Akbar To frighten him Akbar ordered him to be put under the feet of a tame elephant, and after having kept him for some time imprisoned, he sent him to Muzaffar Khān, Governor of Bengal (No 37), who was to give him a jāgir, should be find that the Mirza showed signs of repentance but if not, to send him to Makkah Muzaffar was waiting for the proper season to have him sent off when Mir Maˁsum i Kabulī rebelled in Bihār Joined by Babā Khan Qaqshāl, the rebels besieged Muzaffar Khan in Ṭānda and over powered him Mirzā Sharaf fled to them, after having taken possession of the hidden treasures of Muzaffar But subsequently he became Maˁsum's enemy Each was waiting for an opportunity to kill the other Maˁsum at last bribed a boy of the name of Mahmud, whom Mirza Sharaf liked, and had his enemy poisoned Mirza Sharaf's death took place in 988 He is wrongly called *Siefuddeen* in Stewart's History o Bengal (p 108)

18 **Yusuf Muhammad Khan** eldest son of Atga Khan (No 15)

He was Akbar's foster brother (*koka* or *kūkaltāsh*) When twelve years old, he distinguished himself in the fight with Bayram (p 332 l 9), and was made Khan When his father had been killed by Adham Khan (No 19) Akbar took care of him and his younger brother ˁAziz Koka (No 21) He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of Khan Zaman (No 13)

He d ed from [illegible] *Bad* II, p 84

is evidently a royal bastard

[1] Generally called in European histories Ādam Khān but his name is دهم not آدم

His mother Māhum was one of Akbar's nurses (*anga*),[1] and attended on Akbar "from the cradle till after his accession" She appears to have had unbounded influence in the Harem and over Akbar himself, and Munʿim Khān (No 11), who after Bayrām's fall had been appointed *Vakīl*, was subject to her counsel She also played a considerable part in bringing about Payram's fall, *Bad* II, p 36

Adham Khan was a *Panjhazārī*, and distinguished himself in the siege of Mankot[2] Bayram Khān, in the third year, gave him Hatkānth,[3] South Fast of Āgra, as jāgir, to check the rebels of the Bhadauriya clan, who even during the preceding reigns had given much trouble Though he accused Bayram of partiality in bestowing bad jagirs upon such as he did not like Adham did his best to keep down the Bhadau riyas After Bayram's fall, he was sent, in 968, together with Pir Muhammad Khan to Malwah, defeated Baz Bahadur near Sarangpūr and took possession of Bahadur's treasures and dancing girls His sudden fortune made him refractory, he did not send the booty to Āgra, and Akbar thought it necessary to pay him an unexpected visit, when Mahum Anga found means to bring her son to his senses Akbar left after four days On his departure, Adham prevailed on his mother to send back two beautiful dancing girls, but when Akbar heard of it, Adham turned them away They were captured, and killed by Mahum s orders Akbar knew the whole, but said nothing about it On his return to Āgra however, he recalled Adham and appointed Pir Muhammad governor of Malwah

At Court Adham met again Atga Khan, whom both he and Munʿim Khan envied and hated On the 12th Ramazan 969, when Munʿim Khan Atga Khan, and several other grandees had a nightly meeting in the state hall at Āgra, Adham Khan with some followers, suddenly

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[1] Th[illegible] is the pronunciation given in the Calcutta Chaghatai Dictionary Misled by the printed editions of Badaoni Firishta Khafi Khan etc, I put on p 223 of my text edition of the Āʿin *Mahum Atgah* as if it was the name of a man. *Vide* Khafi Khān I p 132 l 6 from below

[2] The *Maʿāsir* gives a short history of this fort partly taken from the Akbarnama

[3] Hatkanth was held by Rajputs of [illegible] Elliot s Glossary II p 86 and I 27, certainly not *Lahore*; for the old spelling author of the *Makhzan i Afghāni* wrote from the S[illegible]

entered. All rose to greet him, when Adham struck Atga with his dagger, and told one of his companions (*vide* p 338) to kill him He then went with the dagger in his hand towards the sleeping apartments of Akbar, who had been awakened by the noise in the state hall Looking out from a window, he saw what had happened, rushed forward sword in hand, and met Adham on a high archway (*aywān*) near the harem "Why have you killed my foster father you son of a bitch?" (*bachcha yi lāda*), cried Akbar "Stop a moment, Majesty," replied Adham, seizing Akbar's arms, "first inquire" Akbar drew away his hands and struck Adham a blow in the face, which sent him "spinning" to the ground "Why are you standing here gaping?" said Akbar to one of his attendants of the name of Farhat Khān, "bind this man" This was done, and at Akbar's orders Adham Khān was twice thrown down from the dais (*suffa*) of the *Aywān* to the ground, with his head foremost The corpses of Adham and Atga were then sent to Dihli

Mahum Anga heard of the matter, and thinking that her son had been merely imprisoned, she repaired though sick, from Dihli to Āgra On seeing her, Akbar said, 'He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life" "Your Majesty has done well,' replied Mahum, turning pale, and left the hall Forty days after she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Dihli in a tomb which Akbar had built for them For Adham's brother, *vide* No 60

20 Pīr Muhammad Khan of Shirwān[1]

Nothing is known of his father Pīr Muhammad was a Mulla and attached himself to Bayram in Qandahar Through Bayram's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amir on Akbar's accession He distinguished himself in the war with Hemu, and received subsequently the title of *Nāṣiru 'l Mulk* His pride offended the Chaghatāʾi nobles, and at last Bayrām himself to whom he once refused admittance when he called on him at a time he was sick

Bayram subsequently ordered him to retire sent him, at the instigation of Shaykh Gadāʾī (*vide* p 282) to the Fort of Biyāna and then forced him to go on a pilgrimage Whilst on his way to Gujrat, Pīr Muhammad received letters from Adham Khan (No 19) asking him to delay He stayed for a short time at Rantanbhūr, but being pursued by Bayram's men, he continued his journey to Gujrat This harsh treatment annoyed Akbar, and accelerated Bayram's fall Whilst in Gujrat, P M heard of

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[1] In my text edition, p 223 No 20, *dele* سر Shirwan is also the birth place of Khāqānī The spelling *Sharwān* given in the Muʿjam does not appear to be usual.

showed himself so disobedient that Akbar was compelled to deprive him temporarily of his rank

Though restored to his honours in the 23rd year, M ʿAziz remained unemployed till the 25th year (988), when disturbances had broken out in Bengal and Bihār (*vide* Muzaffar Khān, No 37) ʿAzīz was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, got the title of Aʿzam Khān, and was dispatched with a large army to quell the rebellion His time was fully occupied in establishing order in Bihār Towards the end of the 26th year, he rejoined the emperor, who had returned from Kābul to Fathpūr Sikrī During ʿAzīz's absence from Bihār, the Bengal rebels had occupied Hajipūr, opposite Patna, and ʿAzīz, in the 27th year, was again sent to Bihar, with orders to move into Bengal After collecting the Tuyūldars of Ilāhābād, Audh, and Bihar, he occupied Garhi, the "key" of Bengal After several minor fights with the rebels under Maʿṣūm i Kabuli, and Majnūn Khān Qaqshal, ʿAziz succeeded in gaining over the latter, which forced Maʿsum to withdraw The imperial troops then commenced to operate against Qutlū, a Lohanī Afghan, who during these disturbances had occupied Orisa and a portion of Bengal ʿAziz, however, took this ill and handing over the command to Shahbaz Khān i Kambū, returned to his lands in Bihar Soon after, he joined Akbar at Ilahabad, and was transferred to Garha and Raisin (993)

In the 31st year (994), M ʿAziz was appointed to the Dakhin but as the operations were frustrated through the envy of Shahabu 'd Din Ahmad (No 26) and other grandees, ʿAziz withdrew, plundered Ilichpūr in Barar, and then retreated to Gujrat where the Khan Khanan was (Briggs, II, 257)

In the 32nd year, Prince Murad married a daughter of M ʿAzīz Towards the end of the 34th year, ʿAziz was appointed Governor of Gujrat in succession to the Khān Khanan In the 36th year he moved against Sultān Muzaffar, and defeated him in the following year He then reduced Jām and other zamindars of Kachh to obedience and conquered Somnāt and sixteen other harbour towns (37th year) Junāgarh also the capital of the ruler of Sorath, submitted to him (5th Zi Qaʿda 999), and Miyan Khān and Taj Khān sons of Dawlat Khan ibn i Amin Khan i Ghorī joined the Mughuls ʿAziz gave both of them jagirs He had now leisure to hunt down Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken refuge with a Zamindar of Dwarkā In a fight the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, followed by ʿAziz There also the Zamindars submitted, and soon after delivered Sultān Muzaffar into his hands No sooner had he been brought

to the Mirzā than he asked for permission to step aside to perform a call of nature, and cut his throat with a razor

In the 39th year Akbar recalled M ʿAzīz, as he had not been at Court for several years, but the Mirzā dreading the religious innovations at Court,[1] marched against Diu under the pretext of conquering it He made, however, peace with the "Farangī" and embarked for Ḥijāz at Balāwal, a harbour town near Somnāt accompanied by his six younger sons (Khurram, Anwar, ʿAbdᵘ 'llah ʿAbdᵘ 'l Laṭīf, Murtaẓā, ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Ghafūr), six daughters, and about one hundred attendants Akbar *felt sorry for his sudden departure, and with his usual magnanimity,* promoted the two eldest sons of the Mirza (M Shamsī and M. Shādmān)

M ʿAzīz spent a great deal of money in Makkah, in fact he was so "fleeced", that his attachment to Islam was much cooled down, and being assured of Akbar's good wishes for his welfare, he embarked for India, landed again at Balāwal, and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 He now became a member of the "Divine Faith" (*vide* p 217, l. 33), was appointed Governor of Bihar, was made *Vakīl* in 1004, and received Multān as Jāgir

In the 45th year (1008) he accompanied Akbar to Āsīr His mother died about the same time, and Akbar himself assisted in carrying the coffin. Through the mediation of the Mirzā, Bahādur Khan, ruler of Khandes, ceded Āsīr to Akbar towards the end of the same year Soon after, Prince Khusraw married one of ʿĀzīz's daughters

At Akbar's death, Mān Singh and M ʿAzīz were anxious to proclaim Khusraw successor but the attempt failed, as Shaykh Farīd i Bukhari and others had proclaimed Jahangir before Akbar had closed his eyes Man Singh left the Fort of Āgra with Khusraw, in order to go to Bengal ʿAziz wished to accompany him, sent his whole family to the Raja, and superintended the burial of the deceased monarch He countenanced Khusraw's rebellion, and escaped capital punishment through the intercession of several courtiers and of Salima Sultan Begum and other princesses of Akbar's harem Not long after, Khwaja Abu 'l Hasan laid before Jahangir a letter written some years ago by ʿAziz to Raja ʿAli Khān of Khandes, in which ʿAziz had ridiculed Akbar in very strong language Jahāngir gave ʿAziz the letter and asked him to read it before

[1] M ʿAziz ridiculed Akbar's tendencies to Hinduism and the orders of the Divine Faith He used to call Fayzī and Abu 'l Fazl ʿUsman and ʿAli His disparaging remarks led to his disgrace on the accession of Jahangir as related below

the whole Court which he did without the slightest hesitation thus incurring the blame of all the courtiers present Jahangir deprived him of his honours and lands and imprisoned him

In the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign (1017) M ʿAziz was restored to his rank and appointed (nominally) to the command of Gujrat his eldest son Jahangir Quli Khan being his naʾib In the 7th year when matters did not go on well in the Dakhin he was sent there with 10 000 men In the 8th year (10??) Jahangir went to Ajmir and appointed at the request of ʿAziz Shahjahan to the command of the Dakhin forces whilst he was to remain as adviser But Shahjahan did not like M ʿAziz on account of his partiality for Khusra and Mahabat Khan was dispatched from Court to accompany ʿAziz from Udaipur to Agra In the 9th year ʿAziz was again imprisoned and put under the charge of Asaf Khan in the Fort of Gwaliyar (*Tuzuk* p 127) He was set free a year later and soon after restored to his rank In the 18th year he was appointed *Ataliq* to Prince Dawar Bakhsh who had been made Governor of Gujrat M ʿAziz died in the 19th year (1033) at Ahmadabad

ʿAziz was remarkable for ease of address intelligence and his knowledge of history He also wrote poems Historians quote the following aphorism from his pithy sayings A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to a Khurasani woman for his housework a Hindu woman for nursing his children and a woman from Mawarannahr to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three Vide Iqbalnama p 230

Koka means foster brother and is the same as the Turkish *Kukaldash* or *Kukaltash*

Mirza ʿAziz's sons 1 *Mirza Shamsi* (No 163) He has been mentioned above During the reign of Jahangir he rose to importance and received the title of Jahangir Quli Khan

2 *Mirza Shadman* (No 233) He received the title of Shad Khan *Tuzuk* p 99

3 *Mirza Khurrum* (No 177) He was made by Akbar governor of Junagarh in Gujrat received the title of Kamil Khan under Jahangir and accompanied Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) to the Dakhin

4 *Mirza ʿAbdullah* (No 257) received under Jahangir the title of Sardar Khan He accompanied his father to Fort Gwaliyar

5 *Mirza Anwar* (No 206) was married to a daughter of Zayn Khan Koka (No 34)

All of them were promoted to commanderships of Five and Two Thousands ʿAziz's other sons have been mentioned above

A sister of M ʿAzīz, Māh Bānū, was married to ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm Khān Khanān (No 29)

22 **Bahādur Khan-i Shaybānī**, (younger) brother of Khān Zamān (No 13)

His real name is Muhammad Saʿīd Humāyūn on his return from Persia put him in charge of the District of Dāwar He then planned a rebellion and made preparations to take Qandahar, which was commanded by Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qalāt (No 95) The latter, however, fortified the town and applied to the king of Persia for help, as he could not expect Humāyūn to send him assistance A party of Qizilbashes attacked Bahādur, who escaped

In the 2nd year, when Akbar besieged Mankot, Bahādur, at the request of Bayrām Khan, was pardoned, and received Multān as jagir In the 3rd year, he assisted in the conquest of Malwa After Bayrām's fall, through the influence of Māhum Anga (*vide* p 340), he was made *Vakīl*, and was soon after appointed to Itāwa (Sirkar of Āgra)

Subsequently he took an active part in the several rebellions of his elder brother (*vide* p 336) After his capture, Shāhbāz Khan i Kambū (No 80) killed him at Akbar's order

Like his brother he was a man of letters (Bad III, 239)

23 **Raja Bihārī Mal**, son of Prithiraj Kachhwāha

In some historical MSS he is called *Bihārā Mal* There were two kinds of Kachhwaha, Rājāwat and Shaykhawat, to the former of which Bihārī Mal belonged Their ancient family seat was Amber in the Sūba of Ajmīr Though not so extensive as Marwār, the revenues of Amber were larger

Bihārī Mal was the first Rājpūt that joined Akbar's Court The flight [1] of Humayūn from India had been the cause of several disturbances Hajī Khān, a servant of Sher Khan, had attacked Narnaul, the jagir of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl (No 50), who happened to be a friend of the Raja's Through his intercession both came to an amicable settlement, and Majnūn Khan, after the defeat of Hemū (963), brought Bihari Mal's services to the notice of the emperor The Rāja was invited to come to court, where he was presented before the end of the first year of Akbar's reign At the interview Akbar was seated on a wild (*mast*)[2] elephant,

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[1] The "flight" of Humayūn from India was a delicate subject for Mughul historians. Abu 'l Fazl generally uses euphemisms as *an wāqiʿa yi naguzir*, "that unavoidable event" or *rihlat* (departure), or *amadan i Sher Khān*, the coming of Sher Khān (*not* Sher Shah), etc

[[2] *Mast*, in rut, furious —P]

and as the animal got restive and ran about, the people made way; only Bihārī Mal's Rājpūt attendants, to the surprise of Akbar, stood firm

In the 6th year of his reign (969), Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'īn i Chishtī at Ajmīr, and at Kalāli, Chaghtā Khān reported to the Emperor, that the Rāja had fortified himself in the passes, as Sharaf'd Dīn Husayn (No 17), Governor of Malwa, had made war upon him chiefly at the instigation of Sojā, son of Pūran Mal, elder brother of the Rāja Sharaf'd Dīn had also got hold of Jagnāth (No 69), son of the Rāja, Rāj Singh (No 174), son of Askaran, and Kangār, son of Jagmal (No 134), his chief object being to get possession of Amber itself At Deosa, 40 miles east of Jaipūr, Jaima, son of Rūpsī (No 118), Bihārī Mal's brother, who was the chief of the country, joined Akbar, and brought afterwards, at the request of the emperor, his father Rūpsī At Sangānīr, at last, Bihārī Mal with his whole family, attended, and was most honorably received His request to enter Akbar's service and to strengthen the ties of friendship by a matrimonial alliance, was granted On his return from Ajmīr, Akbar received the Raja's daughter at Sambhar, and was joined, at Ratan, by the Raja himself, and his son Bhagawant Das and his grandson Kūwar Man Singh They accompanied Akbar to Āgra, where Bihārī Mal was made a Commander of Five Thousand Soon after Bihārī Mal returned to Amber He died at Āgra (Tabaqāt)

Amber is said to have been founded A D 967 by Dhola Ray, son of Sora, of whom Bihāri Mal was the 18th descendant [1]

The Akbernāma mentions the names of four brothers of Bihāri Mal 1 Pūran Mal, 2 Rūpsi (No 118) 3 Askaran (*vide* No 174), 4 Jagmal (No 134) *Bihārī Mal* is said to have been younger than *Pūran Mal*, but older than the other three

Three sons of Bihāri Mal were in Akbar's service—1 Bhagwan Das (No 27) 2 Jagannath (No 69) and 3 Salhadi (No 267)

24 Khan Jahan Husayn Qulī Khān,[2] son of Wali Beg Zu 'l Qadr

He is the son of Bayram Khān's sister His father Wali Beg Zū 'l Qadr was much attached to Bayram, and was captured in the fight in the Pargana of دکدا (Jalindhar, *vide* p 332 l 5) but died immediately afterwards from the wounds received in battle Akbar looked upon him as the chief instigator of Bayram's rebellion, and ordered his head to

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[1] The present Mahārāja of Jaipur is the 34th descendant, *vide* Selections Government of India No, LXV, 1868 Amber was deserted in 1728 when Jai Singh II founded the modern Jaipur

[2] Husayn Quli Beg *Ma'āsir*

be cut off which was sent all over Hindustan When it was brought to Itawa, Bahadur Khan (No 22) killed the foot soldiers (*tawāchīs*) that carried it Khan Jahan had brought Bayram's *insignia* from Mewat to Akbar, and as he was a near relation of the rebel, he was detained and left under charge of Āsaf Khan ʿAbdᵘ ʾl Majid, Commander of Dihli When Bayrām had been pardoned, Khan Jahan was released He attached himself henceforth to Akbar

In the 8th year (end of 971) he was made a Khan and received orders to follow up Sharafᵘ ʾd Din Husayn (No 17) Ajmir and Nagor were given him as *tuyūl* He took the Fort of Jodhpur from Chandar Sen, son of Ray Maldeo, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of Udai Singh during the siege of Chitor

In the 13th year (976) he was transferred to the Panjab, whither he went after assisting in the conquest of Rantanbhur

In the 17th year he was ordered to take Nagarkot which had belonged to Raja Jai Chand Bada,oni says (II, p 161) that the war was merely undertaken to provide Bir Bar with a jagir Akbar had Jai Chand imprisoned, and Budi[1] Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled Khan Jahan, on his way conquered Fort Kotla, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the Fort The siege was progressing and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrahīm Husayn Mirza and Masʿūd Mirza had invaded the Panjab Khan Jahan therefore accepted a payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege He is also said to have erected a *Masjid* in front of Jai Chand's palace in the Fort, and to have read the *Khutba* in Akbar s name (Friday, middle of Shawwal 980)

Accompanied by Ismaʿīl Quli Khan and Mirza Yusuf Khan i Rizawi (No 35), Khan Jahan marched against the Mirzas surprised them in the Pargana of Talamba, 40 *kos* from Multan and defeated them Ibrahim Husayn Mirza escaped to Multan but Masʿūd Husayn and several other Mirzas of note were taken prisoners

In the 18th year (981) when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujrāt, he invited his Amirs to meet him, and Khan Jahan also came with his prisoners, whom he had put into cow skins with horns on, with their eyelids sewn together Akbar had their eyes immediately opened, and even pardoned some of the prisoners The victorious

[[1] General Cunningham tells me that the correct name is Bidhi (Sansk Vriddhi) not Budi, *vide* Index.—B]

general received the title of Khan Jahan, a title in reputation next to that of Khan Khanan. About the same time Sulayman, ruler of Badakhshan (p. 326) had come to India driven away by his grandson Shahrukh (No. 7), and Khan Jahan was ordered to assist him in recovering his kingdom. But as in 983 Mun'im Khan Khanan died, and Bengal was unsettled, Khan Jahan was recalled from the Panjab before he had moved into Badakhshan, and was appointed to Bengal, Raja Todar Mal being second in command. At Bhagalpur Khan Jahan was met by the Amirs of Bengal, and as most of them were Chaghta'i nobles, he had, as Qizilbash, to contend with the same difficulties as Bayram Khan had had. He repulsed the Afghans who had come up as far as Garhi and Tanda, but he met with more decided opposition at Āg Mahal, where Da'ud Khan had fortified himself. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghans. Khan Jahan complained of the wilful neglect of his Amirs, and when Akbar heard of the death of Khwaja 'Abdu llah Naqshbandi, who had been purposely left unsupported in a skirmish, he ordered Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Bihar (No. 37), to collect his Jagirdars and join Khan Jahan (984). The fights near Āg Mahal were now resumed with new vigour. During a skirmish a cannon ball wounded Junayd i Kararani, Da'ud's uncle,[1] which led to a general battle (15th Rabi' II, 984). The right wing of the Afghans, commanded by Kala Pahar, gave way, when the soldiers saw their leader wounded, and the centre under Da'ud was defeated by Khan Jahan. Da'ud himself was captured and brought to Khan Jahan, who sent his head to Akbar.

After this great victory Khan Jahan dispatched Todar Mal to Court, and moved to Satgāw (Hugli), where Da'ud's family lived. Here he defeated the remnant of Da'ud's adherents under Jamshed and Mitti, and reannexed Satgāw, which since the days of old had been called *Bulghakkhana*[2] to the Mughul empire. Da'ud's mother came to Khan Jahan as a suppliant.

Soon after Malku Sa'i,[3] Raja of Kuch Bihar, sent tribute and 54 elephants, which Khan Jahan dispatched to Court.

With the defeat and death of Da'ud Bengal was by no means conquered. New troubles broke out in Bhati,[4] where the Afghans had

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[1] The Ed. Bibl. Indica of *Bada,oni* (II, 238) has by mistake "uncle". Bada,oni says that the battle took place near Colgong (Khalgāw).

[2] This nickname of Satgaw is evidently old. Even the word *bulghāk* (rebellion), which may be found on almost every page of the *Tārikh i Firuz Shāhi*, is scarcely ever met with in historical works from the 16th century. It is now quite obsolete.

[[3] Bal Gosā,"—B.]

[4] For *Bhati* vide below under No. 32.

collected under Karīm Dād, Ibrāhīm, and the rich Zamīndār ʿĪsā (عيسى) With great difficulties Khān Jahān occupied that district, assisted by a party of Afghāns who had joined him together with Daʾūd's mother at Go,ās, and returned to Sihhatpūr, a town which he had founded near Ṭanda Soon after, he felt ill, and died after a sickness of six weeks in the same year (19th Shawwāl, 986)

Abū 'l Fazl remarks that his death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder collected by Khan Jahān in Bengal, had led him to the verge of rebellion

Khan Jahan's son, Riza Qulī (No 274) is mentioned below among the Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty In the 47th year he was made a Commander of Five Hundred with a contingent of 300 troopers Another son, Rahim Quli, was a Commander of Two Hundred and Fifty (No 333) For Khān Jahān's brother, *vide* No 46

25 Saʿid Khan, son of Yaʿqub Beg son of Ibrāhīm Jabūq

He is also called Saʿīd Khan i Chaghtāʾi His family had long been serving under the Timūrides His grandfather Ibrahīm Beg was an Amīr of Humayūn's, and distinguished himself in the Bengal wars His son, Yusuf Beg, was attacked near Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān (i e, Salim Shāh), and killed His other son also, Yaʿqūb Saʿid's father distinguished himself under Humāyūn According to the *Tabaqāt* he was the son of the brother of Jahāngīr Quli Beg, governor of Bengal under Humayūn

Saʿid rose to the highest honours under Akbar He was for some time Governor of Multān, and was appointed, in the 22nd year, *atālīq* of Prince Dānyāl Some time after, he was made Sūbahdar of the Panjāb, in supercession to Shāh Qulī Muhrim (No 45), of whom the inhabitants of the Panjāb had successfully complained Saʿid again was succeeded in the governorship by Rāja Bhagwān Dās (No 27), and received Sambhal as *tuyūl* In the 28th year, he was called to Court, was made a Commander of Three Thousand, and was sent to Hājipūr (Patna) as successor to Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka (No 21) In the 32nd year, when Vazir Khān (No 41) had died in Bengal, Saʿīd was made Governor of Bengal, which office he held till the 40th year He was also promoted to the rank of *Panjhazārī* In the 40th year, Mān Singh (No 30) being appointed to Bengal, he returned to Court, and was, in the following year, again made Governor of Bihār In the 48th year (1001), when Mirzā Ghāzī rebelled in Thatha after the death of his father, Mirzā Jānī Beg (No 47), Saʿīd was appointed to Multān and Bhakkar, and brought about the submission of the rebel

After the accession of Jahāngīr, he was offered the Governorship of

the Panjāb on the condition that he should prevent his eunuchs from committing oppressions, which he promised to do (*Tuzuk*, p 6, l 2) He died, however, before joining his post, and was buried "in the garden of Sarhind".

His affairs during his lifetime were transacted by a Hindū of the name of Chetr Bhoj Saʿīd had a passion for eunuchs, of whom he had 1,200[1] One of these Khwājasarās, Hilal, joined afterwards Jahāngīr's service, he built Hilālābād, six *kos* N W from Āgra, near Rankatta,[2] regarding which the *Maʾāsir* tells an amusing incident Another eunuch, Ikhtiyar Khan, was his Vakīl, and another, Iʿtibār Khan, the Fawjdār of his jagīr For Saʿīd's brother, *vide* No 70

26 Shihāb Khan, a Sayyid of Nishāpūr

His full name is Shihāb^u 'd Din Ahmad Khān He was a relation and friend of Māhum Anga (p 341), and was instrumental in bringing about Bayram's fall From the beginning of Akbar's reign, he was Commander of Dihli When Akbar, at the request of Mahum, turned from Sikandarabād to Dihli to see his sick mother, Shihāb Khān told him that his journey, undertaken as it was without the knowledge of Bayram Khān, might prove disastrous to such grandees as were not Bayram's friends, and the Chaghtāʾi nobles took this opportunity of reiterating their complaints, which led to Bayram's disgrace

As remarked on p 337, Shihab served in Malwah against ʿAbd^u 'llah Khan

In the 12th year (975) he was appointed Governor of Malwah, and was ordered to drive the Mirzas from that province In the 13th year, he was put in charge of the Imperial domain lands, as Muzaffar Khan (No 37) had too much to do with financial matters

In the 21st year, he was promoted to a command of Five Thousand, and was again appointed to Malwah, but he was transferred, in the following year, to Gujrat, as Vazir Khan (No 41) had given no satisfaction He was, in the 28th year, succeeded by Iʿtimad Khan (No 119), and intended to go to Court, but no sooner had he left Ahmadabad than he was deserted by his servants, who in a body joined Sultan Muzaffar The events of the Gujrat rebellion are known from the histories When Mirza Khan Khānān (No 29) arrived Shihab was attached to Qulij

[1] If not acquired in Bengal this predilection could not have been better satisfied elsewhere The eunuchs of Bengal and Silhat were renowned, for interesting passages *vide* below, Third Book Suba of Bengal and *Tuzuk i Jahangiri*, pp 72 328

[2] Sikandra (or Bihishtabād) where Akbar's tomb is lies halfway between Āgra and Rankatta

Khān (Mālwah Corps) He distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahrōch (992), and received that district as *tuyūl* In the 34th year (997), he was again made Governor of Mālwa, in succession to M ʿAzīz Koka (No 21)

Shihāb died in Malwah (Ujain, *Tabaqāt*) in 990 His wife, Bābā Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother, she died in 1005

During the time Shihāb was Governor of Dihli, he repaired the canal which Fīrūz Shah had cut from the Parganah of Khizrabād to Safīdūn, and called it *Nahr i Shihāb* This canal was again repaired, at the order of Shāhjahan, by the renowned Makramat Khan, and called فیض نہر, *Fayz Nahr*, (20th year of Shahjahān) During the reign of Awrangzeb it was again obstructed but has now again been repaired and enlarged by the English (*Asār*[u] *'s sanādīd*)

27 Rāja Bhagwan Das, son of Raja Bihārī Mal

In the histories we find the spellings *Bhagwant*, *Bhagwānt*, *and Bhagwān* He joined Akbar's service with his father (No 23) In 980, in the fight with Ibrāhīm Husayn Mirza near Sarnal (*Briggs*, Sartāl), he saved Akbar's life He also distinguished himself against the Ranā of Idar, whose son, Amr Singh, he brought to Court When, in the 23rd year, the Kachwahas had their tuyūls transferred to the Panjāb, Rāja Bh D was appointed Governor of the province In the 29th year, Bh 's daughter was married to Prince Salim, of which marriage Prince Khusraw was the offspring In the 30th year, Bh D was made a commander of Five Thousand and Governor of Zābulistan, as Man Singh was sent against the Yūsufza,is But Akbar, for some reason, detained him In Khayrabad, Bh D had a fit of madness, and wounded himself with a dagger, but he recovered soon after in the hands of the Court Doctors In the 32nd year, the jāgirs of the Rāja and his family were transferred to Bihar, Man Singh taking the command of the province

Raja Bh D died in the beginning of 998 at Lahor, a short time after Raja Todar Mal (No 39) People say that on returning from Todar Mal s funeral, he had an attack of stranguary, of which he died He had the title of *Amir*[u] *'l ʿUmarā*

The Jami ʿMasjid of Lahor was built by him

Regarding his sons, *vide* Nos 30, 104, 336

28 Qutb[u] 'd Din Khan, youngest brother of Atga Khan (15)

As he belonged to the *Atga Khayl* (*vide* p 338), his *tuyūl* was in the Panjab He founded several mosques, etc, at Lāhor

In the 9th year (972), Akbar sent him to Kābul During his stay there, he built a villa at Ghaznin, his birth place On the transfer of the

"Atga Khayl" from the Panjāb, Q was appointed to Mālwa. After the conquest of Gujrāt, he received as jāgīr the Sirkār of Bahrōch (Broach), "which lies south of Ahmadābād, and has a fort on the bank of the Narbuddā near its mouth." Subsequently he returned to Court, and was made a Commander of Five Thousand.

In the 24th year (12th Rajab, 987), he was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Salīm, received a *dāgū*,[1] and the title of *Beglar Begī*. Akbar also honoured him by placing at a feast Prince Salīm on his shoulders. Afterwards Q. was again appointed to Bahrōch "as far as Nazrbār." In the 28th year (991), Muzaffar of Gujrāt tried to make himself independent. Q. did not act in concert with other officers, and in consequence of his delay and timidity he was attacked and defeated by Muzaffar near Baroda. Q.'s servants even joined Muzaffar, whilst he himself retreated to the Fort of Baroda. After a short time he capitulated and surrendered to Muzaffar, who had promised not to harm him or his family. But at the advice of a Zamīndār, Muzaffar went to Bahroch, occupied the fort in which Q.'s family lived, and confiscated his immense property (10 *krors* of rupees) as also 14 lacs of imperial money. Immediately after, Muzaffar had Q. murdered.

His son, Nawrang Khan, served under Mirzā Khān Khānan (No. 29) in Gujrāt (992), received a jāgīr in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujrāt. He died in 999.

The MSS. of the *Tabaqāt*, which I consulted, contain the remark that Nawrang Khān was a Commander of Four Thousand, and was, in 1001, governor of Jūnāgarh.

His second son, Gūjar Khān, was a *Haftsadī* (No. 193), and served chiefly under M. Aʿzam Khān Koka (No. 21). He also had a *tuyūl* in Gujrāt.

29. Khān Khānān Mirzā ʿAbdu 'r-Rahīm, son of Bayrām Khan.

His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt.[2] In 961, when Humāyūn returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Zamīndārs of the country, and after marrying the eldest daughter of Jamāl Khān, he asked Bayrām Khān to marry the younger one.

M. ʿAbdu 'r-Rahīm was born at Lāhor, 14th Safar 964. When Bayrām Khān was murdered at Patan in Gujrāt (p. 332) his camp was plundered

[1] A kind of warm mantle—a great distinction under the Tīmūrides.

[2] He was the nephew of Hasan Khān of Mewāt (*Bad.* I, p. 361). In the fourth Book of the Āʾīn, ʿAbū 'l Fazl says that the Khānzādas of Mewat were chiefly converted Januha Rājpūts.

M M distinguished himself under Shāh Murād in the Dakhin invasion When the Prince left Ahmadnagar, Sādiq Khān (No 43) remained in Mahkar (South Barar), and M M in Ilichpūr, to guard the conquered districts During his stay there, he managed to take possession of Fort Gawil, near Ilichpur (43rd year, 1007), persuading the commanders Wajihu 'd Din and Biswas Ra,o, to enter Akbar's service Later, M M distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar under Prince Danyāl, and received a higher *Mansab*, as also a flag and a *naqqāra*

Mir Murtaza is not to be confounded with the learned Mīr Murtaza Sharif i Shīrāzī (Badā,onī III, 320), or the Mir Murtaza mentioned by Bada oni III, 279

163 **Shamsī, son of Khān i Aᶜẓam Mirza Koka (No 21)**

He was mentioned above on pp 345 and 346 At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsi [1] was a Commander of Two Thousand

In the third year of Jahangir s reign, he received the title of Jahāngīr Quli Khān, vacant by the death of Jahangir Quli Khan Lala Beg, Governor of Bihār, and was sent to Gujrāt as *na*ᵒ*ib* of his father Mirza ᶜAziz had been nominally appointed Governor of that Sūba, but as he had given the emperor offence, he was detained at Court Subsequently Shamsī was made a Commander of Three Thousand and Governor of Jaunpūr Whilst there, Prince Shāhjahān had taken possession of Bengal, and prepared himself to march on Patna, sending ᶜAbdu 'llāh Khan Fīrūz Jang and Raja Bhim in advance towards Ilahabad On their arrival at Chausā, Shamsi left Jaunpur, and joined Mirzā Rustam (No 9), Governor of the Suba of Ilahābād

On Shahjahān's accession, Shamsi was deposed, but allowed to retain his Mansab A short time after, he was appointed to Surat [2] and Jūrāgadh, *vice* Beglar Khan He died there in the 5th year of Shāhjahan's reign (1041)

Shamsi s son, Bahrām, was made by Shāhjahān a Commander of 1,000, 500 horse (*Pādishāhn* I, b, 309) and appointed to succeed his father Whilst in Gujrāt, he built a place called after him *Bahrāmpura* He died in the 18th year of Shāhjahān's reign (*Pādishāhn* II, p 733)

164 **Mir Jamālu 'd Din Husayn, an Injū Sayyid**

From a remark in the *Wassāf* it appears that a part of Shirāz was called *Injū*, *vide Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868, p 67 to p 69

Mir Jamalu 'd Dīn Injū belongs to the Sayyids of Shirāz who trace their descent to Qāsimarrāsī (?) ibn i Hasan ibn i Ibrāhim Tabātibāᵒi Husaynī Mir Shāh Mahmūd and Mir Shāh Abū Turab two later members

[1] *Shamsi* is an abbreviation for *Shamsᵘ d Din*

[2] Sorath —B

of this renowned family, were appointed during the reign of Shah Ṭahmasp i Safawī, at the request of the Chief Justice of Persia, Mir Shams[u] 'd Din Asad[u] 'llāh of Shushtar, the first as Shaykh[u] 'l Islām of Persia, and the second as Qaziy[u] 'l Quzāt Mir Jamāl[u] 'd Din is one of their cousins

Mir Jamāl[u] 'd Din went to the Dakhin, the kings of which had frequently intermarried with the Injūs He afterwards entered Akbar's service, took part in the Gujrāt wars, and was present in the battle of Patan (p 432) Later he was sent to Bengal At the outbreak of the Military Revolt, he was with Muzaffar (*Akbarnāma* III, p 255) In the 30th year (993) he was made a Commander of Six Hundred, and accompanied shortly after, Aʿẓam Khan (No 21) on his expedition to Gadha and Raʾisin (*Akbarn*, III, 472) In the 36th year, he had a jagir in Malwa, and served under Aʿẓam Khan in the Dakhin His promotion to the rank of a Hazari took place in the 40th year When in the 45th year the fort of Āsir had been conquered ʿĀdil Shah, king of Bijapūr wished to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Akbar, and offered his daughter to Prince Danyal To settle matters, Akbar dispatched the Mir in 1009 (*Akbarn* III, 846) to the Dakhin But the marriage only took place in 1013, near Patan After this, accompanied by the Historian Firishta, he went to Āgra, in order to lay before the emperor "such presents and tribute, as had never before come from the Dakhin"

At the end of Akbar's reign, Mir J was a Commander of Three Thousand Having been a favourite of Prince Salim, he was promoted after the Prince's accession to the post of a Chahar Hazari, and received a *naqq ira* and a flag When Khusraw rebelled, the Mir received the order to effect an understanding by offering Khusraw the kingdom of Kābul with the same conditions under which M Muhammad Hakim, Akbar s brother, had held that province But the Prince did not consent, and when he was subsequently made a prisoner (p 455) and brought before his father, Hasan Beg (No 167), Khusraw's principal agent told Jahangir that all Amirs of the Court were implicated in the rebellion, Jamāl[u] 'd Din had only a short time ago asked him (Hasan Beg) to promise him an appointment as *Panjhazārī* The Mir got pale and confused, when Mirza ʿAziz Koka (No 21) asked the emperor not to listen to such absurdities, Hasan Beg knew very well that he would have to suffer death and therefore tried to involve others, he himself (ʿAziz) was the chief conspirator, and ready as such to undergo any punishment Jahāngir consoled the Mir, and appointed him afterwards Governor of Bihar In the 11th year, Mir Jamal received the title of ʿ*Aṣad[u] 'd Dawla*

On this occasion, he presented to the emperor a dagger, inlaid with precious stones, the making of which he had himself superintended when at Bijapur At the top of the handle, he had a yellow *yāqut* fixed, perfectly pure, of the shape of half an egg, and had it surrounded by other *yāquts* and emeralds The value was estimated at 50,000 Rupees

In 1621, Jahangir pensioned him off, because he was too old, allowing him four thousand rupees *per mensem* The highest rank that he had reached was that of a brevet Panjhazari with an actual command of Three Thousand and Five Hundred In 1623, at the eighteenth anniversary of Jahāngir's accession, he presented the emperor a copy of the great Persian Dictionary, entitled *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, of which he was the compiler The first edition of it had made its appearance in 1017 [1]

After having lived for some time in Bahrā ich, Mir Jamal returned to Āgra, where he died

Mir Jamālu 'd Din had two sons 1 *Mīr Amīnu 'd Dīn* He served with his father, and married a daughter of ʿAbdu 'r Rahim Khān Khānān (No 29) He died when young

2 *Mir Husamu 'd Dīn* He married the sister of Ahmad Beg Khan, brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang (Nur Jahān's brother) Jahāngir made him Governor of Āsir, which fort he handed over to Prince Shahjahān during his rebellion On Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 3,000 horse, received a present of 50,000 Rupees, and the title of *Murtazā Khān* He was also made Governor of Thathah, where he died in the second year (1039)

Mir Husam's sons—1 *Samsāmu 'd Daula* He was made Diwān of Shah Shujaʿ in the 21st year In the 28th year, he was appointed Governor of Orisa with a command of 1,500, and 500 horse He died in the end of the same year 2. *Nūru 'llāh* He is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b , p 312) as a Commander of Nine Hundred, 300 horse

165 Sayyid Raju, of Barha

Historians do not say to which of the four divisions (*vide* p 427) the Barha clan Rājū belongs

He served in the 21st year, under Man Singh, and in the 28th year, under Jagannāth (No 69), against the Ranā While serving under the latter, Raju commanded the Imperial garrison of Mandalgarh, and successfully conducted an expedition against a detachment of the Ranā's troops In the 30th year, Jagannāth and Rājū attacked the Ranā in his residence , but he escaped

[1] Regarding the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* vide *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1868 pp 12 to 15 and 65 to 69

Later, Rājū served under Prince Murād, Governor of Mālwa, whom, in the 36th year, he accompanied in the war with Rāja Madhukar; but as the Prince was ordered by Akbar to return to Mālwa, Rājū had to lead the expedition In the 40th year, he served in the siege of Ahmadnagar Once the enemies surprised the Imperialists, and did much damage to their cattle Rājū attacked them, but was killed in the fight, together with several of his relations (A II 1003)

166 **Mīr Sharīf-i Āmulī**

His antecedents and arrival in India have been mentioned above on p 185 In the 30th year (993) Prince Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul died, and the country was annexed to India Mīr Sharīf was appointed Amīn and Sadr of the new province In the following year, he served under Mān Singh in Kābul In the 36th year,[1] he was appointed in the same capacity, though with more extensive powers, to Bihār and Bengal. In the 43rd year, he received Ajmīr as *aqtā'*, and the Pargana of Mohān near Lakhnau, as *tuyūl* During the siege of Āsīr, he joined the Imperial camp with his contingent, and was well received by the emperor

He is said to have risen to the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand. He was buried at Mohān On his death, neither books nor official papers were found, his list of soldiers contained the names of his friends and clients, who had to refund him six months' wages *per annum*

Jahāngīr in his memoirs (*Tuzuk*, p 22) praises him very much

The *Tabaqāt* says, "Mīr Sharīf belongs to the heretics of the age. He is well acquainted with sūfism and is at present (1001) in Bihār"

Note on the *Nuqtawiyya* Sect (نقطويه)

It was mentioned above (p 186) that Mīr Sharīf spread in India doctrines which resembled those of Mahmūd of Basakhwān[2] The curious sect which Mahmūd founded, goes by the name of *Mahmūdiyya*, or *Wāhidiyya*, or *Nuqtawiyya*, or *Umanā*[3] Mahmud called himself *Shakhs-i wāhid*, or "the individual", and professed to be the Imām Mahdī, whose appearance

[1] The [illegible]

[illegible]

the Bibl Indica edition was printed, have *Nabati*, which was given on p 185 For *Umanā*, Shea's translation of the Dabistān has *Imanā*, but امنا (*umanā*) is, no doubt, the plural of امين *amīn*

on earth ushers in the end of the world According to the Calcutta edition of the Dabistan and Shea's Translation, he lived about A H 600, but the MSS of the *Ma'āsir* have A H 800 which also agrees with Bada,oni's statement that Mahmud lived at the time of Tīmūr The sect found numerous adherents in Iran but was extinguished by Shāh ʿAbbas i Mazi[1] who killed them or drove them into exile

Mahmud had forced into his service a passage from the Qur'an (Sur XVII, 81), *ʿasā an yabʿasa ka rabbu ka maqāman mahmūdan*, "peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable (*mahmūd*) station" He maintained that the human body (*jasad*) had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection "Mahmud" would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qur'an, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of everything was the *nuqta yi khāk*, or earth atom, from which the vegetables, and from these the animals, arose The term *nuqta yi khāk* has given rise to their name *Nuqtawīs* For other of Mahmūd's tenets, *vide* Shea's translation of the Dabistan, vol III, pp 12 to 26

Some of Mahmūd's doctrines must have been of interest to Akbar, whose leanings towards the "man of the millennium", transmigration of souls, etc, have been mentioned above, and Mir Sharif i Āmuli could not have done better than propounding the same doctrine at Court, and pointing out to Akbar as the restorer of the millennium

The author of the ʿAlam Ārā-yi Sikandari, as the *Ma'āsir* says, mentions Mir Sharif i Āmuli under the following circumstances In 1002, the 7th year of Shah ʿAbbas i Māzi's reign, the astrologers of the age predicted, in consequence of certain very inauspicious conjunctions, the death of a great king, and as this prediction was universally referred to Shāh ʿAbbās Jalalu 'd Din Muhammad of Tabrīz, who was looked upon as the greatest astronomer of the period, it was proposed that Shah ʿAbbas should lay aside royalty for the two or three days the dreaded conjunction was expected to last, and that a criminal who had been sentenced to death should sit on the throne This extraordinary expedient was everywhere approved of, the criminals threw lots, and Yusuf the quiver maker, who belonged to the heretical followers of Darwish Khusraw of Qazwin, was raised to the throne He reigned for three days, and was then killed Soon after, Darwish Khusraw was hanged His ancestors had been well diggers, but he was a dervish, and though he had been wise enough

[1] *Māzi* (ماضی) i e who passed away is the epithet which Historians give to Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia, the contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir

never to speak of his *Nuqtawiyya* belief he was known as one of the sect and was accordingly killed So also Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Kashan whom ʿAbbas killed with his own sword Among his papers treatises were found on the *Nuqta* doctrine and also a letter addressed to him by Abu l Fazl in Akbar s name *Mir Sharif i Āmulī a good poet and the head of the sect heard of these persecutions and fled from Astrabad to Hindustan*

Regarding the last sentence the author of the *Maʿasir* remarks that it involves an anachronism for Mir Sharif was in India in 984 when Akbar was at Dipalpur in Malwa and besides Sharif i Āmuli was mentioned in no Tazkira as a poet

167 **Hasan Beg Khan i Badakhshi Shaykh ʿUmari** [1]

Hasan Beg was a good soldier In the 34th year Akbar after his stay in Kashmir marched to Zabulistan and passed through the district of Pakhali which is 35 *kos* long and 25 broad and lies west of Kashm r In Pakhali Sultan Husayn Khan i Pakhaliwal (No 301) paid his respects This Zamindar belonged to the descendants of the Qarlughs (قارلوغ) whom Timūr on his return from Ind a to Turan had left in Pakhali as garrison After following Akbar s Court for a few days Sultan Husayn Khan withdrew without leave and the emperor ordered Hasan Beg to occupy Pakhali (*Akbarnama* III 591 598) He speedily subdued the district In the 35th year during Hasan Beg s temporary absence at Court Sultan Husayn Khan again rebelled assumed the title of Sultan Nasir u d Din and drove away Hasan Beg s men But soon after he had again to submit to Hasan Beg In the 46th year Hasan was made a Commander of Two Thousand and Five Hundred for his services in Bangash and was put towards the end of Akbar s reign in charge of Kabul receiving Fort Rohtas [2] (in the Panjab) as jagir

In the beginning of Jahangir s reign he was called from Kabul to Court On his way at Mathura (Muttra) Hasan Beg met Prince Khusraw, who had fled from Āgra on Sunday the 8th Zi Hijjah 1014 [3] From

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[3] So the *Tuzuk*. The *Maʿas r* has the 20th instead of the 8th MSS cont nually confound هشتم and بیستم But Jahangir on his pursuit reached Hodal on the 10th Zi Hijjah and the *Tuzuk* is correct

distrust as to the motives of the emperor, which led to his recall from Kabul, or "from the innate wickedness of Badakhshis", he joined the Prince with his three hundred Badakhshi troopers received the title of Khan Baba, and got the management of all affairs Another officer who attached himself to Khusraw, was ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim Diwān of Lahor After the defeat near Bhairowal on the Biah [1] the Afghāns who were with the prince, advised him to retreat to the Eastern provinces of the Empire, but Hasan Beg proposed to march to Kabul, which he said, had always been the starting place of the conquerors of India, he had, moreover, four lacs of rupees in Rohtās which were at the Prince's service Hasan Beg's counsel was ultimately adopted But before he could reach Rohtas, Khusraw was captured on the Chanab On the 3rd Safar 1015, the Prince, Hasan Beg, and ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim, were taken before Jahangir in the Bagh i Mirza Kamran, a villa near Lahor, Khusraw himself, according to Chingiz's law (*batorah i Chingīzī* (?)), with his hands tied and fetters on his feet Hasan Beg after making a useless attempt to incriminate others (p 500), was put into a cow hide and ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim into a donkey's skin, and in this state they were tied to donkeys, and carried through the bazars "As cow hides get dry sooner than donkey skins," Hasan died after a few hours from suffocation but ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim was after 24 hours still alive, and received, at the request of several courtiers, free pardon [2] The other accomplices and the troopers of Khusraw were impaled their corpses were arranged in a double row along the road which leads from the Bagh i Mirza Kamrān to the Fort of Lahor, and Khusraw, seated on a sorry elephant, was led along that way People had been posted at short intervals, and pointing to the corpses, kept calling out to Khusraw, "Behold, your friends, your servants, do homage to you"

Hasan Beg was mentioned above on p 370 His son *Isfandiyār Khān*, was under Shāhjahan, a commander of 1,500 He served in Bengal, and died in the 16th year of Shahjahān's reign (*Pādishāhn* I, 476, I, b 304) The ʿĀrif Beg i Shaykh ʿUmari mentioned in the *Pādishāhn* (I, b 319) appears to be a relation of his

168 Sheroya Khan, son of Sher Afkan Khan

Sher Afkan Khān was the son of Qūch Beg Qūch Beg served under Humāyun, and was killed in the successful attempt made by several

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[1] *Vide* p 456 note There is another Bhairōwāl between Wazirābād and Siyalkot, south of the Chanāb

[2] In Zu l Hijjah 1018 he got an appointment as a Yuzbashī or commander of 100 and was sent to Kashmir (*Tuzuk* p 79) In the *Tuzuk* he is called ʿ*Abdᵘ 'r Rahim Khar*, Abdᵘ r Rahim the Ass"

grandees to save Maryam Makānī, Akbar's mother, after the fatal battle of Chausā (*vide* No 96, p 450) When Humāyūn fled to Persia, Sher Afkan remained with Mīrza Kāmram in Kābul, but he joined the emperor on his return from Īrān, and was made governor of Qalāt Later he received Zahak Bāmiyān as jāgīr, but went again over to Kāmrān Humāyun s, soon after, captured and killed him

Sheroya Khān served at first under Munʿim (No 11) in Bengal and Orisā In the 26th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād to Kābul In the 28th year, he served under ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim (No 29) in Gujrat, and was present in the battle of Sarkich (*Akbarnāma* III, 408, 422) In the 30th year, he served under Maṭlab Khān (No 83) against Jalāla Tārīki (p 441) In the 39th year, he was made a Khān, and was appointed to Ajmir According to the *Tabaqāt* he was a Hazārī in 1001

169 **Nazar Be Uzbak**

The *Akbarnāma* (III, p 500) says, "On the same day[1] Nazar Be, and his sons, Qanbar Be, Shādi Be (No 367), and Bāqī Be (No 368), were presented at Court, and were favourably received by the emperor"

Shadi Be distinguished himself in the expedition under Matlab Khā (No 83) against the Tarikis He may be the Shādī Khān Shadī Be mentioned in the *Pādishāhnama* (I, b 308) as a commander of On Thousand *Be* is the abbreviation of *Beg* Nazar Be is not to be con founded with Nazar (?) Beg (No 247)

170 **Jalal Khan**, son of Muhammad Khān, son of Sultān Ādam, the Gakkhar

171 **Mubarak Khān**, son of Kamāl Khān, the Gakkhar

The Gakkhars are a tribe inhabiting, according to the *Maʾāsir*, the hilly districts between the Bahat and the Indus[2] At the time of Zaynᵘ 'l ʿĀbidin, king of Kashmir, a Ghaznin noble of the name of Malik Kid (کد or کید), who was a relation of the then ruler of Kābul, took away

[1] When the news was brought to Akbar that Man Singh, soon after the defeat of the Imperialists and the death of Bir Bar in the Khaybar Pass had defeated the Tarikis at

these districts from the Kashmīrīs, and gradually extended his power over the region between the Nilab (Indus) and the Sawāliks and the frontier of modern Kashmīr [1] Malik Kid was succeeded by his son Malik Kalān, and Malik Kalān by Malik Bīr After Bīr, the head of the tribe was Sultān Tatar, who rendered Bābar valuable service, especially in the war with Rānā Sānkā Sultān Tatar had two sons, Sultān Sārang and Sultān Ādam Sarang fought a great deal with Sher Shāh and Salīm Shāh, capturing and selling a large number of Afghans The Fort Rohtās was commenced by Sher Shāh with the special object of keeping the Gakkhars in check Sher Shāh in the end captured Sultān Sārang and killed him, and confined his son Kamāl Khān in Gwāliyār, without, however, subjugating the tribe Sultān Ādam was now looked upon as the head of the clan He continued to oppose the Afghans Once Salīm Shāh gave the order to blow up a portion of the Gwaliyar Fort, where the state prisoners were kept Kamāl Khān, who was still confined, had a miraculous escape and was in consequence pardoned Kamal went to his kinsfolk; but as Sultān Ādam had usurped all power, he lived obscurely, with his brother Saʿīd Khān, avoiding conflict with his uncle Immediately after Akbar's accession, however, Kamal paid his respects to the emperor at Jalndhar, was well received, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemū and during the siege of Mankot In the 3rd year he was sent against the Miyāna Afghans, who had revolted near Saronj (Malwa) and was made on his return jāgīrdār of Karah and Fathpūr Huswah In the 6th year, he served under Khān Zamān (No 13) against the Afghāns under the son of Mubāriz Khan ʿAdlī (p 320) In the 8th year (970), he was called to Court, and as Akbar wished to reward him, Kamāl Khān begged the emperor to put him in possession of the Gakkhar district, which was still in the hands of his usurping uncle Akbar ordered the Khān i Kalan (No 16) and other Panjābī grandees to divide the district into two parts, and to give one of them to Kamāl Khān, if Sultan Ādam was not satisfied with the other, they should occupy the country and punish Sultan Ādam The latter alternative was rendered necessary by the resistance of Sultan Ādam The Panjab,

[1] The *Maʾāsir* says he subjected the tribes called جودکیال ، جنجوعه ، اوان ، جانوهه ، کهر
[illegible]

army, therefore, and Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar district, and defeated and captured Ādam after a severe engagement near the "Qasba of Hilā"[1] Sultan Ādam and his son Lashkarī were handed over to Kamāl Khān, who was put in possession of the district Kamāl Khān killed Lashkarī, and put Sultan Ādam into prison, where he soon after died (*Akbarnāma*, II, 240 ff)

It is stated in the *Tabaqāt* that Kamāl Khān was a Commander of Five Thousand, distinguished for courage and bravery, and died in 972

Mubārak Khān and Jalāl Khān served in the 30th year under Mirzā Shāhrukh, Bhagwan Dās, and Shāh Quli Māhram, in Kashmir (*Akbarnāma*, III, 485) The *Tabaqāt* calls both, as also Saʿid Khān, Commanders of Fifteen Hundred A daughter of Saʿid Khān was married to Prince Salim, *vide* No 225, note

172 **Tash Beg Khān Mughul, [Taj Khān]**

Tash Beg served at first under Mirzā Muhammad Ḥakīm, king of Kābul, and entered, after the death of his master, Akbar's service He received a jagir in the Panjāb According to the *Akbarnāma* (III, 489), he went with Bir Bar (No 85) to Sawād and Bijor, and distinguished himself under ʿAbdu 'l Matlab (No 83) against the Tārīkis (III, 511)

In the 40th year, he operated against the ʿIsā Khayl Afghāns, though with little success Two years later, he served under Āṣaf Khān (No 98) in the conquest of Mau, and received the title of *Tāj Khān* When Rāja Basū again rebelled (47th year), Khwāja Sulaymān, Bakhshi of the Panjāb, was ordered to march against him with the contingents of Qulij Khān (No 42), Husayn Beg i Shaykh ʿUmarī (No 167), Ahmad Beg i Kabulī (No 191), and Tāj Khān Without waiting for the others, T Kh moved to Pathān Whilst pitching his tents, Jamil Beg, T Kh's son, received news of Bāsū's approach He hastily attacked him, and was killed with fifty men of his father's contingent

Jahāngir, on his accession, promoted him to a command of 3,000 In the second year of his reign, he officiated as governor of Kābul till the arrival of Shāh Beg Khān (No 57) He was afterwards appointed governor of Thathah, where he died in the ninth year (1023)

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[1] Not Hailī (هيلى) south of Chilianwālī between the Jhelam and the Chanab, but Hil[illegible]

173 **Shaykh ʿAbd^u llah son of Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws** [of Gwaliyar]

Shaykh ʿAbd^u llah at first lived a retired and saintly life but entered subsequently the Emperor s service He distinguished himself and is said to have risen to the dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand He died when young

His brother *Ziy u^ʾ u llah* lived as a Faqir and studied during the lifetime of his father under the renowned saint Wajih d Din in Gujrat who himself was a pupil of Muhammad Ghaws

Biographies of Muhammad Ghaws (died 970 at Agra buried in Gwaliyar) will be found in the *Maʿāsir Bada oni* (III p 4) and the *Kha inat^u l Asfiya^ʾ* (p 969) He was disliked by Bayram Khan Shaykh Gada i and Shaykh Mubarak Abu l Fazl s father *Vide* also *Maʾasir i ʿAlam giri* p 166

174 **Raja Rajsingh** son of Raja Askaran the Kachhwaha

Raja Askaran is a brother of Raja Bihari Mal (No 23) He served in the 22nd year with Sadiq Khan (No 43) against Raja Madhukar of Ūdcha [1] and in the 25th year under Todar Mal in Bihar In the 30th year he was made a Commander of One Thousand, and served in the same year under ʿAziz Koka (No 21) in the Dakhin In the 31st year when Akbar appointed two officers to each suba Askaran and Shaykh Ibrahim (No 82) were appointed to Agra In the 33rd year he served a second time against Raja Madhukar under Shihab Khan (No 26) and died soon after

Abu l Fazl has not given his name in this list of grandees The *Tabaqat* says he was a Commander of Three Thousand

Raj Sing his son received the title of Raja after the death of his father He served for a long time in the Dakhin was called in the 44th year to Court and was appointed commandant of Gwaliyar In the 45th year he joined the Imperial army which under Akbar besieged Fort Āsir In the 47th year he pursued together with Ray Rayan Patr Das (No 196) the notorious Bir Singh Deo Bundela who at Jahangir s instigation had murdered Abu l Fazl For his distinguished services in the operations against the Bundela clan, he was promoted and held in the 50th year the rank of a Commander of 4 000 3 000 horse In the 3rd year of Jahangir s reign he served in the Dakhin where he died in 1024 (10th year)

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[1] *Ū ḍcha* is generally spelt on our maps *Oorcha* It l es near Jhans on the left bank of the Betwa The name of the river Dasthara ment oned on p 38? is d fferently spelled in the MSS In one place the *Maʾasir* has *Saldahārā*

Rām Dās, his son, was a Commander of 1,000, 400 horse He received, in the 12th year, the title of Raja, and was made, in the same year, a Commander of 1,500, 700 horse

One of his grandsons, Prasuttam Singh, turned Muhammadan in the 5th year of Shahjahan's reign, and received the name of *ʿIbādatmand*[1]

175 Rāy Bhoj, son of Rāy Surjan Hāḍā (No 96)

When Bundi, in the 22nd year, was taken from Daudā, elder brother of Rāy Bhoj the latter was put in possession of it Bhoj served under Mān Singh against the Afghans of Orisa, and under Shaykh Abū 'l Fazl in the Dakhin (*Akbarn*, III, 851, 855)

His daughter was married to Jagat Singh (No 160)

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngir wished to marry Jagat Singh's daughter Ray Bhoj, her grandfather, refused to give his consent, and Jahāngir resolved to punish him on his return from Kābul But Ray Bhoj in the end of 1016 committed suicide The marriage, however, took place on the 4th Rabiʿ I, 1017, (*Tuzuk* pp 68, 69)

It is said that Rathor and Kachhwāha princesses entered the imperial Harem, but no Hadā princess was ever married to a Timuride

XIV Commanders of Eight Hundred

176 Sher Khwāja —

He belonged to the Sayyids of Itawa (سادات اتاوه) His mother was a *Naqshbandī* (p 466, note 2) Sher Kh's name was "Padishāh Khwaja", but Akbar called him on account of his bravery and courage *Sher Khwāja*

In the 30th year, Sh Kh served under Saʿid Khan Chaghtaʾi (No 25) against the Yūsufza is, and afterwards under Sultan Murad in the Dakhin In the 40th year, the Prince sent with him a corps to Patan, where he distinguished himself against Ikhlas Khān He continued to serve in the Dakhin under Abu 'l Fazl In the engagement near Bir he was wounded He entered the town victoriously but was besieged From want of provisions, his men had to subsist on horse flesh As in consequence of the swelling of the Ganga (Godavari) he did not expect assistance from the north, he resolved to try a last sortie and perish, when Abū 'l Fazl arrived and raised the siege Abū 'l Fazl proposed to leave his own son ʿAbdu 'r Rahmān at Bir, but Sh Kh refused to quit his post In the 46th year, he received a drum and a flag

[1] Regarding the Kachhwahas see my article in the *Calcutta Review*, for April 1871, entitled "A Chapter from Muhammadan History"

Sh Kh remained in favour during the reign of Jahangır He was with the emperor when Mahābat Khan near the Bahat had taken possession of Jahangīr's person After Jahāngīr's death, he served with Āsaf Khān against Shahryar in Lāhor

In the 1st year of Shāhjahan's reign, he was made a Commander of 4,000, with 1,000 horse, and received the title of *Khwāja Bāqī Khān* He was also appointed governor of Thathah, *vice* Mirza ʿIsa Tarkhān (p 392) He died on his way to his province in 1037 *Padishāhn*, I, 181, 200

His son *Khwāja Hāshim* was made a commander of 500 (*Pādishāhnama*, I, b 327) Another son, *Asad*ᵘ *'llah*, is mentioned as a Commander of 900, 300 horse, (*Pādishāhn*, II, 738)

177 **Mirzā Khurram**, son of Khān i Aʿzam Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka (No 21)

He has been mentioned above, p 346

XV Commanders of Seven Hundred

178 **Quraysh Sultān**, son of Abdᵘ 'r Rashīd Khān, king of Kāshghar

182 **Sultān ʿAbdᵘ 'llah**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultān

310 **Shāh Muhammad**, son of Quraysh Sultān

Quraysh Sultān is a descendant of Chingiz Khān [1] His genealogical tree is given in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 584) and the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* as on following page

After the death of ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rashid Khān (16), ʿAbdᵘ 'l Karim Khan, elder brother of Quraysh Sultan, succeeded to the throne of Kāshghar He treated his relations well, partly in fulfilment of his father's wish, partly from natural benevolence But Khudabanda, son of Quraysh Sultān, quarrelled with Muhammad Khān, his uncle, and Khudabanda occupied the town of Tarfān ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, doubting the loyalty of his relations, ordered Quraysh Sultān to go to Makkah Q went first with his family to Badakhshān and Balkh, and lastly, with the permission of ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khan of Tūran, to Hindūstān He met Akbar, in the 34th year, at Shihabᵘ 'd Din pūr, when the emperor was just returning from Kashmir, was well received, and appointed to a command of Seven Hundred

Quraysh died *in the 37th year (1000), at Hajipūr*

179 **Qara Bahādur**, son of Mirzā Mahmūd, who is the paternal uncle of Mīrzā Haydar [Gurganī]

[1] Chingiz Khān in the histories is often called [illegible] Sāhib-qirān i *Buzurg*

1 Chingiz Khān

2 Chaghtā'ī Khān

3 Mawatkān (second son of Chaghtā'ī Khān)

4 يسونتوا (the MSS give various readings)

5 Yarāq[1] Khān (called after his conversion Sultān Ghiyāsu 'd Dīn)

6 Dawā Khān[2]

7 Alsinūqa or Alsanuqa, Khān

8 Tughluq Tīmūr Khān.

9 Khizr Khwāja Khān[3] (father in law of Tīmūr)

10 (a) Muhammad Khān (b) Shams Jahān Khān . (c) Naqsh Jahān Khān.

11 (a) Sher Muhammad Khān (b) Sher ʿAlī Ughlān

12 Uwais Khān, son of Sher ʿAlī Ughlān

13 Yūnas Khān, father of Bābar's mother

14 Sultān Ahmad Khān, known as *Alāncha Khān*

15 Sultān Abū Saʿīd Khān.

16 ʿAbdu 'r Rashīd Khān

17 (1) ʿAbdu 'l Karīm Khān (2) Quraysh Sultān (No 168) (3) Sultān ʿAbdu 'llah (No 178)

(2) Quraysh Sultān's sons: (1) Shāh Muhammad (No 310) (2) Khudābanda

Like the preceding, Qarā Bahādur belonged to the royal family of Kāshghar Mīrzā Haydar's father, Muhammad Husayn, was the son of Bābar's maternal aunt

Mīrzā Haydar,[4] during his stay in Kāshghar, had accompanied the

[[1] Burāq, Vambery, p 163 —B]

[2] Dawā invaded India during the reign of ʿAlāʾu 'd Dīn, *vide Journal As Soc Bengal* for 1869, p 194, and 1870 p 44

[3] His daughter is called Tukul Khānum تكل خانم. It is said that Tīmūr after the marri...
a son ...
in ho...
erecti...

The MS of the Tārīkh i Rashīdī in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Persian MSS, No 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt H Strachey from Yārkand

The Tārīkh commences with the reign of Tughluq Tīmūr, who was converted to Islām by Mawlānā Arshadu 'd Dīn, and goes down to the reign of ʿAbdu 'r Rashīd The second *daftar* contains the Memoirs of Mīrzā Haydar The style is elegant

son of Sultan Abu Saʿid on several expeditions to Kashmir and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province He subsequently went over Badakhshan to India and arrived at Lahor where Mirza Kamran made him his *na'ib* during his absence on an expedition to Qandahar, which the Shah of Persia had taken from Khwaja Kalan Beg M Haydar afterwards accompanied Kamran to Āgra and tried on several occasions to persuade Humayun to take possession of Kashmir When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shah retreated to Lahor he gave M Haydar a small corps and sent him to Kashmir The country being in a distracted state, M H took possession of it without bloodshed and ruled as absolute king for ten years But afterwards he ordered the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in Humayun s name He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmiris

The father of Qara Bahadur was Mirza Mahmud hence Q B was M Haydar s cousin As he had been with M H. in Kashmir Akbar, in the 6th year ordered him to re-conquer the province and gave him a large corps But Q B delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Rajor, he found the passes fortified Soon afterwards he was attacked and defeated by Ghazi Khan who had usurped the throne of Kashmir Q B discomfited returned to Akbar

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Malwa, and was appointed on Akbar s return, governor of Mandu He died soon after

For a relation of Qara Bahadur, *vide* No 183

180 **Muzaffar Husayn Mirza** son of Ibrahim Husayn Mirza [son of Muhammad Sultan Mirza]

Muzaffar Husayn Mirza is a Timuride His tree is as follows —

ʿUmar Shaykh Mirza (second son of Timur)
|
Mirza Bayqra
|
Mirza Mansur
|
M. Bayqra.[1]
|
Wais Mirza.
|
Muhammad Sultan Mirza
|
(1) Ulugh Mirza — (2) Shah Mirzā — (3) Ibrāhim Husayn M — (4) Muhammad Husayn M. — (5) Masʿud Husayn M. — (6) ʿĀqil Husayn M.

(1) Ulugh Mirza:
(1) [illegible]kandar Mirzā sive Ulugh Mirza
(2) Mahmud Sultan M sive Shāh Mirza

(3) Ibrāhim Husayn M:
Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā (No 180)

[[1] His brother is Abu l-Ghāzi Sultān Husayn Mirzā.—B]

1. Chingiz Khān
2. Chaghtā'i Khān
3. Mawatkan (second son of Chaghtā'i Khān)
4. سیوریا (the MSS give various readings)
5. Yaraq[1] Khān (called after his conversion Sultān Ghiyās^u 'd Dīn)
6. Dawā Khān[2]
7. Alsinūqa or Alsanuqa Khān
8. Tughluq Timūr Khān.
9. Khizr Khwaja Khān[3] (father in law of Timūr)
10. (a) Muhammad Khān (b) Shamʿ Jahān Khān (c) Naqsh Jahān Khān.
11. (a) Sher Muhammad Khān (b) Sher ʿAlī Ughlān
12. Uwais Khān, son of Sher ʿAlī Ughlan
13. Yūnas Khān, father of Bābar's mother
14. Sultān Ahmad Khān, known as *Alāncha Khān*
15. Sultān Abū Saʿīd Khān.
16. ʿAbd^u 'r Rashīd Khān
17. (1) ʿAbd^u 'l Karīm Khān (2) Qurayah Sultān (No 168) (3) Sultān ʿAbd^u 'llah (No 178)
    - (1) Shāh Muhammad (No 310)
    - (2) Khudabanda

Like the preceding, Qarā Bahadur belonged to the royal family of Kāshghar Mirzā Haydar's father, Muhammad Husayn, was the son of Bābar's maternal aunt

Mirzā Haydar,[4] during his stay in Kashghar, had accompanied the

[1] Burāq, Vambery, p 153 —B]

[2] Dawa invaded India during the reign of ʿAlā^u 'd Dīn, *vide Journal As Soc Bengal* for 1869, p 194, and 1870, p 44

[3] His daughter is called Tukul Khānum تکل خانم It is said that Timūr after the marriage received the title of Gurgan گورگان, the Mughul term for the Persian *dāmād*, a son in law Hence Timurides are often called *Gurganis*

[4] Mirzā Haydar was a historian and poet. He wrote in 951 the *Tārikh-i ʿAbd^u 'r Rashīdī*, in honour of *ʿAbd^u 'r Rashīd* king of Kāshghar The villa known as *Bāgh-i Safa* was erected by him. *Akbarnama, III* 585.

The MS of the Tārikh i Rashīdī in the Library of the Asiatic Society (Persian MSS, No. 155, three parts, 19 lines per page) is a fair, though modern copy, and was brought by Capt. H Strachey from Yārkand.

The Tārikh commences with the reign of Tughluq Timūr, who was converted to Islām by Mawlānā Arshad^u 'd Dīn and goes down to the reign of ʿAbd^u 'r Rashīd. The second *daftar* contains the Memoirs of Mirzā Haydar The style is elegant

son of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd on several expeditions to Kashmīr, and had thus acquired some knowledge of the people and the state of that province. He subsequently went over Badakhshān to India, and arrived at Lāhor, where Mīrzā Kāmrān made him his *nā'ib* during his absence on an expedition to Qandahār, which the Shāh of Persia had taken from Khwāja Kalān Beg. M. Ḥaydar afterwards accompanied Kāmrān to Āgra, and tried on several occasions to persuade Humāyūn to take possession of Kashmīr. When the emperor after his second defeat by Sher Shāh retreated to Lāhor, he gave M. Ḥaydar a small corps and sent him to Kashmīr. The country being in a distracted state, M. H. took possession of it without bloodshed, and ruled as absolute king for ten years. But afterwards he ordered the *khuṭba* to be read, and coins to be struck, in Humāyūn's name. He was killed in 958 by some treacherous Kashmīrīs.

The father of Qarā Bahādur was Mīrzā Maḥmūd; hence Q. B. was M. Ḥaydar's cousin. As he had been with M. Ḥ. in Kashmīr, Akbar, in the 6th year, ordered him to re-conquer the province, and gave him a large corps. But Q. B. delayed his march, and when he arrived in the hot season at Rājor, he found the passes fortified. Soon afterwards, he was attacked and defeated by Ghāzī Khān, who had usurped the throne of Kashmīr. Q. B. discomfited returned to Akbar.

In the 9th year, he accompanied the emperor to Mālwa, and was appointed, on Akbar's return, governor of Mandū. He died soon after.

For a relation of Qarā Bahādur, *vide* No. 183.

180. **Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā**, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā [son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā].

Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā is a Timuride. His tree is as follows :—

ʿUmar Shaykh Mīrzā (second son of Timūr)
|
Mīrzā Bāyqrā.
|
Mīrzā Manṣūr.
|
M. Bāyqrā [1]
|
Wais Mīrzā.
|
Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā.
|
(1) Ulugh Mīrzā. (2) Shāh Mīrzā. (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M. (4) Muḥammad Ḥusayn M. (5) Masʿūd Ḥusayn M. (6) ʿĀqil Ḥusayn M.

Sons of (1) Ulugh Mīrzā: (1) Sikandar Mīrzā, sire Ulugh Mīrzā. (2) Maḥmūd Sulṭān M., sire Shāh Mīrzā.

Son of (3) Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn M.: Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā (No. 180).

[1 His brother is Abū 'l-Ghāzī Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.—B.]

The mother of Muhammad Sulṯān Mīrzā was the daughter of the renowned Sulṯān Husayn Mīrzā, king of K͟hurāsān, at whose Court Muhammad Sulṯān Mīrzā held a place of distinction After Sultān Ḥusayn's death, Muhammad Sulṯān Mīrzā went to Babar, who treated him with every distinction Humāyūn also favoured him, though on several occasions he rebelled, and extended his kindness to his sons, Ulug͟h Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, who had given him repeatedly cause of dissatisfaction Ulug͟h Mīrzā was killed in the expedition against the Hazāras, and Shāh Muhammad died, soon after, a natural death.

Ulug͟h Mīrzā had two sons, Sikandar Mīrzā and Mahmūd Sultān Mīrzā, but Humāyūn changed their names, and gave Sikandar the name of Ulug͟h Mīrzā, and Mahmūd Sultān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā

As Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā was old, Akbar excused him from attending at Court (*taklīf i bār*), and gave him the pargana of Aʿzampūr in Sambhal as a pension He also bestowed several other places upon his grandsons Ulug͟h and Shāh Mīrzā At Aʿzampūr in his old age, Muhammad Sultān M had four other sons born to him—1 Ibrāhīm Husayn Mīrzā, 2 Muhammad Husayn Mīrzā, 3 Masʿūd Husayn Mīrzā, and 4 ʿĀqil Husayn Mīrzā

In the 11th year of Akbar's reign, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, king of Kābul, invaded India and besieged Lāhor, and when Akbar marched against him, Ulug͟h M and Shāh M rebelled They were joined in their revolt by their (younger) uncles Ibrāhīm Husayn M and Muhammad Husayn M The rebellious Mīrzās went plundering from Sambhal, to K͟hān Zamān (No 13) at Jaunpūr, but as they could not agree with him, they marched on Dihli, and from there invaded Mālwa, the governor of which, Muhammad Qulī K͟han Barlās (No 31), was with the emperor. The consequence of their revolt was, that Akbar imprisoned the old Muhammad Sulṯān Mīrzā He died a short time after in his prison at Bi,āna In the 12th year, when Akbar had defeated and killed K͟hān Zamān, and conquered Chītor, he made Shihāb K͟hān (No 26) governor of Mālwa, and ordered him to punish the Mirzas

About this time Ulug͟h M died The other Mīrzās unable to withstand Shihāb K͟han fled to Chingiz K͟hān (p 419), who then ruled over a portion of Gujrāt Chingiz K͟hān was at war with Iʿtimād K͟hān (No 67) of Ahmadabād; and as the Mīrzās had rendered him good service, he gave them Bahrōch as jāgīr But their behaviour in that town was so cruel that Chingiz K͟hān had to send a corps against them Though the Mīrzās defeated his troops they withdrew to K͟hāndesh, and re-entered Malwa They were vigorously attacked by Ashraf K͟hān (No 74), Ṣādiq K͟hān

No 43), and others, who besieged Rantanbhūr (13th year), and were pursued to the Narbadā, where many soldiers of the Mirzās perished in crossing In the meantime Chingiz Khān had been murdered by Jhujhār Khan and as Gujrat was in a state of disorder, the Mirzās with little fighting, occupied Champānīr, Bahroch and Sūrat

In the 17th year, Akbar entered Gujrat and occupied Ahmadabad Dissensions having broken out among the Mirzās Ibrahim Husayn M left Bahroch, and arrived at a place 8 miles from Akbar's camp Most of Akbar's Amīrs had the day before been sent away towards Sūrat in search of Muhammad Husayn M Hearing of Ibrāhim Husayn's arrival, the emperor dispatched Shāhbāz Khān (No 80) after the Amirs whilst he himself marched to the Mahindri River where it flows past the town of Sarnal Akbar had about 40 men with him, few of whom had armour, but when the Amīrs returned, the number rose to about 200 The signal of attack was given and after a hard fight, Ibrahīm Husayn M was defeated He fled towards Āgra, whilst his wife, Gulrukh Begam, a daughter of Mirzā Kāmrān, on hearing of his defeat, fled with Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā from Sūrat to the Dakhin

Akbar now resolved to invest Sūrat, and left M ʿAziz Koka (No 21) with a garrison in Ahmadabād, ordering at the same time Qutbᵘ 'd Din (No 28) to join ʿAziz with the Malwa contingent Muhammad Husayn M and Shāh M thereupon united their troops with those of Sher Khan Fuladi, a Gujrati noble, and besieged Patan ʿAziz marched against them, and defeated them (p 432) Muhammad Husayn M then withdrew to the Dakhin

Ibrāhīm Husayn M and his younger brother Masʿūd Husayn M having met with resistance at Nagor (p 384), invaded the Panjab The governor, Husayn Quli Khan (No 24) at that time besieged Nagarkot, and hearing of the inroad of the Mirzas, made peace with the Raja, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and captured Masʿūd Ibrahim Husayn fled towards Multān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūchīs He then fell into the hands of Saʿid Khān (No 25) and died of his wounds

After Akbar's return to Āgra, Muhammad Husayn Mirzā left the Dakhin, invaded Gujrat, and took possession of several towns He was defeated at Kambhait by Nawrang Khān (p 354) and joined the party of Ikhtiyarᵘ 'l Mulk and the sons of Sher Khan Fūlādi They then marched against Ahmadabad and besieged M ʿAziz Koka To relieve him Akbar hastened by forced marches from Āgra to Patan, and arrived, on the 5th Jumāda I, 981 (p 458), with about 1,000 horse,

at a place 3 *kos* from Ahmadabād Leaving Ikhtiyār to continue the siege, Muhammad Husayn opposed the emperor, but was defeated and wounded In his flight his horse fell over a bramble, when two troopers captured him, and led him to Akbar Each of the two men claimed the customary reward, and when Bir Bar, at Akbar's request, asked Muhammad Husayn which of the two had taken him prisoner, he said, "The salt of the emperor has caught me, for those two could not have done it" Ikhtiyār, on hearing of the defeat and capture of Muhammad Husayn, raised the siege, and fled with his 5,000 troopers Akbar at once pursued him Ikhtiyar got detached from his men, and in jumping over a shrub fell with his horse to the ground, when Suhrāb Turkmān who was after him, cut off his head, and took it to the emperor Muhammad Husayn also had, in the meantime, been executed by Ray Singh (No 44), whom Akbar had put over him

Shāh Mirza had fled in the beginning of the battle

In the 22nd year, Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā, whom his mother had taken to the Dakhin, entered Gujrāt and created disturbances He was defeated by Rāja Todar Mal and Vazir Khān (p 379) and fled to Jūnāgadh When the Raja had gone Muzaffar besieged Vazir in Ahmadābād During the siege he managed to attach Vazir's men to his cause, and was on the point of entering the town, when a cannon ball killed Mihr ˁAli Kolābī, who had led the young Muzaffar into rebellion This so affected Muzaffar that he raised the siege, though on the point of victory, and withdrew to Nazrbar Soon after, he was captured by Rāja ˁAli of Khāndesh, and handed over to Akbar He was kept for some time in prison, but as he showed himself loyal, Akbar, in the 36th year, released him, and married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultān Khanum He also gave him the Sarkar of Qanawj as *tuyūl* Muzaffar, however, was addicted to the pleasures of wine, and when complaints were brought to Akbar, he cancelled the *tuyūl*, and again imprisoned him But he soon after set him at liberty In the 45th year (1008), when Akbar besieged Āsīr, he sent Muzaffar to besiege Fort Lalang But he quarrelled with Khwāja Fath[u] 'llāh, and one day, he decamped for Gujrāt His companions deserted him, and dressing himself in the garb of a faqīr, he wandered about between Sūrat and Baglāna, when he was caught by Khwāja Waisī and taken before the Emperor After having been imprisoned for some time, he was let off in the 46th year He died, not long after, a natural death

His sister, Nūr[u] 'n Nisā, was married to Prince Salim (*vide* No 225, note) Gulrukh Begam, Muzaffar's mother, was still alive in 1023, when she was visited on her sick bed by Jahāngīr at Ajmīr

181 **Qundūq Khān**, brother of the well known Bayrām Oghlan

The *Akbarnāma* (I, 411) mentions a Qundūq Sultan, who accompanied Humāyūn on his march to India

For *Qundūq*, some MSS read *Qundūz* A grandee of this name served in Bengal under Munʿim, and died at Gaur (p 407)

182 **Sultān ʿAbdᵘ llah**, brother (by another mother) of Quraysh Sultān (No 178)

183 **Mīrzā ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Rahmān**, son of Mirzā Haydar's brother (*vide* No 179)

184 **Qiya Khān**, son of Sāhib Khān

In the *Tabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma* he is generally called قیا صاحب حسن, which may mean "Qiyā, the beautiful", or "Qiyā, son of Sāhib Hasan". Proper nouns ending in a long vowel rarely take the Izāfat [1] It looks as if the reading صاحب حان of the Āʾin MSS was a mistake The words صاحب حسن are intended to distinguish him from Qiya Gung (No 33)

Qiyā served under Shamsᵘ 'd-Dīn Atga against Bayram (p 332) He was also present in the battle of Sārangpūr (*vide* No 120)

185 **Darbar Khan**, ʿInāyat [ullah], son of Takaltu Khan, the Reader

Darbār's father was Shah Tahmāsp's reader ʿInayat, on his arrival in India, was appointed to the same post by Akbar, and received the title of Darbār Khān He served in the 9th year (end of 971) in Malwa, and in the 12th year, in the last war with Khān Zamān He accompanied the emperor to Rantanbhūr, and when Akbar, in the 14th year, after the conquest of the fort, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Muʿin i Chishtī in Ajmīr, Darbār Khān took sick leave, and died on his arrival at Āgra

According to his dying wish—to the disgust of the author of the *Maʾāṡir*—he was buried in the mausoleum of one of Akbar's dogs, which he had built The dog had shown great attachment to its imperial master

186 **ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān**, son of Muʿayyid Dūlday

The name *Dūlday* had been explained above on p 388 ʿAbdᵘ 'r-Rahmān's great grandfather, Mīr Shāh Malik, had served under Tīmūr ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahmān was killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat *Vide* under his son Barkhurdar, No 328, and under No 146 Another son is mentioned below, No 349

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[1] Thus you say هلاکو ملعون, for هلاکوی ملعون, the accursed Hulāgū

187 Qāsim ʿAlī Khān.

When Akbar, in the 10th year, moved against Khān Zamān (No 13), Qāsim ʿAlī Khān held Ghāzīpūr In the 17th year, he served in the siege of Sūrat, and in the following year, with Khān ʿĀlam (No 58) in the conquest of Patna under Munʿim For some reason he returned to Court, and took Shujaʿat Khan (No 51) a prisoner to Munʿim, whom he had slandered In the 22nd year, he served under Sādiq (No 43) against Madhukar Bundela, and in the 25th year, under ʿAzīz Koka (No 21) in Bihar In the 26th year, he was employed to settle the affairs of Hājī Begam, daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother (*taghāʾī zāda yi wālida yi Jannat āstānī*), who after her return from Makkah (see under 146) had been put in charge of Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī, where she died In the 31st year, when Akbar appointed two officers for each Sūba, Q A and Fath Khān Tughluq were sent to Audh He returned, in the 35th year, from Khayrābad to Court, and soon after received Kālpī as jāgīr "Nothing also is known of him"[1] *Maʾāṣir* For his brother, *vide* No 390

188 Baz Bahadur, son of Sharīf Khān (No 63)

Vide above, p 415

189 Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh, son of Mīr Khwānanda

Some MSS have "Khwand" instead of "Khwananda" Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh had been brought up at Court In the 9th year, he served in the pursuit of ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān Uzbak In the 17th year, he was with the Khān i Kalan (No 16) in the first Gujrāt war Later, he served under Munʿim in Bengal, and was with Khān ʿĀlam (No 58) in the battle of Takaroī (p 406) In 981, he brought the news of Daʾūd's defeat and death at Āgmahal (p 350) to Akbar During the Bengal military revolt, he served under Mirzā ʿAziz (No 21) and under Shahbāz Khān (No 80), chiefly against Maʿsūm i Farankhūdi (No 157) In the 31st year, Akbar sent him to Qāsim Khān (No 59) in Kashmīr In the 34th year (997), he was one night surprised by a body of Kashmīrīs, and killed with nearly three hundred Imperialists

190 Dhāru, son of Rāja Todar Mal (No 39)

Vide above, p 378

191 Ahmad Beg-i Kābulī.

Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mīr Ghiyāsᵘ 'd'Dīn Tarkhān, a Chaghtāʾī noble who served under Tīmūr Like Shāh Beg (No 57), Tāj Khān

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[1] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* mentions a Qāsim ʿAlī on p 58, l 2 from below, but according to the *Maʾāṣir*, we have there to read *Qāsim Beg* for *Qāsim ʿAlī*

(No 172), Abū 'l Qāsim (No 199), Ma'sūm Khan (p 476, note 1), and Takhta Beg (No 195), A B entered, after M Muhammad Hakim's death, Akbar's service He was made a commander of 700, and received, in 1003, on the removal of Yūsuf Khān i Razawī (No 35) a jāgīr in Kashmir *He married the sister of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khan (No 98)*

During the reign of Jahangir he rose to the post of a commander of 3 000, and received the title of *Khan*, and also a flag He was for some time governor of Kashmir On his removal he went to Court, and died

From the *Tuzuk* we see that Ahmad Beg in the first year of Jahāngir was made a commander of 2,000, and held Peshawar as jagir In the second year he was ordered to punish the Afghan tribes in Bangash and was for his services there promoted, in the 5th year, to a command of 2 500 In the 9th year, in consequence of complaints made by Qulij Khān (No 42) he was called to Court, and confined to Fort Rantanbhūr (*Tuzuk*, p 136) In the following year, he was released (*l c*, p 146) and sent to Kashmir (*l c*, p 149)

Ahmad Beg's sons, especially his second eldest, were all distinguished soldiers They are —.

1 *Muhammad Mas'ūd*[1] (eldest son) He was killed in the war with the Tarikis His son Ardsher, was a commander of 1,000, six hundred horse, and died in the 18th year of Shahj 's reign

2 *Sa'īd Khān Bahādur Zafar-jang* (second son) He rose during the reign of Shahjahān to the high dignity of a commander of 7,000, and distinguished himself in every war He was governor of Kabul, the Panjab, and Bihār He died on the 2nd Ṣafar, 1062 Of his twenty two sons, the two eldest, Khānazād Khān and Lutf[u] 'llah, were killed in the Balkh war, where Sa'īd also was severely wounded Two other sons 'Abd[u] 'llah and Fath[u] 'llah, rose to high commands

3 *Mukhlis[u] 'llah Khān Iftikhār Khān* He rose under Shāhjahān to a command of 2 000 one thousand horse, and was Fawjdar of Jammū (*Pādishāhn*, I, p 258), and died in the 4th year of Shahj 's reign

4 *Abū 'l Baqā* He was the younger brother (by the same mother) of Sa'īd, under whom he served He was thānadār of Lower Bangash In the 15th year, after the Qandahār expedition, he got the title of *Iftikhār Khān*, at the same time that his elder brother received that of *Zafar-jang*, and was made a commander of 1,500, one thousand horse

192 Hakim 'Ali, of Gīlan

'Ali came poor and destitute from Persia to India, but was fortunate

[[1] Mentioned Tuzuk p 307.—B]

enough to become in course of time a personal attendant (*mulāzim*) and friend of Akbar Once the emperor tried him by giving him several bottles of urine of sick and healthy people, and even of animals To his satisfaction, ʿAli correctly distinguished the different kinds In 988 he was sent as ambassador to ʿAli ʿĀdil Shāh of Bijāpūr, and was well received, but before he could be sent back with presents for his master, ʿĀdil Shāh suddenly died [1]

In the 39th year, Hakīm ʿAli constructed the wonderful reservoir (*hawz*), which is so often mentioned by Mughul historians A staircase went to the bottom of the reservoir, from where a passage led to an adjoining small room six *gaz* square, and capable of holding ten or twelve people By some contrivance, the water of the reservoir was prevented from flowing into the chamber When Akbar dived to the bottom of the reservoir and passed into the room he found it lighted up and furnished with cushions, sleeping apparel, and a few books Breakfast was also provided

In the 40th year, ʿAli was a commander of 700, and had the title of *Jālīnūsᵘ 'z Zamānī* " the Galenus of the age " His astringent mixtures enjoyed a great reputation at Court

He treated Akbar immediately before his death It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhœa, which no remedies could stop ʿAli had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and when the dysentery was stopped, costive fever and strangury ensued He therefore administered purgatives which brought back the diarrhœa, of which Akbar died The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusraw at an elephant fight Salim (Jahāngīr) had an elephant of the name of *Giranbār*, who was a match for every elephant of Akbar's stables, but whose strength was supposed to be equal to that of *Ābrup*, one of Khusraw's elephants Akbar therefore wished to see them fight for the championship which was done According to custom a third elephant, *Rantahman* was selected as *tabancha*, i e , he was to assist either of the two combatants when too *severely handled by the other At the fight, Akbar and Prince* Khurram (Shāhjahān) sat at a window, whilst Salim and Khusraw were on horse back in the arena Giranbar completely worsted Ābrup and as he mauled

him too severely, the *tabāncha* elephant was sent off to Ābrūp's assistance But Jahāngir's men, anxious to have no interference, pelted Rantahman with stones, and wounded the animal and the driver This annoyed Akbar, and he sent Khurram to Salim to tell him not to break the rules, as in fact all elephants would once be his Salim said that the pelting of stones had never had his sanction, and Khurram, satisfied with the explanation, tried to separate the elephants by means of fireworks, but in vain Unfortunately Rantahman also got worsted by Girānbār, and the two injured elephants ran away, and threw themselves into the Jamna This annoyed Akbar more, but his excitement was intensified, when at that moment Khusraw came up, and abused in unmeasured terms his father in the presence of the emperor Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for ʿAli, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusraw's bad behaviour had made him ill

In the end of 1017, Jahāngīr also visited ʿAli's reservoir, and made him a commander of 2,000 He did not long enjoy his promotion, and died on the 5th Muharram, 1018 Jahāngīr says of him (*Tuzuk*, p 74) that he excelled in Arabic, and composed a commentary to the *Qānūn* " But his subtlety was greater than his knowledge, his looks better than his walk of life, his behaviour better than his heart, for in reality he was a bad and unprincipled man " Once Jahāngir hinted that ʿAli had killed Akbar On the other side it [illegible] said that he spent annually [illegible] 000 Rupees on medicines for the poor [1]

He had a son, known as *Hakīm ʿAbdu 'l Wahhāb* He held a *manṣab* In the 15th year of Jahāngir's reign, he claimed from certain Sayyids in Lāhor the sum of 80,000 Rs, which, he said, his father had lent them He supported his claim by a certificate with the seal of a Qāẓī on it, and the statements of two witnesses The Sayyids, who denied all knowledge, seeing that the case went against them, appealed to the Emperor Jahāngīr ordered Āṣaf Khān (No 98) to investigate the case ʿAbdu 'l Wahhāb got afraid, and tried to evade the investigation by proposing to the Sayyids a compromise This looked suspicious, and Āṣaf by cross-questioning found that the claim was entirely false He therefore reported ʿAbdu 'l Wahhab, and the Emperor deprived him of his mansab and jagir He seems to have been afterwards restored to favour, for in the *Pādishāh nāma* (I, 6 328) he is mentioned as a commander of 500, fifty horse

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[1] [illegible]
Gili [illegible]
rab [illegible]
by [illegible]
and wheat.—P]

193 **Gujar Khan** son of Quṭbu d Dīn Khan Atga (No 28)

He was mentioned above under No 28

194 **Ṣadr Jahān Mufti**

Mīran Ṣadr Jahān was born in Pihānī a village near Qanawj [1] Through the influence of Shaykh ʿAbdu n Nabī he was made *Mufti* When ʿAbdu llah Khan Uzbak king of Turan wrote to Akbar regarding his apostacy from Islam Mīran Ṣadr and Hakim (No 205) were selected as ambassadors The answer which they took to ʿAbdu 'llah contained a few Arabic verses which ʿAbdu llah could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy—

قیل ان الاله ذو ولد   قیل ان الرسول قد کہنا

ما نجا الله والرسول معا   من لسان الوری فکیف انا

'Of God people have said that He had a son, of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—Then how should I?'

Mīran returned in the 34th year, and was made *Ṣadr* (vide p 284) In the 35th year, at the feast of Ābānmah, the Court witnessed a curious spectacle The Ṣadr and ʿAbdu 'l Hay (No 230) the Chief Justice of the empire took part in a drinking feast, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups, that he quoted the well known verse from Hafiz —

در دور بادشاه خطابخش جرم پوش   حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتی پیاله نوش

Up to the 40th year, he had risen to the dignity of a commander of 700, but later he was made an Amir, and got a manṣab of 2 000 (vide p 217-18)

During the reign of Jahangir who was very fond of him he was promoted to a command of 4 000 and received Qanawj as *tuyul* As Ṣadr under Jahangir he is said to have given away more lands in five years than under Akbar in fifty He died in 1020 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years His faculties remained unimpaired to the last

His position to Akbar's 'Divine Faith' has been explained above (p 217-18) There is no doubt that he temporized and few people got more for it than he He also composed poems, though in the end of his life, like Bada,oni he repented and gave up poetry as being against the spirit of the Muhammadan law

He had two sons —

1 *Mīr Badr-i ʿĀlam* He lived a retired life

2 *Sayyid Nizam Khan* His mother was a Brahman woman of

[1] So Badā,onī. The *Ma'āsir* says Pihānī lies near Lakhnau

whom his father had been so enamoured that he married her, hence Nizām was his favourite son He was early introduced at Court, and, at the death of his father, was made a commander of 2,500, two thousand horse In the first year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was promoted to a command of 3,000, and received, on the death of Murtazā Khan Inju (p 501) the title of *Murtazā Khān* He served a long time in the Dakhin His *tuyūl* was the Pargana of Dalamau where he on several occasions successfully quelled disturbances He was also Fawjdār of Lakhnau In the 24th year of Shahj 's reign he was pensioned off, and received 20 lacs of dāms *per annum* out of the revenue of Pihanī, which was one kror He enjoyed his pension for a long time

His sons died before him On his death, his grandsons ʿAbd[u] 'l Muqtadir and ʿAbd[u] 'llāh were appointed to mansabs, and received as *tuyūl* the remaining portion of the revenue of Pihanī ʿAbd[u] 'l Muqtadir rose to a command of 1,000, six hundred horse, and was Fawjdār of Khayrābad

195 **Takhta Beg i** Kabuli [Sardār Khān]

He was at first in the service of M Muhammad Hakīm, and distinguished himself in the wars with India, but on the death of his master (30th year) he joined Akbar's service He served under Mān Singh and Zayn Koka against the Yūsufzaīs As Thānahdār of Peshāwar he punished on several occasions the Tārikis In the 49th year, he was made a *Khān*

After Jahāngīr's accession, he was made a commander of 2,000, and received the title of *Sardār Khān* He was sent with Mirzā Ghāzī Tarkhān (p 392), to relieve Shāh Beg Khān (No 57) in Qandahar As Shāh Beg was appointed governor of Kābul, Takhta was made governor of Qandahār, where, in 1016 he died

He had a villa near Peshawar, called the *Bāgh i Sardār Khān* His two sons, Hayat Khan and Hidāyat[u] 'llah got low mansabs

196 **Ray Patr Das** [Rāja Bikramājit] a Khatrī

Patr Das was in the beginning of Akbar's reign accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant stables, and had the title of *Rāy Rāyān* He distinguished himself in the 12th year, during the siege of Chitor In the 24th year, he and Mir Adham were made joint diwans of Bengal At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he was imprisoned by the rebels (p 485) but got off and served for some time in Bengal In the 30th year, he was made diwān of Bihār In the 38th year, he was ordered to occupy Bandhū (p 446), the capital of which after a siege of 8 months and 25 days surrendered (42nd year) In the 43rd year, he was made diwān of Kabul,

but was in the following year again sent to Bandhū In the 46th year, he was made a commander of 3,000 When Abū 'l Fazl, in the 47th year, had been murdered by Bīr Singh, Akbar ordered Patr Dās to hunt down the rebel, and bring his head to Court Patr defeated Bīr Singh in several engagements, and blockaded him in Īrich When the siege had progressed, and a breach was made in the wall, Bīr Singh escaped and withdrew to the jungles with Patr close at his heels Akbar, at last, in the 48th year, called P to Court, made him in the next year a commander of 5,000, and gave him the title of Raja Bikramajit

After Jahāngir s accession, he was made *Mīr Ātash*, and was ordered to recruit and keep in readiness 50 000 artillery (*topchī*) with a train of 3 000 gun carts, the revenue of fifteen parganas being set aside for the maintenance of the corps (*Tuzuk*, p 10)

When the sons of Muzaffar of Gujrāt created disturbances, and Yatīm Bahādur had been killed Patr was sent to Ahmadabād with powers to appoint the officers of the rebels who submitted up to commands of Yūzbāshīs, or to recommend them, if they had held higher commands, for appointments to the Emperor

"The year of his death is not known" *Ma*ᶜ*āsir*

The Rāy Mohan Das mentioned occasionally in the *Akbarnāma* and the *Tuzuk* (p 50) appears to be his son

197 Shaykh ᶜAbdᵘ 'r-Rahīm, of Lakhnau

He belongs to the Shaykhzādas of Lakhnau, and was in the 40th year a commander of 700 He was a great friend of Jamāl Bakhtyar (No 113), from whom he learned wine-drinking In fact he drank so hard that he frequently got insane In the 30th year, when Akbar was in the Panjab, ᶜAbdᵘ 'r Rahim wounded himself in a fit whilst at Siyālkot in Hakim Abū 'l-Fath's dwelling Akbar looked after the wound himself

His wife was a Brāhman woman of the name of Kishnā After the death of her husband, she spent his money in laying out gardens and villas In one of them her husband was buried, and she entertained every one who passed by the tomb, from a *panjhazārī* to a common soldier, according to his position in life

ᶜAbdᵘ 'r Rahīm was mentioned above on p 359-60

198 Medni Rāy Chauhān

From the *Akbarnāma* we see that he served, in the 28th and 32nd years, in Gujrāt Nizamᵘ 'd Din Ahmad, who was with him in Gujrāt, says in the *Tabqāt*—"Medni Ray is distinguished for his bravery and liberality, and is now (i e, in 1001) a commander of 1,000"

199 **Mīr Abū 'l Qāsim Namakīn [Qāsim Khān]**

The MSS have almost invariably *Tamkīn* (تمکین) instead of *Namakīn* He is not to be confounded with Nos 240 and 250

Mīr Abū 'l Qāsim was a Sayyid of Hirāt He was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's brother and king of Kābul But he left Kābul, and on entering Akbar's service, he received Bhira and Khushāb in the Punjab as jagir As his lands lay within the *Namaksār*,[1] or salt range, he once presented Akbar, evidently in allusion to his faithful intentions (*namak halali*), with a plate and a cup made of salt (*namakīn*), from which circumstance he received the nickname of *Namakīn*

Abū 'l Qāsim served in the war with Dā'ūd of Bengal In the 26th year, he was in Kābul, and accompanied, in the 30th year, Ismā'il Quli Khan (No 46) on his expedition against the Balūchīs In the 32nd year, the Afghān chiefs of Sawad and Bajor, and Terah waited with their families on Akbar, who made Abū 'l Qasim Krorī and Fawjdar of those districts, and ordered him to take the families of the chiefs back to Afghanistān The chiefs themselves were retained at Court Renewed fights, in the 33rd year, gave him frequent occasions of distinguishing himself

Up to the 40th year, he rose to a command of 700 In the 43rd year, he was appointed to Bhakkar He built the great mosque in Sukkhar, opposite to Bhakkar The inhabitants accused him of oppressions, and he was deposed A party of the oppressed arrived with him at Court, and lodged a new complaint against him with 'Abdu 'l Hay (No 230), the Qāẓī of the imperial camp (*urdu*) But Abū 'l Qāsim, though summoned, did not appear before the judge, and when the matter was reported to Akbar, he was sentenced to be tied to the foot of an elephant, and paraded through the bazars To avoid the disgrace, he came to an immediate settlement with the complainants, chiefly through the mediation of Shaykh Ma'rūf, Ṣadr of Bhakkar, and prevailed on them to return the very day to their homes The next day he went to the Emperor, and complained of the Qazī, stating that there were no complainants, and 'Abdu 'l Hay tried in vain to produce the oppressed parties This case led to the order that Qāẓis should in future prepare descriptive rolls of complainants, and present them to the Emperor

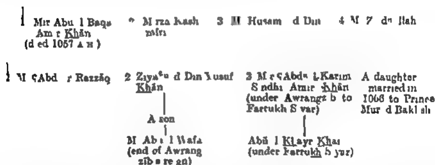
[1] The *namaksār* or salt range says the *Ma'āsir*, is a district 20 *kos* long and belongs to the [illegible]
th [illegible]
the [illegible]
Mi [illegible]
40 [illegible]
Th[illegible] is also often made into ornaments.

Abu l Qasim was soon after made a Khan, got a higher mansab and received Gujrat in the Panjab as *tuyul* In the first year of Jahangir s reign he was made a commander of 1,500 The part which he played in the capture of Prince Khusraw has been mentioned above (p 456, note 1, where *Tamkin* is to be altered to *Namakin*) For his services he was again appointed to Bhakkar with the rank of a commander of 3 000 He now resolved to make Bhakkar his home Most of his illustrious descendants were born there On a hill near the town southwards towards Lohari near the branch of the river called *Kahārmatrī* (کہا ماٹری), he built a mausoleum to which he gave the name of *Suffa yi Safā* (the dais of purity) He and several of his descendants were buried in it

He is said to have been a most voracious man He could eat—historians do not specify the time—1 000 mangoes 1 000 sweet apples and [illegible] melons each weighing a *man* The *Ma*ᶜ*āsir* says he had 22 sons and the *Tuzuk* (p 13) says he had 30 sons and more than 15 daughters

The following tree is compiled from several notes in the *Ma*ᶜ*āsir* —

Mir Abu l Qasim Namakin (settled at Bhakkar in 1015)



Mir Abū l Baqā Amīr Khan rose under Jahangir to a command of 2 500 fifteen hundred horse Through the influence of Yaminᵘ d Dawla he was made governor of Multan and in the 2nd year of Shahjahan he was made a commander of 3 000 two thousand horse and appointed to Thathah *vice* Murtaza yi Inju deceased (p 501) In the 9th year he was made Tuyuldar of Bir in the Dakhin and was sent in the 14th year to Siwistan *vice* Qaraq Khan In the following year he was again appointed to Thathah where in 1057 (20th year) he died He was buried in the mausoleum built by his father Under Jahangir he was generally called Mir Khan Shahjahan gave him the title of Amir Khan

One of his daughters was married in 1066 after his death to Prince Murad Bakhsh who had no children by his first wife a daughter of

Shāhnawāz Khān i Ṣafawī.[1] Amīr Khān had a large family. His eldest son, Mīr ʿAbdu r'Razzāq, was a commander of 900, and died in the 26th year of Shāhjahān's reign. His second son, Ziyāʾu 'd Dīn Yūsuf, was made a Khān, and held under Shāhjahān a manṣab of 1,000, six hundred horse. Ziyāʾ's grandson, Abū 'l-Wafā, was in the end of Awrangzīb's reign in charge of his majesty's prayer room (*dārogha yi jā namāz*). Amīr Khān's youngest son, Mīr ʿAbdu 'l-Karīm, was a personal friend of Awrangzīb. He received in succession the titles of Multafit Khān, Khānazād Khān and Amīr Khān (48th year), and held a command of 3,000. After Awrangzīb's death, he was with Muhammad Aʿẓam Shāh, but as he had no contingent, he was left with the baggage (*bungāh*) at Gwāliyār. After the death of Muhammad Aʿẓam in the battle of Sarāy Jāju,[2] Bahādur Shāh made him a commander of 3,500. He was generally at Court, and continued so under Farrukh Siyar. After Farrukh's death, the Bārha brothers made Amīr Khān *ṣadr* of the empire. He died shortly after. His son, Abū 'l Khayr, was made a Khān by Farrukh Siyar; the other sons held no manṣabs, but lived on their zamīndārīs.

2. *Mīrzā Kashmīrī* was involved in the rebellion of Prince Khusraw. As the associates were to be punished in an unusual way (*siyāsat i ghayr-mukarrar*, *Tuzuk*, p. 32) Jahāngīr ordered his penis to be cut off.

3. *Mīrzā Husāmu 'd Dīn*. He held a manṣab, but died young.

4. *Mīrzā Zaʿīdu 'llāh*. He was in the service of Khān Jahān Lodī.

200. Wazīr Beg Jamīl.[3]

Wazīr Jamīl, as he is often called, served in the 9th year of Akbar's reign against ʿAbdu 'llāh Khān Uzbak, and in the war with Khān Zamān (No. 13). In the final battle, when Bahādur Khān (No. 22) was thrown off his horse, W. J., instead of taking him prisoner, accepted a bribe from him, and let him off. But Nazar Bahādur, a man in the service of Majnūn Khān (No. 50) saw it, and took Bahādur prisoner. Afterwards, he received a jāgīr in the Eastern Districts, and took part in the expeditions to Bengal and Orīsā under Munʿim Khān. At the outbreak of the Bengal military revolt, he joined the Qīqshāls; but when they separated from Maʿṣūm i

[1] Shahnawāz Khān i Ṣafawī is the title of Mīrzā Badiʿu 'z Zaman *alias* Mīrzā Dakhinī, son of Mīrzā Rustam (No. 9). One of his daughters, Dilras Bānū Begum, was married, in the end of 1046, to Awrangzīb. Another was married, in 1052, to Prince Murad Bakhsh. Elphinstone (*History of India*, 6th edition, p. 607) calls Shahnawāz Khān by mistake the brother of Shāyista Khān; but Shāyista is the son of Yaminu 'd Dawla Āṣaf Khān, elder brother of Nūr Jahān.

[2] Sarāy Jājū, near Dholpūr. The battle was fought on the 18th Rabiʿ I, 1119, and Muhammad Aʿẓam was killed with his two sons, Bedar Bakht and Wālā-jāh.

[3] Jamīl is a common name among Turks. It is scarcely ever used in Hindūstān.

Kābulı (p 476, note) and tendered their submission, W J also was pardoned In the 29th year, he came to Court, and served in the following year under Jagnath (No 69) against the Rāna He seems to have lived a long time Jahangir, on his accession, made him a commander of 3,000 (*Tuzuk*, p 8)

He is not to be confounded with the Jamil Beg mentioned under No 172

201 Tāhir, [son of] Sayf[u] 'l Muluk

The *Tabaqāt* says that Tāhir was the son of Shāh Muhammad Sayf[u] 'l Mulūk [1] His father was governor of Gharjistān in Khurasān, and was killed by Shāh Tahmasp of Persia Tāhir went to India, was made an Amir at Akbar's Court, and served in Bengal, where he was when the author of the Tabaqāt wrote (1001)

He is also mentioned in Dowson's Edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, pp 241, 242

202 **Babū Manklī**

Regarding the name "Manklī", *vide* p 400, note 1 The *Tabaqāt* says that Babū Mankli was an Afghan and a commander of 1,000

He was at first in Dā'ūd s service, and occupied Ghoraghāt at the time when Mun'im Khān had invaded Orisā (p 400) Soon after, he entered Akbar's service, but continued to be employed in Bengal In the 30th year, he suppressed disturbances at Ghoraghat (*Akbarn* III, 470), and took part, in the 35th year, in the operations against Qutlū Khān Two years later he accompanied Man Singh's expedition to Orisā

He may have lived under Jahangīr, for the Manklı Khān mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (pp 70, 138) can only refer to him. The *Tuzuk* (p 12) mentions a son of his, Hātim Another son, Mahmud, appears to have been a commander of 500, three hundred horse, under Shāhjahān (*Pādishāhn*, I, b, p 323) though the text edition of the *Bibl Indica* calls him *son of Yābū Maskalī* (يابو مسكلى for بابو مسكلي)

XVI Commanders of Six Hundred

203 **Muhammad Quli Khān Turkman** [*Afshār*, p 452]

He [illegible]

[1 *Vide* No 401.—B]

appointed to Kābul, Muhammad Qulī Khān, his brother Hamza Beg (perhaps No 277), and others, were sent to Kashmīr, *vice* Yusuf Khān (No 35, and p 452) In the 45th year, a party of Kasmīrīs tried to set up Ambā Chak[1] as king, but they were defeated by ʿAlī Qulī, son of M Q Kh In the 47th year, M Q Kh was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and Hamza Beg, one of 700, three hundred and fifty horse New disturbances broke out when in the following year ʿAlī Rāy, king of Little Tibet, invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr He retreated on M Q Kh's arrival, and was vigorously pursued, when the imperialists were enforced by Sayfᵘ 'llah (No 262) from Lāhor In the 49th year, Amba again appeared, but was driven, with some difficulty, from his mountains

In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, M Q Kh was removed from Kashmīr Hamza Beg was, in the 49th year of Akbar's reign, a commander of 1,000

204 **Bakhtyar Beg Gurd i Shah Manṣūr**

The *Izāfat* most likely means that he was the son of Shah Mansur, in which case the word *gurd* (athlete) would be Bakhtyar's epithet Two MSS, have the word *pisar* (son) instead of *gurd*

The *Tabaqat* says "Bakhtyār Beg Turkman is an Amīr, and governs at present (1001) Siwistān" In the 32nd year, he served against the Tarīkīs

205 **Hakīm Humām,**[2] son of Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'r Razzaq of Gīlān

Regarding his family connection, *vide* No 112, p 468 Humām's real name is Humayūn When he came to Akbar's Court, he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Qulī, or "slave of Humāyun", but soon afterwards Akbar gave him the name of Humam He held the office of Bakāwal Beg (p 59), and though only a commander of 600, he was a personal friend of Akbar, and possessed great influence at Court In the 31st year he was sent with Sadr Jahān (No 194) to Tūrān as ambassador Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals on account of Humam's absence He returned to India about a month after his brother's death He died in the 40th year, on the 6th Rabīʿ I, 1004 *Badaoni* (II, p 406) says, the day after Humām's death, Kamalā (p 264) also died, and their property was at once put under seal and escheated to the government, so that they were destitute of a decent shroud

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[1] The MSS have لتا The *Tuzuk* mentions "a Kashmīrī of royal blood", of the name of لعا He was killed by Sher Afkan (*vide* No 394) at Bardwān, on the 3rd Safar, 1016

[2] Humām, not Hammam, is the Indian pronunciation.

Humam had two sons —

1 *Halim Hāziq* (حاذق) He was born at Fathpūr Sīkrī, and was a young man when his father died At Shāhjahān's accession he was made a commander of 1,500, six hundred horse, and was sent, in the 1st year to Tūrān as ambassador He rose to a command of 3,000 Later, for some reason, his manṣab was cancelled, and he lived at Āgra on a pension of 20,000 rupees *per annum*, which in the 18th year was doubled He died in the 31st year (1068)[1] He was a poet of some distinction, and wrote under the name of *Hāziq* His vanity is said to have been very great A copy of his dīwān was kept on a golden stool in his reception room, and visitors, when it was brought in or taken away, were expected to rise and make salams, else he got offended

2 *Halīm Khushḥāl* He grew up with Prince Khurram Shāhjahān, on his accession, made him a commander of 1,000 He was for some time Bakhshī of the Dakhin

206 **Mirzā Anwar**, son of Khān i Aʿẓam Mirzā Koka (No 21)

He was mentioned above on page 316

XVII Commanders of Five Hundred

207 **Baltu Khan** of Turkistan

He was a grandee of Humāyūn, and served in the Kābul war, and in the battles which led to H 's restoration

208 **Mirak Bahādur Arghūn**

The *Ṭabaqāt* says he reached a command of 2,000, and died[2] From the *Akbarnama* (II, 170, 218) we see that he served in the conquest of Mālwa (*vide* No 120) and in the pursuit of Sharafu 'd Dīn Husayn (No 17)

209 **Laʿl Khan Kolabī**

He is also called Laʿl Khan *Badakhshī* (*vide* p 484), and served under Humāyun in the war of the restoration (*Akbarn* I, 411) He distinguished himself in the defeat of Hemū Later, he served under Munʿim in Bengal and Orīsā, and died of fever at Gaur (p 407)

210 **Shaykh Ahmad**, son of Shaykh Salīm

He is the second (*miyānī*) son of Shaykh Salīm of Fathpūr Sīkrī He served at Court with Shaykh Ibrāhīm (No 82), and died in the 22nd year (985)[3]

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[1] The *Maʾāsir* says that the author of the *Mirʾātu 'l ʿĀlam* mentions 1080 as the year of his death, but my MS of the *Mirʾat* (Chapter on the poets of the period from Humāyun to Awrangzib) mentions no year

[[2] Died in 975 He was blown up before Chitor, *Sawāniḥ*, p 201.—B]

[[3] *Sawāniḥ*, p 370 —B]

Khan was in the service of Mirza Hindal but after the Mirza s death (21st Zi Qa'da 958) he was taken on by Humayun He served in the wars with Khan Zaman

Bada oni (III 206) says that his real name was 'Ali Akbar He was a fair poet but a heretic and like Tashb hi of Kashan wrote treatises on the Man of the Millennium according to the Nuqtawi doctrines (p 502) Hence he must have been alive in 990

217 **Sayyid Jamal'u d Din** son of Sayyid Ahmad Barha (No 91)

Vide above p 447 He had also served in the final war with Khan Zaman

218 **Tagmal the Puwar**

He served in the second Gujrat war after Akbar s forced march to Patan and Ahmadabad (p 458 note)

219 **Husayn Beg** brother of Husayn Khan Buzurg

220 **Hasan Khan Batani** [1]

The *Tabaqat* classes him among the commanders of 1 000 He was at first in the service of the Bengal king Sulayman and was present with Sulayman Mankli (p 400) and Kala Pahar at the interview between Mun'im and Khan Zaman (No 13) at Baksar (Buxar) *Akbarn* II 325

Hasan was killed with Bir Bar in the Khaybar Pass *vide* p 214 MSS often call him wrongly *Husayn* instead of *Hasan*

221 **Sayyid Chhajhu** [2] of Barha

The *Tabaqat* says that S Chhajhu was a brother of S Mahmud (No 75) and distinguished for his courage and bravery From the family genealogies of the Barha clan it appears that S Ch was a Kundliwal His tomb still exists at Majhera and according to the inscription he died in 967

222 **Munsif Khan** Sultan Muhammad of Hirat

223 **Qazi Khan Bakhshi**

Some MSS have *Badakhshi* instead of *Bakhshi* *Vide* No 144

224 **Haji Yusuf Khan**

He was at first in Kamran s service In the 12th year he joined the corps of Qiya Khan (No 33) and rendered assistance to M Yusuf Khan whom Khan Zaman (No 13) besieged in Qanawj In the 17th year he operated under Khan 'Alam (No 58) against M Ibrahim Husayn and was present in the battle of Sarnal In the 19th year he went with Mun'im to Bengal and Orisa and died after his return at Gaur (p 407)

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[1] *Batani* is the name of an Afghan tribe N W of Dera Isma'il Khan.
[2] The spelling Chhajhu is preferable to Jhajhu

225 Ráwul Bhim, of Jaisalmir

The *Tuzuk* says (p 159) —"On the 9th Khurdād (middle of 1025), Kalyān of Jaisalmir was introduced at Court by Rājā Kishn Dās, whom I had sent to him Kalyān's elder brother was *Rāwul Bhīm*, a man of rank and influence When he died, he left a son two months old, who did not live long Bhim's daughter had been married to me when I was prince, and I had given her the title of *Malika-yi Jahān* This alliance was made because her family had always been faithful to our house I now called Bhīm's brother to Court, invested him with the *ṭīkā*, and made him Rāwul" [1]

For Kalyān, *vide* under No 226 In the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, one thousand horse (*Tuzuk*, p 163)

226 Hashim Beg, son of Qāsim Khan (No 59)

After the death of his father (39th year) and the arrival of Qulij Khān (*No 42*), the new governor of Kabul, Hashim returned to Court In the 41st year, he served under M Rustam (No 9) against Basū and other rebellious zamindars in the north-eastern part of the Panjāb, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Mau In the 44th year, he served under Farid i Bukhārī (No 99) before Āsir Later, he went with Saʿadat Khān to Nāsik [2] After the conquest of Tiranbak, he returned to Court (46th year), and was appointed, in the following year, to a command of 1,500

In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made a commander of 2 000, fifteen hundred horse In the 2nd year, his mansab was increased to 3,000, two thousand horse, and he was made governor of Orīsā In the 6th year, he was transferred to Kashmir, his uncle Khwājagī Muhammad

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[1] The list of Jahān[illegible]
(1) Malika y[illegible]
of Zayn Ko[illegible]
p. 8 and Al[illegible]
daughter ar[illegible]
Hasan [illegible]
born [illegible]
in Jo[illegible]
[illegible]
daughter of Ram Chand Bu[illegible]

[2] [illegible] Saʿadat Kh[illegible] had [illegible]
of the forts of Galna and Ti[illegible]

Husayn (No 241) officiating for him there till his arrival from Orisa His successor in Orisa was Raja Kalyan brother of Bhim (No 225)

Hashim s son is the renowned Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir Ātish He was in the 18th year of Shahjahan s a commander of 1,000 five hundred and ninety horse Darogha of the Topkhana and Kotwal of the camp He distinguished himself in Balkh Andkhud received the title of Muʿtamid Khan [1] and was made in the 21st year a commander of 2 000 one thousand horse and Akhta Begi In the following year he was promoted to a command of 3 000 and also got the title of Qasim Khan He then served under Awrangzib in Qandahar and was made in the 28th year a commander of 4 000 two thousand five hundred horse In the next year he destroyed Fort Santur (سنتور) which the ruler of Srinagar had repaired Later he was made by Dara Shikoh a commander of 5 000 five thousand sihaspa duaspa received a present of a lac of rupees and was appointed governor of Ahmadabad (Gujrat) whilst Jaswant Singh was made governor of Malwa Both were ordered to unite their contingents near Ujjain and keep Prince Murad Bakhsh in check When the Prince left Gujrat the two commanders marched against him via Biswara but when approaching Khachrod Murad suddenly retreated 18 *kos* and joined 7 *kos* from Ujjain the army of Awrangzib The two chiefs had received no information of Awrangzib s march They attacked him however but were totally defeated (near Ujjain 22nd Rajab 1068) In the first battle between Awrangzib and Dara at Samogar [2] Qasim commanded the left wing Soon after he made his submission and received Sambhal and Murabad as *tuyul* as Rustam Khan i Dakhini the former jagirdar had fallen at Samogar Qasim was then charged with the capture of Sulayman Shikoh In the 3rd year of Awrangzib s reign he was appointed to Mathura On the way he was murdered by a brother of his who is said to have led a miserable life (1071) The murderer was executed at Awrangz b s order

227 Mirza Faridun son of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas (No 31)

He has been mentioned above p 364 His death took place at Udaipur in 1023 (*Tuzuk* p 131)

228 Yusuf Khan [Chak] king of Kashmir

Yusuf s father was ʿAli Khan Chak king of Kashmir He died from a hurt he received during a game at *chaugan* (p 309) having been violently thrown on the pommel of the saddle (*pesh koha yi zin*) On his death Yusuf was raised to the throne (*Akbarnāma* III 237) He first surrounded

[[1] Succeeded by Kalyan commander of 1 ,00 e ght hundred —B]
[2] *Vide Journal Asiat c Soc ety Bengal* 18 0 p 275

the palace of his uncle Abdāl, who aimed at the crown, and in the fight which ensued, Abdāl was shot. A hostile party thereupon raised one Sayyid Mubārak to the throne, and in a fight which took place on the *maydān* of Srīnagar, where the ʿId prayer is said, Yūsuf was defeated. Without taking further part in the struggle, he fled, and came, in the 24th year, to Akbar's Court, where he was well received. During his stay at Court, Sayyid Mubārak had been forced to retire, and Lohar Chak, son of Yūsuf's uncle, had been made king. In the 25th year (*Akbarn.*, III, 288) the Emperor ordered several Panjab nobles to reinstate Yūsuf. When the Imperial army reached Pinjar, the Kashmīrīs sued for mercy, and Yūsuf, whom they had solicited to come alone, without informing Akbar's commanders, entered Kashmīr, seized Lohar Chak without fighting, and commenced to reign.

Some time after, Sālih Dīwāna reported to the Emperor how firmly and independently Yūsuf had established himself, and Akbar sent Shaykh Yaʿqūb i Kashmīrī, a trusted servant, with his son Haydar to Kashmīr, to remind Yūsuf of the obligations under which he lay to the Emperor. In the 29th year, therefore, Yūsuf sent his son Yaʿqūb with presents to Akbar, but refused personally to pay his respects, although the Court, in the 30th year, had been transferred to the Panjāb; and Yaʿqūb, who had hitherto been with the Emperor, fled from anxiety for his safety. The Emperor then sent Hakīm ʿAlī (No. 192) and Bahāʾu 'd Dīn Kambū to Yūsuf to persuade him to come, or, if he could not himself come, to send again his son. As the embassy was without result, Akbar ordered Shahrukh Mīrzā (No. 7) to invade Kashmīr. The Imperial army marched over Pakhlī, and was not far from Bārah Mūlah, when Yūsuf submitted and surrendered himself (*Akbarn.*, III, 492).[1] Shāhrukh was on the point of returning, when he received the order to complete the conquest. Yūsuf being kept a prisoner, the Kashmīrīs raised Awlād Husayn, and, soon after, Yaʿqūb, Yūsuf's son, to the throne; but he was everywhere defeated. Information of Yūsuf's submission and the defeat of the Kashmīrīs was sent to Court, and at Srīnagar the *khutba* was read, and coins were struck, in Akbar's name. The cultivation of *zaʿfarān* (p. 89)[2] and silk, and the right of hunting, were made Imperial monopolies (p. 452). On the approach of the cold season, the

army returned with Yūsuf Khān, and arrived, in the 31st year, at Court. Toḍar Mal was made responsible for Yūsuf's person

As Ya'qūb Khān and a large party of Kashmīrīs continued the struggle, Qasim (No 59) was ordered to march into Kashmīr to put an end to the rebellion Ya'qūb was again on several occasions defeated.

In the 32nd year Yūsuf was set at liberty, received from Akbar a jāgīr in Bihār (*Akbarn*, III, 547) and was made a commander of 500. He served in Bengal In the 37th year, he accompanied Mān Singh to Orīsā, and commanded the detachment which marched over Jhārkand and Kokra [1] (Chutiyā Nāgpūr) to Mednīpūr (*Akbarn*, III, 641)

Ya'qūb Khān, soon after, submitted, and paid his respects to Akbar, when, in the 34th year, the Court had gone to Kashmīr (p 412)

Yūsuf Khan is not to be confounded with No 388

229 **Nur Qulij, son of Āltūn Qulij**

Altūn or *āltūn* is Turkish, and means "gold"

Nūr Qulij was a relation of Qulij Khān (No 42) He served under him in the expedition to Idar, which Akbar had ordered to be made when moving, in the 21st year, from Ajmīr to Gogunda In the fight with the zamāndār of Īdar, N Q was wounded In the 26th year, he served under Sultān Murād against Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm In the 30th year, he again served under Qulij Khān, who had been made governor of Gujrāt. He continued to serve there under Khankhānān (No 29), and returned with him, in the 32nd year, to Court

230 **Mir 'Abdu 'l-Hay, Mir 'Adl**

The *Tabaqāt* calls him *Khwāja* 'Abdu 'l Hay, and says that he was an Amīr He had been mentioned above on pp 468, 471

231 **Shah Quli Khan Naranji**

Abū 'l Fazl says that Shāh Quli was a Kurd from near Baghdād He

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[1] *Kokra* was mentioned above on p [illegible]

[illegible]

The *Tuzuk* has (*l c*) a few interesting notes on the diamonds of Kokra

was an old servant of Humāyūn In the first year of Akbar's reign, he served under Khizr Khān (p 394, note 1) in the Panjab He was much attached to Bayrām In the 11th year, he was sent to Gadha, when Mahdī Qāsim Khān (No 36) had left that province without permission for Makkah

The *Tabaqāt* calls him a commander of 1,000

His son, Pādishah Quli, was a poet, and wrote under the name of *Jazbī* A few verses of his are given below in the list of poets

232 **Farrukh Khān**, son of Khān i Kalān (No 16)

He was mentioned on pp 338 and 384 According to the *Tabaqāt*, he served, in 1001, in Bengal

233 **Shādman**, son of Khān i Aʿzam Koka (No 21)

Vide above, p 346

234 **Hakīm ʿAynᵘ 'l Mulk**, of Shiraz

He is not to be confounded with Hakīmᵘ 'l Mulk, *vide* below among the Physicians of the Court

He was a learned man and a clever writer He traced his origin, on his mother's side, to the renowned logician Muhaqqiq i Dawwānī The historian Badā,onī was a friend of his Akbar also liked him very much In the 9th year he was sent as ambassador to Chingiz Khan of Gujrāt In the 17th year he brought Iʿtimad Khān (No 67) and Mīr Abū Turāb to the Emperor He also accompanied Akbar on his march to the eastern provinces of the empire Afterwards, in 983, he was sent to ʿĀdil Khān of Bijāpūr, from where, in 985, he returned to Court (*Badā,onī* II, 250) He was then made Fawjdār of Sambhal In the 26th year, when ʿArab Bahādur and other Bengal rebels created disturbances, he fortified Barelī, and refusing all offers, held out till the arrival of an Imperial corps, when he defeated the rebels In the same year he was made Sadr of Bengal, and in the 31st year Bakhshī of the Sūba of Āgra He was then attached to the Dakhin corps of ʿAzīz Koka (No 21), and received Handi,a as jāgīr When ʿĀzīz, for some reason, cancelled his jāgīr, he went without permission to Court (35th year), but was at first refused audience On inquiry, however, Akbar reinstated him

He died at Handia on the 27th Zi Hijja, 1003 (*Badā onī* II, 403)

The Mīrzā'ī Masjid, also called Padishāhī Masjid, in Old Bareli, Mirzā'ī Mahalla, was built by him The inscription on it bears the date 937 (24th year), when the Hakim was Fawjdār of Sambhal

He was also a poet, and wrote under the *takhallus* of Dawa,ī

235 **Janish Bahādur**

Jānish Bahādur was mentioned on p 368 He was at first in the

service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim king of Kābul After the death, in the 30th year, of his master, he came with his sons to India Soon after, he served under Zayn Koka (No 34) against the Yūsufzāi's, and saved Zayn's life in the Khaybar catastrophe In the 35th year, he served under the Khankhanan in Thathah and returned with him, in the 38th year to Court Later he served in the Dakhin He died in the 46th year (1009) He was an excellent soldier

His son *Shujā'at Khān Shādī Beg* He was made, in the 7th year of Shahjahan's reign a commander of 1,000, and received the title of Shad Khan In the 12th year he was sent as ambassador to Nazr Muhammad Khan of Balkh On his return in the 14th year, he was made a commander of 1 500, and was appointed governor of Bhakkar, *vide* Shah Quli Khan Afterwards, on the death of Ghayrat Khān, he was made governor of Thathah and a commander of 2,000 In the 19th year he was with Prince Murad Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 21st year he was appointed governor of Kābul, *vice* Siwa Ram, and held in the following year, an important command under Awrangzib in the Qandahar expedition and the conquest of Bust In the 23rd year, he was made a commander of 3 000, two thousand five hundred horse, and received the coveted distinction of a flag and a drum Two years later in the 25th year he served again before Qandahar, and was made on Shahjahan's arrival in Kabul a commander of 3,500, three thousand horse with the title of *Shujā'at Khān* In the 26th year, he served under Dara Shikoh before Qandahar, and with Rustam Khān Bahadur at Bust He died soon after He had a son of the name of Muhammad Sa'id

236 Mir Tahir i Mūsawī

He is not to be confounded with Nos 94, 111, and 201. According to the *Tabaqāt*, Mir Tahir is 'the brother of Mirzā Yūsuf Pazawī (No 37), and was distinguished for his bravery' It would thus appear that Abu l Fazl makes no difference between the terms *Razawī* and *Mūsawī* (*vide* p 414 under No 61)

237 Mirza 'Ali Beg, 'Alamshāhi

He is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* among the grandees who accompanied Mun'im to Bengal and Orīsā and took part in the battle of Takaro i (p 406) After the outbreak of the Bengal Military revolt, he joined a conspiracy made by Mir Zaki 'Abdi Kor, Shihab i Badakhshī, and Kujak Yasāwul, to go over to the rebels The plot, however, was discovered, they were all imprisoned but Mir Zaki alone was executed *Akbarnāma*, III 262

His epithet *'Alamshāhi* is not clear to me

He must not be confounded with the more illustrious

[Mīrza ʿAlī Beg i Akbarshahī] [1]

He was born in Badakhshan, and is said to have been a highly educated man When he came to India he received the title of *Akbarshāhī* In the 30th year, he commanded the Ahadis on Shahrukh's expedition to Kashmīr (p 535)

Later, he served under Prince Murad in the Dakhin When the prince, after making peace, returned from Ahmadnagar, Sadiq Khan (No 43) occupied Mahkar But new disturbances broke out under the Dakhin leaders, Azhdar Khan and ʿĀyn Khan, against whom Sadiq sent a corps under M ʿAlī Beg He suddenly fell on them and routed them, carrying off much plunder and many dancing girls (*zanān i akhara*) In consequence of this defeat, Khudawand Khan and other Amirs of the Nizāmshah marched against the Imperialists with 10,000 horse, but Sadiq and M A B defeated them In the 43rd year, M A B took Fort Rahūtara (راهوتره) near Dawlatābad, after a siege of one month, occupied, in the same year, Patan on the Godavari and took Fort Lohgadh "Both forts," says the author of the *Maʾāsir*, "have, from want of water, become uninhabitable (*mismar shuda*) and are so to this day" Later, M A B served under Abu 'l Fazl, and distinguished himself in the conquest of Ahmadnagar In the 46th year he received a drum and a flag, and continued to serve, under the Khankhanan, in the Dakhin

In the beginning of Jahāngir's reign, he was made a commander of 4 000, jagirdar of Sambhal, and governor of Kashmir He served in the pursuit of Khusraw (*Tuzuk*, p 30) Later, he received a *tuyul* in Audh When Jahāngir went to Ajmir, he went to Court One day, he paid a visit to the tomb of Muʿinᵘ 'd Din i Chishti On seeing the tomb of Shahbāz Khān (p 439), he stooped down, and embracing it, exclaimed "Oh! he was an old friend of mine" The same moment, he fell forward a corpse, and was buried at the same spot (22nd *Rabīʿ* I, 1025)

It is said that he kept few soldiers and servants, but paid them well In his habits he was an epicurean He was looked upon as a great patron of the learned He died childless, at the age of seventy five (*Tuzuk*, p 163)

238 **Ram Das, the Kachwaha**

His father was a poor man of the name of Ordat (اوردت), and lived at Lūni (or Bauli, *vide* p 435) Ram Das was at first in the service of Rāy Sal Darbārī (No 106) and was recommended by him to the Emperor

[1] The *Tuzuk* (p 11) says he belonged to the *ulus i Dihli* a very doubtful term as he belonged to Badakhshan Perhaps we have to read *ulus i duldaj* (p 422)

His faithfulness was almost proverbial In the 17th year, when Todar Mal was ordered to assist Mun'im in Bihar, he was made his nā'ib in the Financial Department, and gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and diligence He amassed a fortune, and though he had a palace at Āgra near Hatiyapul he lived in the guard house, "always watching with his 200 Rājpūts, spear in hand "

Immediately before Akbar's death he put his men over the treasures of the palace with a yiew to preserve them for the lawful heir Jahāngīr, with whom he stood in high favour, sent him in the 6th year, with 'Abdu 'llāh Khan to Gujrāt and the Dakhin, and gave him the title of Rāja and a flag, Rantanbhur being assigned to him as jāgīr (*Tuzuk*, p 98) It seems that he received the title of *Rāja Karan* After the defeat of the Imperialists Jahangir wished to make an example of the Amirs who had brought disgrace on the Imperial arms He ordered their pictures to be drawn, and taking the portraits one after the other into his hand, abused each Amir right royally Looking at Rām Das's portrait, he said " Now, when thou wert in Ray Sal's service, thou hadst a tanka *per diem* , but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir Do not Rajpūts think flight a disgraceful thing ? Alas ! thy title, Rāja Karan, ought to have taught thee better Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith ' Ram Das was immediately sent to Bangash where, in the same year, he died (1022) When Jāhangir heard of his death, he said " My curse has come true , for the Hindūs believe that a man who dies beyond the Indus will go straight to hell "

He was a liberal man and gave rich presents to jesters and singers

His eldest son *Naman Das*, in the 48th year of Akbar's reign left the Court without permission and went home At the request of his father, Shah Quli Khan's men were to bring him back to Court by force But Naman defied them , a struggle ensued and he was killed Ram Das was so grieved that Akbar paid him a visit of condolence

His second son, *Dalap Dās*, had the same character as his father , but he died young

In the *Tuzuk* (p 312) a villa near a spring called Inch ([illegible]), between Banpur[1] and Kakapur in Kashmir is mentioned which Akbar had given Ram Das Vide also *Tuzuk* p 39 l 3

[illegible] Muhammad Khan Niyazi

Abu'l Fazl ranks him among the commanders of 500 Under Jahangir he rose to a command of 2 000 Like Mirza Rustam Safawi and Abū

[[1] Panipur ?—B]

'l-Hasan Turbatī, he refused a title, for he said that his name was Muhammad, than which no better name existed

He served under Shāhbāz Khān (No 80) in Bengal, and distinguished himself in the fights near the Brahmaputra It is said that Shāhbāz was so anxious to retain his services, that he gave him a lac of rupees *per annum* Later, he served, under the Khānkhānān in the conquest of Thathah, and inflicted the final blow on Mirzā Jānī Beg (No 47) near Lakhī,[1] where he obtained a signal victory, though far outnumbered by the enemies From that time, the Khankhānān was his friend

Under Jahāngīr, he took a leading part in the Dakhin wars, especially in the fights with Malik ʿAmbar near Kharkī, a famous battlefield (*vide* note to No 255), and continued to serve there under Prince Shahjahān

He died in 1037 The *tārīkh* of his death is محمد خان اولیا بمرد, "Muhammad Khān, the saint, is dead" He was a man of great piety His day was carefully divided, religious exercises, the reading of commentaries on the Qur'ān, conversing with holy men, sleeping and eating each had its fixed time Nor did he ever depart from his routine except on the march He never neglected the ablution (*wuzū*) prescribed by the law People told many miraculous stories (*khauāriq*) of him

During his long stay in the Dakhin he held Āshtī (in the Warda district) as jāgir, and made it his home He adorned the town with several mosques, houses, and gardens "At present," says the author of the *Maʿāsir*, "there is only one of his hundred houses left, the store house where his lamps were kept, the whole town and the neighbourhood are deserted, and do not yield a tenth part of the old revenue Even among his descendants there is none left that may be called a man of worth (*kas ī na-mānd ki rushd ī dāshta bāshad*)" [2]

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[1] [illegible]

His ancestors were [illegible]
wl [illegible]
in [illegible]
of [illegible]
Nawab Wahid Khan one of its representatives in Āshtī the powers of an honorary magistrate

[2] *Karanja* A small octroi town in the Ārvi tahsil of the Warda district It was founded some 200 years by Nawab Muhammad Khan Niyazi of Āshti Extracts from C Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India* second edition 1870 pp 7 and 236

He was buried in Ashti People often pray at his tomb

The men of his contingent were mostly Niyazi Afghans If one of them died he gave a month's pay to his family or if he had no children half a month's pay to his heirs

His son Ahmad Khan Niyazi was in the 20th year of Shahjahan's reign a commander of 2 500 (*Padishahnama* II 386 725)

240 Abu l Muzaffar son of Ashraf Khan (No 74)

From the *Akbarnama* (III 248) we see that in the 24th year (987) he was stationed in Chanderi and Narwar and was ordered to assist in suppressing the Bihar rebels (III 273) In the 28th year he served in Gujrat (III 423) and *Badaoni* II (323) *Vide* also under No 74

241 Khwajagi Muhammad Husayn Mir Barr

He was the younger brother of Qasim Khan (No 59) and had the title of *Mir Barr* in contradistinction to that of his brother He came in the 5th year with Munʿim (No 11) from Kabul to India When dissensions broke out between Ghani Khan Munʿim's son and Haydar Muhammad Khan Akhtabegi (No 66) whom Munʿim had left as his *na'ib* in Kabul Haydar was called to Court and Abu l Fath [1] son of Munʿim's brother was sent there to assist Ghani Muhammad Husayn accompanied Abu l Fath He remained a long time in Kabul After his return to India he accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kashmir His honesty and punctuality made him a favourite with the Emperor and he was appointed *Mir Bakawal* (master of the Imperial kitchen) and was also made a commander of 1 000

In the 5th year of Jahangir he officiated for Hashim (No 226) as governor of Kashmir On Hashim's arrival he returned to Court and died in the end of the 7th year (1021 *Tuzuk* p 114)

He had no children The *Tuzuk* says that he was quite bald and had neither moustache nor beard His voice was shrill like that of a eunuch

242 ʿAbu l Qasim brother of ʿAbu l Qadir Akhund

He is not to be confounded with Nos 199 and 251 *Badaoni* (II 393) calls him a native of Tabriz and says that his brother was Akbar's teacher (*akhund*) In 991 Abu l Qasim was made Diwan of Gujrat

243 Qamar Khan son of Mir ʿAbdu l Latif of Qazwin (No 161)

He served under Munʿim (No 11) in Bengal and was present in the battle of Takaroi (p 406) In the 22nd year he served under Shihab

[1] Abu l Fath who on p 333 has erroneously been called ʿAbdu l Fath was the son of Fazl Beg Munʿim's brother *Badaoni* III 56 has *Fazl Beg* but the *Akbarnama* and the *Maʾasir* have *Fazl* [illegible]

in Gujrāt (*Akbarn* , III, 190) and in the 24th year under Toḍar Mal in Bihār In the 25th year he took part in the battle near Sultanpur Bilharī[1] (p 400, and *Akbarn* , III, 305)

His son, Kawkab, fell into disgrace under Jahangir for some fault He was flogged and imprisoned Regarding his restoration to favour, *vide Tuzuk*, p 219

244 **Arjum Singh,**
245 **Sabal Singh,** } sons of Raja Mān Singh (No 30)
246 **Ṣakat Singh,**

Some MSS have *Durjan*[2] instead of *Arjun* The name of Sakat Singh, moreover, recurs again at No 342 There is little doubt that at the latter place we should read *Himmat Singh*, though all MSS have *Sakat*

Nor is it clear why Abū 'l Fazl has not entered the name of Bhā,o Singh, who at Akbar's death was a commander of 1 000, and was gradually promoted during Jahāngir's reign to a mansab of 5,000 Like his elder brother Jagat Singh (No 160), he died from excessive drinking (1030). His name often occurs in the *Tuzuk*

Arjun Singh, Sabal Singh, and Sakat Singh, served in the 37th year in the conquest of Orisā Sakat Singh, in the 26th year (989), had served in Kābul They died before their father

Himmat Singh distinguished himself under his father in the wars with the Afghāns

Col J C Brooke in his *Political History of the State of Jeypore* (Selections from the Records, Government of India, Foreign Department, No LXV, 1868) mentions six sons of Man Singh, Jagat, Arjun, Himmat, Sakat, Bhīm, and Kalyān Singh The last two are not mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor are Bha,o and Sabal mentioned by Brooke *Vide*, " A Chapter from Muhammadan History," in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871

246 **Muṣṭafa Ghilzi**

A Sayyid Mustafa is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 416) He served in the 28th year in Gujrat, and was present in the battle near Maisāna, 18 *kos* S E of Patan, in which Sher Khan Fuladi was defeated

247 **Nazar Khan, son of Saʿid Khan, the Gakkhar**

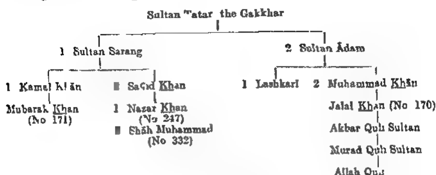
A brother of his is mentioned below, No 232 *Vide* Nos 170, 171

[1 Or Bilahri —B]

[2] The Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnama* (III, 642) has also *Durjan* and (by mistake) *Sil* for *Sabal* Singh The Subhan Singh mentioned in the same passage, would also appear to be a son of Man Singh

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Nazar Beg son of Saʿīd Khān, and says that in 1001 he was a Hazārī

Mughul historians give the following tree of the Gakkhar chiefs —



Jalal Khan was killed in 1620 (15th year) in Bangash and his son Akbar Quli, who then served at Kangra, was made a commander of 1,000, and sent to Bangash (*Tuzuk*, pp 307, 308)

Jahāngīr, after the suppression of Khusraw's revolt passed on his way to Kabul through the Gakkhar district (*Tuzuk*, pp 47, 48) He left the Bahat (1st Muharram, 1016) and came to Fort Rohtās, the cost of which he states to have been 161,000 000 dams, "which is equal to 4 025 000 rupees in Hindūstani money, or 120 000 Persian tumans, or 1 *arb*, 2,175,000 silver Halis of Turani money" After a march of 4½ *kos*, he came to Ṭila, *tila* in the Gakkhar dialect meaning "a hill" He then came to Dih Bhakrala *bhakrā* meaning "forest" The way from Tila to Bhakra passes along the bed of the Kahan river, the banks of which are full of *kanir*[1] flowers He then came to Hatya which was built by a Gakkhar of the name of Hathi (mentioned in Mr Delmerick's History of the Gakkhars, *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1871) The district from Margala to Hatyā is called Pothwār, and from Rohtās to Hatya dwell the Bhūgiyals, a tribe related to the Gakkhars From Hatya, he marched 4½ *kos* and reached *Pakka* so called because it has a "*pucca*" sarai Four and a half *kos* further on, he came to Kurar, which means in the Gakkhar dialect "rugged" He then went to Rawalpindi, which is said to have been built by a Hindū of the name Rāwal, *pindī* meaning "a village", and gives a few curious particulars regarding the river and the pool of the place From Rāwalpindi he went to Kharbūza, where a dome may be seen which has the shape of a melon (*kharbūza*) The Gakkhars used

[1 *Kanir* probably *kaner* = 'a species of oleander' —P]

formerly to collect tolls there He then came to the Kalapānī, and to the Margala pass, *mar* meaning 'killing' and *gala* "a caravan" Here ends the country of the Gakkhars They are a brutish race, always at feud with each other I asked them to live in peace, but they will not '[1]

The *Pādishāhnāma* (II, 240 264, 266 722 733 740) mentions several Gakkhar chiefs —

1 Akbar Quli Sultan, a commander of 1,500 1,500 horse, died in the 18th year of Shahjahan's reign His son Murād Quli Sultān was under Shahjahān a commander of 1,500, 1 000 horse (*Padishāhn*, II, 410, 485, 512, 523, 565 595, 655, 730)

2 Jabbar Quli (brother of Jalal Khān)[2] 1,000, 800 horse

3 Khizr Sultan (son of Nazar Khan),[2] 800, 500 horse died in the 12th year Shahj 's reign

The *Padishahnāma* (I, p 432) mentions these Gakkhars' mules as famous

The *Ma'āsir i 'Alamgīrī* (p 155) also mentions Murad Quli and his son Allah Quli Allah Quli's daughter was married to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Awrangzib, on the 3rd Rajab 1087

248 Ram Chand, son of Madhukar [Bundela]

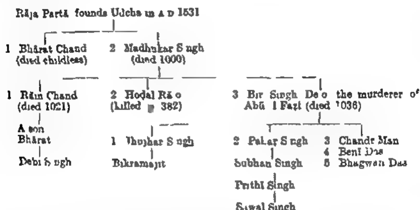
He is also called *Rām Sāh* and was mentioned on p 356 He was introduced at court by Sadiq Khān (No 43), when Akbar was in Kashmīr (1000) In the first year of Jahangir's reign we find him in rebellion, evidently because his right of succession was rendered doubtful by the predilection of the emperor for Bir Singh De o, Ram Chand's younger brother In the end of the first year, he was attacked by 'Abdu 'llah Khan, who moved his jāgir from Kalpi to Udcha On the 27th Zi Qa'da, 1015, Ram Chand was brought fettered to court, but Jahāngir had his fetters taken off, gave him a dress of honour, and handed him over to Raja Basū of Dhamerī "He never thought that he would be treated so kindly" (*Tuzuk*, p 42) But Udcha was handed over to Bir Singh De,o as a reward for the murder of Abū 'l Fazl

[1] For the geographical details of this passage I am indebted to Mr J G Delmerick The *Tuzuk* has *Pila* for *Tila*, *Bhakra* for *Bhakrala* and the Persian word *khāna* for *kahan* (کهان) the name of the river near *Bhakrala*—a most extraordinary mistake, *kor* for *Kurar* or *G ra* a village near Manikyala *Ponhuhār* for *Pothwar* Mr Delmerick als[illegible]
is t[illegible]
be[illegible]
an[illegible]
an[illegible]
it[illegible]

In the 4th year of his reign (1018), Jahāngīr married Ram Chand's daughter at the request of her father (*vide Tuzuk* p 77, and also No 225, note)

He appears to have died in 1021, and was succeeded by his son Bharat Singh *Tuzuk*, p 112

Muhammadan historians give the following tree of the Ūdcha Bundelas —



The *Ma'ā̄sir* contains biographical notes of nearly all of them *Vide* also Thornton's *Gazetteer*, under *Oorcha*

Beni Das and Bhagwān Das were killed by a Rājpūt in the 13th year of Shahjahan's reign They held commands of 500, 200 horse, and 1,000, 600 horse, respectively

Chandr Man was in the 20th year of Sh a commander of 1 500, 800 horse

Vide Pādishāhnāma, I, 172 (where another Bundela of the name of Suhk Dev is mentioned), 205, 241, 368, 372, 425, II, 731, 734

The *Ma'āsir i ʿĀlamgīrī* mentions several Bundelas as Satr Sal, Jāswant Singh, Indarman (*died* 1088) and the rebellious sons of Champat (*l.c*, pp 161, 163 169, 273, 424) *Vide* also under No 219

Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abū 'l Fazl is often called in bad MSS *Nar* Singh Deo Thus also in the printed editions of the *Tuzuk*, the 1st volume of *Pādishāhnāma* the ʿĀlamgīrnāma, etc, and in Elphinstone's History The temples which he built in Mathurā at a cost of 33 lacs of rupees, were destroyed by Awrangzīb in 1080 (*Ma'āsir i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p 95)[1]

[1] The Dutch traveller De Laet has an interesting passage regarding Abu l Fazl's death (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis* Leyden 1631, p. 209) He calls Bir Singh *Radzia Bertzingh Bondela.*

219 : Raja Mukatman, the Bhadauriya

Bhadawar is the name of a district S E of Āgra, its chief town is Hatkanth (*vide* p 311, note 4) The inhabitants are called Bhadauryas They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, they managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted

The next chief, Mukatman, entered the imperial service, and rose to a mansab of 1,000 In 992, he served in Gujrat (*Akbarnama*, III, 423, 438)

Under Jahāngir, we find a chief of the name of Rāja Bikramājit, who served under *ʿAbdu 'llāh against the Rāna, and later in the Dakhin* He died in the 11th year of Jahāngir and was succeeded by his son Bhoj Sayyid Ahmad s edition of the *Tuzuk* (p 108) mentions a Bhadaurya chief Mangat, who in the 7th year served in Bangash, but the name is doubtful

Under Shāhjahān, the head of the Bhadauriya clan was Raja Kishn Singh He served in the first year under Mahābat Khān against Jhujhar Singh, and in the 3rd year against Khan Jahan Lodi and the Nizāmu 'l Mulk, who had afforded Khān Jahān protection In the 6th year, he distinguished himself in the siege of Dawlatabad Three years later, in the 9th year, he served under Khān Zamān against Sahū Bhōnsla He died in the 17th year (1053)

In the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, 309) he is mentioned as a commander of 1 000, 600 horse

As Kishn Singh had only a son by a concubine, he was succeeded by Badan Singh,[1] grandson of Kishn s uncle He was made a Rāja and a commander of 1,000 In the 21st year, at a darbār a *mast* elephant ran up to him, took up one of his men with its tusks when Badan Singh stuck his dagger into the animal, which, frightened as it was at the same time by a fire wheel, dropped the unfortunate man Shāhjahān rewarded the bravery of the Raja with a *khilʿat*, and remitted 50 000 Rs out of the 2 lacs which was the assessment of the Bhadawar district In the 22nd year he was made a commander of 1 500 In the 25th year he served under Awrangzib, and in the 26th under Dāra Shikoh, before Qandahār, where in the following year he died

His son Maha Singh was then made a Raja and received a mansab of 1,000, 800 horse He served in the 28th year in Kabul After Dāra's defeat he paid his respects to Awrangzib, in whose reign he served against

[1] So *Pādishāhnāma* II, 732 The *Maʿāsir* calls him Bad Singh or Bud Singh.

the Bundela rebels In the 10th year he served under Kāmil Khān against the Yūsufza'is He died in the 26th year

He was succeeded by his son Odat Singh (*vide Ma'āsir i ʿĀlamgīrī*, p 226 and p 228, where the Bibl Ind edition has wrongly *Rūdar* Singh for *Odat* S) He had before served under Jai Singh in the Dakhin, and was in the 24th year made commandant of Chītor (*l c*, p 196)

250 **Raja Ram Chandr**, zamindār of Orisā

Regarding him, *vide* Stirling's report of Orisā, *Asiatic Researches*, vol xv His name occurs often in the narrative of Mān Singh's conquest of Orisa (37th year of Akbar s reign)

The province of Khurda (South Orisā) was conquered and annexed to the Dihlī empire by Mukarram Khān (*vide* No 260), in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign (*Tuzuk*, p 215)

251 **Sayyid Abū 'l Qāsim**, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mīr ʿAdl (No 140)

He served in the 25th year (998) in Bihār, and in the battle of Sultānpūr Bilharī, also, in the 33rd year, against the Yūsufzā'is

The Tārīkh Maʿsumī (Dowson, *Elliot's Historians*, I, p 243) gives earlier but perhaps more correct dates regarding the appointment to Bhakkar and the death *of the Mīr* ʿAdl, *viz* his arrival at Bhakkar, 11th Ramazan 983, and his death there, 8th Shaʿbān, 984 (October, 1576) He was succeeded by his son Abu l Fazl, who is not mentioned in the Ā'in On the 9th Zi 'l hijjah, 985 (Feb , 1578), Iʿtimād (No 119) *arrived* at Bhakkar

252 **Dalpat**, son of Rāy Ray Singh

He has been mentioned above, p 386

XVIII Commanders of Four Hundred

253 **Shaykh Fayzī**, son of Shaykh Mubārak of Nāgor

The name of this great poet and friend of Akbar was Abū 'l Fayz Fayzī in his *takhallus* Towards the end of his life in imitation of the form of the *takhallus* of his brother *ʿAllāmī* he assumed the name of *Fayyāzī*

Fayzi was the eldest son of Shaykh Mubarak of Nāgor Shaykh Mubārak (*vide* pp 178, 195, 207, 219) traced his origin to an Arabian dervish from Yaman, who in the 9th century of the Hijrah had settled in Sīwistān, where he married In the 10th century, Mubārak's father went to Hindūstan and settled at Nāgor Several of his children having died one after the other, he called his next child *Mubārak* He was born in 911 When a young man, Mubārak went to Gujrāt and studied under

Khaṭīb Abū 'l Fazl of Kāzarūn and Mawlānā ᶜImād of Lāristān In 950, Mubārak settled at Agra It is said that he often changed his religious opinions Under Islam Shah, he was a Mahdawī, and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign, he then became a Naqshbandī, then a Hamadānī, and lastly, when the court was full of Persians he inclined to Shīᶜism But whatever his views may have been, the education which he gave his sons Fayzī and Abū 'l Fazl, the greatest writers that India has produced, shows that he was a man of comprehensive genius Shaykh Mubarak wrote a commentary to the Qurʾān, in four volumes, entitled *Mambaᶜᵘ 'l ᶜuyūn*,[1] and another work of the title of *Jawāmiᶜᵘ 'l kalām* Towards the end of his life he suffered from partial blindness, and died at Lāhor, on the 17th Zī Qaᶜda, 1001, at the age of 90 years The *tārīkh* of his death will be found in the words *Shaykh-i kāmil*

Shaykh Fayzī was born at Āgra in 954 His acquirements in Arabic Literature, the art of poetry, and in medicine, were very extensive He used to treat poor people gratis One day he appeared with his father before Shaykh ᶜAbdᵘ 'n Nabī, the Sadr (p 282), and applied for a grant of 100 bīghas, but he was not only refused, but also turned out of the hall with every contumely on account of his tendencies to Shīᶜism But Fayzī's literary fame reached Akbar's ears, and in the 12th year, when Akbar was on the expedition to Chitor, he was called to court Fayzī's bigoted enemies in Āgra interpreted the call as a summons before a judge and warned the governor of the town not to let Fayzī escape He therefore ordered some Mughuls to surround Mubārak's house, but accidentally Fayzī was absent from home Mubarak was ill treated, and when Fayzī at last came, he was carried off by force But Akbar received him most favourably, and Fayzī in a short time became the emperor's constant companion and friend He was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Shaykh Abdᵘ 'n Nabī

In the 30th year he planned a *Khamsa*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the Khamsa of Niẓāmī The first, *Markizᵘ 'l-adwār*, was to consist of 3,000 verses, and was to be a *jawāb* (imitation) of Niẓāmī's *Makhzanᵘ 'l-asrār*, the *Sulaymān o Bilqīs* and the *Nal Daman* were to consist of 4,000 verses each, and were to be *jawābs* of the *Khusraw Shīrīn* and *Layla Majnūn* respectively, and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5,000 verses, were to correspond to the *Haft Paykar* and the *Sikandarnāma* In the 33rd year he was made *Malikᵘ 'sh Shuᶜarā*,

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[1] Badā,onī (III, 74) calls it *Manbaᶜᵘ nafāʾisᶦ 'l ᶜuyūn*

or Poet Laureate (*Akbarn*, III, 559) Though he had composed portions of the Khamsa, the orignal plan was not carried out, and in the 39th year Akbar urged him to persevere, and recommended the completion of the Nal Daman Fayzī thereupon finished the poem and presented, in the same year, a copy of it to his imperial master

Fayzī suffered from asthma, and died on the 10th Safar, 1004 (40th year) The *tārīkh* of his death is *Fayyāz i ʿAjam* It is said that he composed 101 books The best known, besides his poetical works, are the *Sawāti" 'l Ilhām*, and the *Mawārid" 'l Kalām*, regarding which *vide* below the poetical extracts His fine library, consisting of 4,300 choice MSS, was embodied with the imperial library

Fayzi had been employed as teacher to the princes, sometimes he also acted as ambassador Thus, in 1000, he was in the Dakhin, from where he wrote the letter to the historian Badā,onī, who had been in temporary disgrace at court

Vide also pp 112, 113, 192, 194, 207, 216, 218, and *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, pp 137, 142

254 **Hakim Miṣrī.**

According to Bada,onī (III, 165) Hakīm Miṣrī was a very learned man and a clever doctor He also composed poems A satire of his is mentioned which he wrote against Khwaja Shams" 'd Dīn Khawāfī (No 159) He died in Burhānpūr and was buried there

Miṣrī is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*, III, p 629, and p 843 In the latter passage, Abū 'l Fazl mentions his death (middle of 1009), and states that he saw his friend on the deathbed It is impossible to reconcile Abū 'l Fazl's date with Badā onī s statement, for Bādā,onī died in 1004 (*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1869, p 143) But both Abū 'l Fazl and Badā,onī speak of the Hakīm as a man of a most amiable and unselfish character

255 **Irij, son of Mirzā Khānkhānān (No 29)**

He was mentioned on p 339 During the reign of Jahāngīr he was made Ṣūbadār of Barār and Ahmadnagar He greatly distinguished himself during several fights with Malik ʿAmbar, especially as Kharkī,[1]

master (*Akbarnāma*, III, 345), in the 30th year (993) he served in Kabul (III, 487, 490) In the 32nd year he distinguished himself under ʿAbdᵘ 'l Matlab (No 83) against the Tārīkīs (III, p 541)

In the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* he is wrongly called ʿAli Muhammad *Alif*

259 **Mirzā Muhammad**

A Mirza Muhammad was mentioned on p 399

260 **Shaykh Bayazīd** [Muʿazzam Khān], grandson of Shaykh Salim of Fathpūr Sikri

Bayazid s mother nursed Prince Salim (Jahangir) on the day he was born (*Tuzuk*, p 13) In the 40th year of Akbar s reign he was a commander of 400 and gradually rose to a command of 2,000 After Jahāngir's accession he received a mansab of 3,000 and the title of Muʿazzam Khān Soon after he was made Sūbahdar of Dihli (*l c*, p 37), and in the 3rd year a commander of 4 000, 2,000 horse On his death he was buried at Fathpūr Sikrī (*l c*, p 262)

His son Mukarram Khān was son in law to Islam Khān Shaykh ʿAlaᵘ 'd Din (another grandson of Shaykh Salim), under whom he served in Bengal [1] He distinguished himself in the expedition to Kūch Hajū, and brought the zamindār Parichhit before the governor [2] At the death of his father in law, Muhtashim Khan Shaykh Qasim, brother of Islam Khān, was made governor of Bengal, and Mukarram Khan continued for one year in his office as governor of Kūch Hajū, but as he could not agree with Qasim he went to court

Later he was made governor of Orīsā, and conquered the province of Khurdah (*l c*, pp 214, 215) for which he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse He seems to have remained in Orisā till the 11th year (1029) when Hasan ʿAli Turkman was sent there as governor (*Tuzuk*, p 308) In the 16th year M Kh came to court and was made Sūbadar of Dihli and Fawjdar of Mewat (*l c*, p 352)

Hoshi [illegible]

tingu [illegible]

In the 21st year he was sent to Bengal as governor *vice* Khanazad Khan He travelled by boat One day he ordered his ship to be moved to the bank, as he wished to say the afternoon prayer, when a sudden gale broke forth, during which he and his companions were drowned

261 Ghaznin Khan, of Jalor

Ghaznin Khan was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 400 He is mentioned in the *Padishahnāma* (I 167)[1] as having served during the reign of Jahangir against the Rana

Bird in his *History of Gujrāt* (pp 124, 405), calls him *Ghaznawī Khan* and *Ghaznī Khān* and says he was the son of Malik Khanji Jalori Ghaznin Khan seems to have been inclined to join the insurrection of Sultan Muzaffar The Khankhānan on the 9th Muharram, 998, sent a detachment against Jalor, but perceiving that he was not in a fit condition to offer resistance, Ghaznin went submissively to court The emperor took compassion on him and confirmed him in his hereditary possessions

His son Pahar was executed by Jahangir "When I came to Dih Qazyan, near Ujjain, I summoned Pahar This wretch had been put by me, after the death of his father, in possession of the Fort and the district of Jalor, his ancestral home He is a young man and was often checked by his mother for his bad behaviour Annoyed at this, he entered with some of his companions her apartments, and killed her I investigated the case found him guilty, and had him executed" (Ṣafar, 1025 *Tuzuk*, p 174)

Another son of Ghaznin Khan is Nizam who died in the 6th year of Shahjahan's reign He was a commander of 900, 550 horse (*Pādishāhn*, I b 313)

Ghaznin's brother Firuz was a commander of 600, 400 horse and died in the 4th year (*Pādishāhn*, I, b 319)

The *Pādishahnāma* (II, 739) mentions also a Mujahid of Jalor, who in the 20th year of Shahjahan s reign was a commander of 800, 800 horse

262 Kijak Khwaja son of Khwaja ʿAbdu 'llah

The first volume of the *Akbarnāma* (p 411) mentions a Kijak Khwaja among the grandees who accompanied Humayun to India The third

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[1] Wrongly called in the Bibl Indica Edition of the *Pādishāhnāma* (I 167) Ghazali Khān.

Ghaznin s *jāgīr* before Akbar s conquest of Gujrāt as detailed by Bird (p. 124) includes portions of Nāgor and Murtha and fixes the revenue at nearly 1[illegible] lacs of rupees with 7 000 horse. This can only have been nominal Abu 'l Fazl in his description of Ṣuba Ajmir IIIrd book mentions 3½ lacs of rupees with 2 000 horse as the *jamaʿ* of Jālor and Sānchor (S W of Jalor)

volume of the same work (p 470) mentions a Kijak Khwāja, who in 993 served against Qutlū Lohānī in Bengal *Vide* No 109

263 Sher Khān Mughul

264 Fath[u] 'llah, son of Muhammad Wafā

He appears to be the Fath[u] llah mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 825) as the *sharbatdār* of the emperor Akbar made him an Amīr For some fault he was sent to the Dakhin, but as he got ill, he was recalled He recovered and went on sick leave to Māndu where he died (1008)

265 Ray Manohar, son of Raja Lōkaran

Raja Lōkaran belonged to the Shaykhāwat branch of the Kachhwāhas He served, in the 21st year, under Man Singh, against the Ranā, and went in the same year with Raja Bir Bar to Dongarpūr,[1] the zamindār of which wished to send his daughter to Akbar's harem In the 24th year he served under Todar Mal in Bihar, and in the 24th year under the Khān Khanān in Gujrat

Manohar, in the 22nd year, reported to the emperor on his visit to Amber that in the neighbourhood an old town existed the site of which was marked by huge mounds of stone Akbar encouraged him to rebuild it, and laid the foundation himself The new settlement was called Mol Manoharnagar[2] In the 45th year he was appointed with Ray Durga Lal (No 103) to pursue Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā (p 516), who was caught by Khwaja Wasi

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr's reign he served under Prince Parwiz against the Rāna, and was made, in the 2nd year, a commander of 1,500, 600 horse (*Tuzuk*, p 64) He served long in the Dakhin and died in the 11th year

His son Prithī Chānd received after the death of his father the title of Ray, and was made a commander of 500, 300 horse (*l c*, p 160)

Manohar wrote Persian verses, and was called at court Mirzā Manohar, *vide* my article, "A Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871

266 Khwaja ʿAbd[u] 's Samad, Shīrin qalam (sweet pen)

He is not to be confounded with No 353

Khwaja ʿAbd[u] 's Ṣamad was a Shirazī His father Khwāja Nizām[u]

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[1] [illegible]

[2] The maps give a Manoharpur north of Amber about Lat 27° 20'

l Mulk was Vazīr to Shāh Shujā' of Shīraz Before Humāyūn left Īrān he went to Tabrīz, where 'Abd^u s Samad paid his respects He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist Humāyūn invited him to come to him and though then unable to accompany the emperor, he followed him in 956 to Kabul

Under Akbar 'A was a commander of 400, but low as his *mansab* was, he had great influence at court In the 22nd year he was in charge of the mint at Fathpūr Sīkrī (*Akbarnāma*, III, 195), and in the 31st year, when the officers were redistributed over the several sūbas, he was appointed Dīwan of Multan

As an instance of his skill it is mentioned that he wrote the *Sūrat^u 'l ikhlās* (Qur'an, Sur CXII) on a poppy seed (*danah y khashkhāsh*) *Vide* p 114

For his son, *vide* No 351

267 Silhadi, son of Raja Bihari Mal (No 23)

268 Ram Chand Kachhwāha

Vide p 422

[Ram Chand Chauhan] The *Ma'āsir* says that he was the son of Badal Singh, and a commander of 500 In the 17th year he served under M 'Azīz Koka (No 21) in Gujrāt, and in the 26th year under Sultān Murād against M Muhammad Hakim, king of Kabul. In the 28th year he was under M Shāhrukh in the Dakhin In the fight, in which Rāja 'Ali of Khandesh fell, R Ch received twenty wounds and fell from his horse Next day he was found still alive He died a few days later (41st year, 1005)

269 Bahadur Khan Qūrdār

He served in the beginning of the 18th year in Gujrāt (*Akbarnāma*, III, 25), in the 26th in Kabul (*l c*, 333) and in the siege of Āsīr (1008)

The *Padishāhnāma* (I, b, pp 311, 315) mentions Ababakr and 'Usman, sons of Bahadur Khan Qūrbegi, who seems to be the same officer They died in the 8th and 9th years of Shāhjahān

270 Banka, the Kachhwaha

He served in the 26th year in Kabul (*Akbarn*, III, 333) His son Haridi Ram was under Shahjahān a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse and died in the 9th of his reign

XIX Commanders of Three Hundred and Fifty

271	Mīrzā Abu Sa'īd	sons of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā
272	Mīrza Sanjar	

They were mentioned above on p 326 Mirzā Sanjar is not to be confounded with the Mirzā Sankar mentioned on p 533, note 1.

273 ʿAli Mardan Bahādur

The *Tabaqāt* mentions him as having been in 984 (21st year) at court, from where he was sent to Qulij Khān (No 42) at Īdar, who was to go to Gujrāt to see the ships off which under Sultān Khwaja (No 108) were on the point of leaving for Makkah Later he served under the Khān Khānān in Sind,[1] and in the 41st year in the Dakhin Subsequently, he commanded the Talingana corps In the 46th year, he marched to Pathrī to assist Sher Khwaja (No 176) when he heard that Bahādur Khān Gilāni whom he had left with a small detachment in Talingana, had been defeated He returned and attacked the enemies who were much stronger than he, his men fled and he himself was captured In the same year Abū 'l Fazl made peace, and ʿAlī Mardan was set at liberty In the 47th year he served with distinction under Mirzā Īrij (No 255) against Malik ʿAmbar

In the 7th year of Jahāngir's reign he was attached to the corps commanded by ʿAbd[u] 'llāh Khān Firuz jang, who had been ordered to move with the Gujrāt army over Nasik into the Dakhin, in order to co-operate with the second army corps under Khan Jahan Lodi ʿAbd[u] 'llah entered the hostile territory without meeting the second army, and returned towards Gujrat, now pursued by the enemies In one of the fights which ensued, ʿA M was wounded and captured He was taken before Malik ʿAmbar and though the doctors did everything to save him he died two days later of his wounds, in 1021 A H (*Tuzuk*, p 108)

His son Karam[u] llāh served under Jahāngir (*Tuzuk*, p 269) and was under Shahjahan a commander of 1,000, 1 000 horse He was for some time commandant of Fort Odgir, and died in the 21st year of Shāhj 's reign

274 Raza Quli, son of Khan Jahan (No 24)

Vide above p 351

275 Shaykh Khubu [Qutb[u] 'd Din Khan i Chishti] of Fathpur Sikri

His father was a Shaykhzada of Bada on and his mother a daughter of Shaykh Salim Khubū was a foster brother of Jahangir[2] When the prince was at Ilahabād in rebellion against Akbar, he conferred upon Khūbū the title of Qutb[u] 'd Din Khan, and made him Subadār of Bihār

[1] *Vide* Dowson *Elliot's Historians* I p 248

[2] Jahangir says that Khubu's mother was dearer to him than his own mother

On his accession he made him Ṣūbadār of Bengal, *vice* Mān Singh (9th Jumāda I, 1015, *Tuzuk*, p 37)

At that time, Sher Afkan ʿAlī Quli Istajlū (*vide* No 394) was tuyūldār of Bardwan, and as his wife Mihrᵘ 'n Nisā [Nūr Jahān] was coveted by the emperor, Qutb was ordered to send Sher Afkan to court, who however, refused to go Qutb, therefore, went to Bardwan, sending Ghiyasā, son of his sister, before him, to persuade Sher Afkan that no harm would be done to him When Qutb arrived, Sher Afkan went to meet him, accompanied by two men On his approach, Q lifted up his horse whip as a sign for his companions to cut down Sher Afkan "What is all this ?" exclaimed Sher Quṭb waved his hand to call back his men, and advancing towards Sher, upbraided him for his disobedience His men mistaking Qutb's signal to withdraw, closed round Sher, who rushed with his sword against Qutb and gave him a deep wound in the abdomen Qutb was a stout man, and seizing the protruding bowels with his hands, called out to his men to cut down the scoundrel Amba Khān, a Kashmīrī noble of royal blood, thereupon charged Sher Afkan, and gave him a sword cut over the head, but he fell at the same time, pierced through by Sher's sword (p 529, note 1) The men now crowded round him and struck him to the ground Quṭbᵘ 'd Din was still on horseback, when he heard that Sher Afkan had been killed, and he sent off Ghiyāsā to bring his effects and his family to Bardwan He then was removed in a *pālkī* He died whilst being carried away. His corpse was taken to Fathpūr Sikrī and buried

In 1013 he built the Jāmiʿ mosque of Badā,on

His son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, was, in 1015, a commander of 1,000, 300 horse, and had the title of *Kishwar Khān* He was for some time governor of Rohtās, and served in the beginning of 1021 against ʿUsman

Ilahdiya, son of Kishwar Khan, is mentioned in the *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, 100, 177, 307, II, 344, 379, 411, 484)

276 Ziyaᵘ 'l Mulk, of Kashan

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 490, 628) and the *Tuzuk* (p 11) mention a *Ziyāᵘ 'd Dīn*

The Hakim *Ziyāᵘ 'd Din of Kashan*, who under Shāhjahān held the title of Rahmat Khān, can scarcely be the same

277 Hamza Beg Ghatraghalī

He may be the brother of No 203 The *Akbarnāma* (III, 255) mentions also a Husayn Beg Ghatrāghali

278 Mukhtar Beg, son of Āghā Mullā

Mukhtar Beg served under Aʿzam Khān Koka (No 21) in Bihar,

Gadha Rā,isin (*Akbarn* III, 276, 473), and in the 36th year, under Sultān Murād in Mālwa

Nasr[u] 'llāh, son of Mukhtār Beg, was under Shāhjahan a commander of 700, 150 horse, and died in the 10th year

Fath[u] 'llāh, son of Nasr[u] 'llāh, was under Shāhjahān a commander of 500, 50 horse (*Pādishāhn*, I, b, 318, II, 752)

Abu 'l Fazl calls Mukhtar Beg the son of Āghā Mulla This would seem to be the Āghā Mulla Dawatdār, mentioned on p 398 If so, Mukhtar Beg would be the brother of Ghiyās[u] 'd Din ʿAli (No 126), The Āgha Mullā mentioned below (No 376), to judge from the *Tuzuk* (p 27), is the brother of Āsaf Khan III (No 98), and had a son of the name of Badiʿ[u] 'z Zaman, who under Shahjahan was a commander of 500, 100 horse (*Pād*, I, b, 327, II, 751) In Muhammadan families the name of the grandfather is often given to the grandchild

279 **Haydar ʿAli ʿArab**

He served, in the 32nd year in Afghānistān (*Akbarn*, III, 540, 548)

280 **Peshraw Khān [Mihtar Saʿādat]**

Mihtar Saʿādat had been brought up in Tabriz, and was in the service of Shāh Tahmasp, who gave him as a present to Humāyūn After Humāyūn's death he was promoted and got the title of *Peshraw Khān* In the 19th year Akbar sent him on a mission to Bihār, where he was caught on the Ganges by Gajpati, the great zamīndār (p 437, note 2) When Jagdespūr, the stronghold of the Raja, was conquered, Gajpatī ordered several prisoners to be killed, among them Peshraw The executioner, however, did not kill him, and told another man to do so But the latter accidentally could not get his sword out of the scabbard, and the Rāja, who was on the point of flying, having no time to lose, ordered him to take P on his elephant The elephant was wild and restive, and the man who was in charge of P fell from the animal and got kicked, when the brute all at once commenced to roar in such a manner that the other elephants ran away frightened Although P's hands were tied, he managed to get to the *kalawa* (p 135) of the driver and thus sat firm, but the driver, unable to manage the brute, threw himself to the ground and ran away, leaving P alone on the elephant Next morning it got quiet, and P threw himself down, when he was picked up by a trooper who had been searching for him

In the 21st year he reported at court the defeat of Gajpatī[1] (*Akbarn*, III, 163) In the 25th year he served in Bengal (*l c*, p 289) Later he

[1] Gajpatī's brother Bairī Sāl had been killed (*Akbarn*, III, 162)

was sent to Nizamu 'l Mulk of the Dakhin, and afterwards to Bahādur Khān, son of Raja ʿAli Khān of Khandesh His mission to the latter was in vain, and Akbar marched to Āsir P distinguished himself in the siege of Maligadh

Jahāngir made him a commander of 2,000, and continued him in his office as superintendent of the *Farrāsh khāna* (Quartermaster)

P died in the 3rd year, on the 1st Rajab, 1017 Jahangir says (*Tuzuk*, p 71) "He was an excellent servant, and though ninety years old, he was smarter than many a young man He had amassed a fortune of 15 lacs of rupees His son *Ryāyat* is unfit for anything, but for the sake of his father, I put him in charge of half the *Farrāsh khāna*

281 Qazi Hasan Qazwini

In the 32nd year (995) he served in Gujrat (*Akbarn*, III, 537, 554, where the Lucknow edition has Qazi *Husayn*), and later in the siege of Āsīr (*l c*, III, 825)

282 Mīr Murad i Juwayni

He is not to be confounded with No 380, but may be the same as mentioned on p 380

Juwayn is the Arabic form of the Persian Gujan, the name of a small town,[1] in Khurāsan, on the road between Bistam and Nishapur It lies, according to the *Maʿāsir* in the district of Bayhaq, of which Sabzwār is the capital, and is renowned as the birthplace of many learned men and poets

Mir Murad belongs to the Sayyids of Juwayn As he had been long in the Dakhin, he was also called *Dakhini* He was an excellent shot, and Akbar appointed him rifle instructor to Prince Khurram He died, in the 46th year, as Bakhshi of Lāhor He had two sons, Qāsim Khān and Hashim Khan

Qasim Khan was an excellent poet, and rose to distinction under Islām Khan, governor of Bengal, who made him treasurer of the sūba Later, he married Manija Begum, sister of Nūr Jahan, and thus became a friend of Jahāngir An example of a happy repartee is given Once Jahāngīr asked for a cup of water The cup was so thin that it could not bear the weight of the water, and when handed to the emperor it broke Looking at Qāsim, J said (metre *Ramal*) —

کاسه نازک بود آب آرام نتوانست کرد

The cup was lovely, so the water lost its rest—

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[1] *Vide* Wustenfeld's Yacut II, 164

when Qāsim, completing the verse, replied —

دید حالم را وچشمش صبط اشک حود نکرد

It saw my love grief and could not suppress its tears

In the end of J.'s reign, he was Ṣūbadār of Āgra, and was in charge of the treasures in the fort. When the emperor died, and Shāhjahān left the Dakhin, Qāsim paid his respects in the Bāgh i Dahra (Āgra), which in honour of Jahāngīr had been called *Nūr Manzil*, and was soon after made a commander of 5 000, 500 horse, and appointed governor of Bengal, *vide* Fidā'ī Khān.

As Shahjahan when prince, during his rebellion, had heard of the wicked practices of the Portuguese in Bengal who converted natives by force to Christianity, he ordered Qāsim to destroy their settlement at Hūgli. In the 5th year, in Shaʿbān, 1041, or February, A.D. 1632 (*Pādishāhn.*, I, 435, 437), Q. sent a corps under his son ʿInāyatu 'llah and Allah Yar Khān to Hūgli. The Portuguese held out for three months and a half, when the Muhammadans succeeded in laying dry the ditch in front of the Church, dug a mine, and blew up the church. The fort was taken. Ten thousand Portuguese are said to have perished during the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. About 10,000 natives whom they had in their power were liberated. One thousand Musulmāns died as martyrs for their religion.[1]

Three days after the conquest of Hūgli, Qāsim died (*l.c.*, p. 444). The Jamiʿ Masjid in the Atga Bāzār of Āgrah was built by him.

283. Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī.

He served in the Dakhin (*Akbarn.*, III, 830).

284. Banda ʿAlī Maydanī.

Maydanī is the name of an Afghān clan, *vide* No. 317. Banda ʿAlī served in the 9th year with Muhammad Hakim of Kābul, who was attacked by Mirzā Sulaymān of Badakhshan (No. 5) and had applied to Akbar for help. In the 30th and 32nd years he served in Kābul (*Akbarn.*, II, 299; III, 477, 540).

The *Akbarnāma* (II, 209) also mentions a Banda ʿAlī Qurbegi.

285. Khwājagī Fathu 'llah, son of Hājī Habību 'llāh of Kashān.

He was mentioned above on pp. 386, 516. He served in the 30th year under Mirzā ʿAzīz Koka (No. 21). *Akbarn.*, III, 473.

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[1] The ... of H... [illegible]

286 **Zāhid**
287 **Dost** [Muhammad] } sons of Sadiq Khan (No 43)
288 **Yar** [Muhammad]

They have been mentioned above on p 384 Zahid in the end of 1025, served against Dalpat (No 252)

Regarding Zahid, *vide* also a passage from the *Tarikh-i Maʿsumī*, translated Dowson's edition of *Elliot's Historians*, I, 246

289 **ʿIzzatᵘ 'llah Ghujdwani**

Ghujduwan is a small town in Bukhara

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 548) mentions a Qāzi ʿIzzatᵘ llah, who, in the 32nd year, served in Afghānistan

XX Commanders of Three Hundred

290 **Altun Qulij**
291 **Jan Qulij**

Two MSS have Āltūn Qulij, *son* of Khan Qulij which latter name would be an unusual transposition for Qulij Khan They are not the sons of Qulij Khan (No 42), *vide* Nos 292 and 293

Āltūn Qulij is mentioned in the *Akbārnāma* (III, 554) as having served in Baglana with Bharji, the Raja who was hard pressed in Fort Mother by his relations Bharji died about the same time (beginning of the 33rd year)

292 **Sayfᵘ llah** [Qulijᵘ 'llah] } sons of Qulij Khan (No 42)
293 **Chin Qulij**

Sayf is Arabic, and means the same as the Turkish *qulij*, a sword Sayfᵘ 'llāh was mentioned under No 203 In the beginning of the 33rd year he served under Sadiq Khan (No 43) in Afghānistan

Regarding Mirzā Chin Qulij, the *Maʾāsir* says that he was an educated liberal man, well versed in government matters He had learned under Mulla Mustafa of Jaunpūr, and was for a long time Fawjdar of Jaunpūr and Banaras

At the death of his father, his younger brother Mirzā Lahauri, the spoiled pet son of his father, joined Chin Qulij in Jaunpur He had not been long there when he interfered in government matters and caused disturbances, during which Chin Qulij lost his life His immense property escheated to the state, it is said that it took the clerks a whole year to make the inventory

In 1022, when Jahāngir was in Ajmīr, he summoned Mulla Mustafa, who had been the Mirza's teacher, with the intention of doing him harm

While at court he got acquainted with Mullā Muhammad of Thathah, a teacher in the employ of Āsafjāh (or Āsaf Khān IV, vide p 398), who had scientific discussions with him, and finding him a learned man, interceded on his behalf Mustafa was let off, went to Makkah and died

Mirza Lahauri was caught and imprisoned After some time, he was set at liberty, and received a daily allowance (*yaumiyya*) He had a house in Āgra near the Jamna, at the end of the Darsan, and trained pigeons He led a miserable life

The *Ma'āsir* mentions a few instances of his wicked behaviour Once he buried one of his servants alive, as he wished to know something about Munkir and Nakir, the two angels who, according to the belief of the Muhammadans, examine the dead in the grave, beating the corpse with sledge hammers if the dead man is found wanting in belief When the man was dug out he was found dead Another time, when with his father, in Lahor, he disturbed a Hindū wedding feast and carried off the bride, and when the people complained to his father, he told them to be glad that they were now related to the Subadar of Lahor

The other sons of Qulij Khan, as Qulij'u 'llah, Chin, Qulij, Baljū Q, Bayrām Q and Jan Q, held mostly respectable mansabs

The *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī* relates the story differently Both M Chīn Qulij and M Lahauri are described as wicked men Chin Q, after the death of his father came with his brothers and relations to court (Safar, 1023, *Tuzuk*, p 127) and received Jaunpūr as jagir As the emperor heard of the wicked doings of M Lāhaurī, from whom no man was safe he sent an Ahadī to Jaunpūr to bring him to court, when Chin Qulij fled with him to several zamindars The men of Jahāngīr Qulī Khan, governor of Bihār at last caught him, but before he was taken to the governor, Chīn died some say, in consequence of an attack of illness others from wounds he had inflicted on himself His corpse was taken to Jahāngīr Quli Khān who sent it with his family and property to Ilahābād. The greater part of his property had been squandered or given away to zamindars (1024, *Tuzuk* p 148)

294 Abū 'l Fattah Ataliq

295 Sayyid Bayazid of Bārha

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat (*Akbarn*, III, 553) In the beginning of the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1031) he received the title of Mustafa Khan (*Tuzuk*, p 344)

In the 1st year of Shāhjahan's reign he was made a commander of 2,000, 700 horse (*Pād*, I, 183) His name is not given in the list of grandees of the *Pādishāhnāma*

296 **Balbhadr, the Rāthor**

297 **Abu 'l Maʿālī, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir ʿAdl (No 140)**

298 **Bāqir Ansārī**

He was in Bengal at the outbreak of the military revolt In the 37th year he served under Mān Singh in the expedition to Orīsā (*Akbarn*, III, 267, 641)

299. **Bayazid Beg Turkmān**

He was at first in Munʿim's service (*Akbarn*, II, 238, 253) The *Padishāhnāma* (I, b, 328) mentions Mahmūd Beg, son of Bāyazid Beg *Vide* No 335

300 **Shaykh Dawlat Bakhtyār**

301 **Husayn the Pakhliwāl**

The story of the origin of his family from the Qarluqs under Tīmūr (*vide* p 504) is given in the *Tuzuk* (p 290) Jahangir adds, "but they do not know who was then their chief At present they are common Panjabis (*Lāhaurī yi mahaz*) and speak Panjābī This is also the case with Dhantūr" (*vide* No 392)

Sultān Husayn, as he called himself, is the son of Sultān Mahmūd His rebellious attitude towards Akbar has been mentioned above on p 504 When Jahāngir in the 14th year (beginning of 1029) paid him a visit, Husayn was about seventy years old, but still active He was then a commander of 400, 300 horse, and Jahāngīr promoted him to a mansab of 600, 350 horse

Husayn died in the 18th year (end of 1032, *Tuzuk*, p 367) His command and the district of Pakhli were given to his son Shādmān

Shādmān served under Dārā Shikoh in Qandahār (beginning of 1052) and was in the 20th year of Shahjahān's reign a commander of 1,000, 900 horse *Pādishāhnāma* II, 293, 733

The *Tuzuk* (p 290) mentions a few places in the district of Pakhli, and has a remark on the thick strong beer which the inhabitants made from bread and rice

302 **Kesu Das son of Jai Mal**

Vide No 408 One MS has *Jait Mal*, instead of *Jai Mal* The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b, 310) mentions a Raja Girdhar, son of Kesū Dās, grandson of Jat Mal of Mirtha The *Tuzuk* frequently mentions a Kesū Das Miru (*Tuzuk*, pp 9, 37, 203)

303 **Mirza Khan of Nishāpur** One MS has *Jān* for *Khān*

304 **Muzaffar, brother of Khan ʿĀlam (No 58)**

My text edition has wrongly *Khān-i Aʿzam* for *Khān ʿĀlam*

305 Tulsī Dās Jadou.

He served in 992 against Sultān Muzaffar of Gujrat (*Akbarn.*, III, 422).

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 157, 434, 598) mentions another Jadō Rāja Gopal. He died in the end of the 34th year, and is mentioned in the *Tabaqat* as a commander of 2 000.

306 Rahmat Khan, son of Masnad-i ʿAlī.

Masnad-i ʿAlī is an Afghān title, as *Majlis*ᵘ *'l Majālis*, *Majlis-i Ikhtiyār*, etc. It was the title of Fattū Khan, or Fath Khān, a courtier of Islam Shāh, who afterwards joined Akbar's service. He served under Husayn Quli Khān Jahān (No. 24) in 980 against Nagarkot (*Badāʾonī*, II, 161). The *Tabaqāt* makes him a commander of 2 000. He seems to be the same Fath Khān whom Sulayman Kararānī had put in charge of Rohtās in Bihar (*Bad.*, II, 77).

He died in the 34th year in Audh (*Akbarn.*, III, 599).

A Rahmat Khān served in the 45th year in the Dakhin. Rahmat Khan's brother, Shah Muhammad, is mentioned below, No. 395.

307 Ahmad Qasim Koka.

He served in 993 against the Yūsufzāʾis, and in 996 under Ṣādiq Khān, against the Tārīkis (*Akbarn.*, III, 490, 552).

The *Tuzuk* (p. 159) mentions a Yar Beg, son of A. Q.'s brother.

308 Bahādur Goblot.

309 Dawlat Khan Lodi.

He was a Lodi Afghan of the Shāhū khayl clan, and was at first in the service of ʿAziz Koka (No. 21). When ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahim (No. 29) married the daughter of ʿAzīz, Dawlat Khan was transferred to ʿAbdᵘ 'r Rahīm's service, and ʿAzīz, in sending him to his son in law, said, "Take care of this man, and you may yet get the title of your father (Khan Khānān)." Dawlat distinguished himself in the wars in Gujrāt (p. 355, l. 24, where for *Dost* Khan, as given in the *Maʾāsir*, we have to read *Dawlat* Khan), in Thatha and the Dakhin. His courage was proverbial. In his master's contingent he held a command of 1,000. Sultān Danyāl won him over, and made him a commander of 2,000.

He died in the end of the 45th year (Shaʿbān, 1009) at Ahmadnagar (*Akbarn.*, III, 846). It is said that Akbar stood in awe of him, and when he heard of his death, he is reported to have said, "To day Sher Khān Sūr died."

Dawlat Khān's eldest son, whom the *Maʾāsir* calls Mahmūd, was half mad. In the 46th year, on a hunting tour, he left his companions, got into a quarrel with some Kolis near Pāl, and perished.

Dawlat's second son is the renowned Pīr Khan, or Pīrū, better known in history under his title *Khān Jahān Lodī* If Akbar's presentiments were deceived in the father, they were fulfilled in the son

Pīr Khān, when young, fell out with his father, and fled with his elder brother, whom the *Maʿāsir* here calls Muhammad Khan, to Bengal, where they were assisted by Mān Singh Muhammad Khan died when young

Like his father, P Kh was in the service of Sultan Danyāl, who treated him like a friend, and called him ' son ' On the death of the Prince, Pīr, then twenty years old, joined Jahangir s service, was made in the second year a commander of 3 000, and received the title of Ṣalābat Khān (*Tuzuk*, p 42) He gradually rose to a manṣab of 5,000 and received the title of Khan Jahān which was looked upon as second in dignity to that of Khân Khanān Although Jahāngir treated him like an intimate friend rather than a subject, Khan Jahan never got his position and formed no ambitious plans

When Prince Parwiz, Raja Mān Singh and Sharif Khan (No 351) were sent to the Dakhin to reinforce the Khan Khanan and matters took an unfavourable turn, Khān Jahān, in 1018, was sent with 12 000 troopers to their assistance At the review, Jahāngir came down from the state window, put his turban on Kh J 's head, seized his hand, and helped him in mounting Without delaying in Burhānpūr, Kh J moved to Balaghāt, where the imperial army was At Mulkāpūr, a great fight took place with Malik ʿAmbar, and the imperialists unaccustomed to the warfare of the Dakhinīs, lost heavily The Khān Khānan met him with every respect, and took him to Balaghât According to the original plan Kh J was to lead the Dakhin corps, and ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khan the Gujrāt army, upon Daulatabād (under No 273) Malik ʿAmbar, afraid of being attacked from two sides, succeeded in gaining over the Khān Khānān, who managed to detain Kh J in Zafarnagar, and ʿAbdᵘ 'llah, when marching forward, found no support, and had to retreat with heavy losses Kh J got short of provisions, his horses died off, and the splendid army with which he had set out, returned in a most disorderly state to Burhanpūr

Kh J accused the Khan Khānān of treason, and offered to conquer Bijāpūr in two years, if the emperor would give him 30,000 men and absolute power This Jahangir agreed to, and the Khān i Aʿẓam (No 21) and Khān ʿĀlam (No 328) were sent to his assistance But though the Khān Khānān had been removed the duplicity of the Amirs remained what it had been before, and matters did not improve The command

was therefore given to the Khān i Aʿẓam and Kh J received Thalner as jāgir, and was ordered to remain at Ilichpūr After a year, he returned to court, but was treated by the emperor in as friendly a manner as before

In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahār, Kh J was made governor of Multān Two years later, in the 17th year, Shāh ʿAbbās took Qandahar after a siege of forty days Kh J was called to court for advice, having been forbidden to attack Shah ʿAbbās, because kings should be opposed by kings When he came to court, Prince Khurram was appointed to reconquer Qandahār, and Kh J was ordered back to Multān to make preparations for the expedition It is said that the Afghān tribes from near Qandahār came to him in Multān, and declared themselves willing to be the vanguard of the army, if he would only promise every horseman five tankas, and each foot soldier two tankas *per diem* to keep them from starving, they were willing to go with him to Isfahan, and promised to be responsible for the supplies But Kh J refused the proffered assistance, remarking that Jahangir would kill him if he heard of the attachment of the Afghāns to him

In the meantime matters changed Shahjahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahār was not undertaken The emperor several times ordered Kh J to return, and wrote at last himself, adding the curious remark that even Sher Khān Sūr, in spite of his enmity, would after so many requests have obeyed The delay, it is said, was caused by severe illness On his arrival at court, Kh J was made commandant of Fort Āgra, and was put in charge of the treasures

In the 19th year, on the death of the Khān i Aʿẓam, he was made governor of Gujrāt, and when Mahabat Khan was sent to Bengal he was appointed *atālīq* to Prince Parwiz, whom he joined at Burhānpūr

In 1035 the 21st year, Parwiz died, and the Dakhin was placed under Kh J He moved against Fath Khān son of Malik ʿAmbar to Balaghat His conduct was now more than suspicious he accepted proposals made by Hamid Khān Habshi the minister of the Nizām Shah to cede the conquered districts for an annual payment of three lacs of huns though the revenue was 55 krors of dams (*Padishāhn* , I 271), and ordered the imperial Fawjdars and Thanahdars to give up their places to the agents of the Nizam Shāh and repair to Burhānpūr Only Sipahdar Khān who stood in Ahmadnagar refused to do so without express orders from the emperor

Soon after, Mahabat Khan joined Shāhjahan at Junir, and was honoured with the title of *Sipahsālār* On the death of Jahangir, which

took place immediately afterwards, Shāhjahān sent Jān Nisar Khān to Kh J, to find out what he intended to do, and confirm him at the same time in his office as Sūbadar of the Dakhin, but as he in the meantime had formed other plans, he sent back Jan Nisār without answer He intended to rebel *It is said that he was misled by Daryā Khān Rohila* and Fāzil Khan, the Diwān of the Dakhin, Dawar Bakhsh, they insinuated, had been made emperor by the army, Shahryar had proclaimed himself in Lāhor, whilst Shahj had offended him by conferring the title of Sipahsalar on Mahabat Khan who only lately had joined him, he, too, should aim at the crown, as he was a man of great power, and would find numerous adherents

Shāhj sent Mahābat to Māndu, where Kh J's family was Kh J renewed friendly relations with the Nizām Shah, and leaving Sikandar Dutānī in Burhānpur, he moved with several Amirs to Mandu, and deposed the governor Muzaffar Khan Maʿmuri But he soon saw how mistaken he was The Amirs who had come with him, left him and paid *their respects to Shahj, the proclamation of Dawar Bakhsh* proved to be a scheme made by Āsaf Khān in favour of Shahj, and Kh J. sent a vakil to court and presented, after Shahj's accession, a most valuable present The emperor was willing to overlook past faults and left him in possession of the government of Malwah

In the second year, after punishing Jhujhar Singh, Kh J came to court and was treated by the emperor with cold politeness Their mutual distrust soon showed itself Shahj remarked on the strong contingent which he had brought to Āgra and several parganas of his jāgirs were transferred to others One evening, at a darbar Mirzā Lashkarī, son of Mukhlis Khān, foolishly said to the sons of Kh J, "He will some of these days imprison your father" Kh J, on hearing this, shut himself up at home, and when the emperor sent Islam Khan to his house to inquire, he begged the messenger to obtain fo him an *amān nāma*, or letter of safety, as he was hourly expecting the displeasure of his master Shahj was generous enough to send him the guarantee but though even Asaf Khan tried to console him, the old suspicions were never forgotten In fact it would seem that he only feared the more for his safety, and on the night from the 26th to the 27th Safar, 1039, after a stay at court of eight months, he fled from Āgra When passing the Hatyapul[1] Darwāza, he humbly threw the reigns of his horse over

[1] The two large stone elephants which stood upon the gate were taken down by Awrangzib in Rajab 1079 because the Muhammadan law forbids sculpture *Maʾāṣir ʿĀlamgīrī* p 77

his neck, bent his head forward on the saddle, and exclaimed, "O God, thou knowest that I fly for the preservation of my honour; to rebel is not my intention" On the morning before his flight, Āsaf had been informed of his plan, and reported the rumour to the emperor. But Shahj said that he could take no steps to prevent Kh J from rebelling, he had given him the guarantee, and could use no force before the crime had actually been committed

An outline of Kh J 's rebellion may be found in Elphinstone's history, where the main facts are given

When he could no longer hold himself in the Dakhin, he resolved to cut his way to the Panjāb He entered Malwah, pursued by ʿAbdᵘ llāh Khan and Muzaffar Khān Barha *After capturing at Sironj fifty imperial* elephants, he entered the territory of the Bundela Rājah But Jagrāj Bikramajit, son of Jhujhar Singh, fell upon his rear (17th Jumāda, II, 1040), defeated it, and killed Daryā Khan (a commander of 4,000) and his son Kh J 's best officers (*Padishāhn*, I, 339, I, b, 296) On arriving in Bhānder,[1] Kh J met Sayyid Muzaffar, and sending off his baggage engaged him with 1,000 men During the fight Mahmūd Khān, one of Kh J 's sons was killed On approaching Kālinjar, he was opposed by Sayyid Ahmad, the commandant of the Fort, and in a fight another of his sons, Hasan Khan was captured Marching farther, he arrived at the tank of Sehōda, where he resolved to die He allowed his men to go away as his cause was hopeless On the 1st Rajab, 1040, he was again attacked by ʿAbdᵘ 'llāh Khān and S Muzaffar, and was mortally wounded by Madhu Singh with a spear Before Muzaffar could come up, the soldiers had cut him and his son ʿAziz to pieces (*Pādishāhn*, I, 351) Their heads were sent to Shāhjahān at Burhānpūr, fixed for some time to the walls of the city, and then buried in the vault of Dawlat Khān, Kh J 's father

Kh J had been a commander of 7,000 (*Padishāhn*, I, b, 293)

Several of Kh J 's sons, as Husayn ʿAzmat, Mahmud, and Hasan, had perished during the rebellion of their father Another, Asalat Khan, a commander of 3 000, died during the rebellion at Dawlatābād, and Muzaffar had left his father and gone to court Farid and Jān Jahān

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[1] [illegible]

were captured, ʿĀlam and Ahmad had fled, and went after some time to court. " But none of his sons ever prospered "

The historical work entitled *Makhzan i Afghānī*, or some editions of it contain a chapter in praise of Khān Jahān, after whom the book is sometimes called *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahān Lodī*

310 **Shah Muhammad, son of Quraysh Sultān (No 178)**

311. **Hasan Khan Miyāna**

He was at first a servant of Ṣadiq Khān (No 43), but later he received a *mansab* He died in the Dakhin wars

Of his eight sons, the eldest died young (*Tuzuk*, p 200) The second is *Buhlūl Khān* He rose to a mansab of 1,500 under Jāhangīr (*l c*, pp 184, 200), and received the title of *Sarbuland Khān* He was remarkable for his courage and his external appearance He served in Gondwāna

At the accession of Shahjahan, B was made a commander of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and jāgirdār of Bālapūr He joined Khān Jahān Lodī on his march from Gondwāna to Bālāghāt When he saw that Khān Jahān did not succeed, he left him, and entered the service of the Nizām Shah

A grandson of Buhlūl, Abū 'l Muhammad, came in the 12th year of Awrangzib's reign to court, was made a commander of 5,000, 4,000, and got the title of *Ikhlās Khān* (*Maʾās ʿĀlamgīrī*, p 81)

For other Miyāna Afghāns, *vide Pādshāhn*, I, 241, *Maʾāṣ ʿĀlamgīrī*, p 225

312 **Tahir Beg, son of the Khan i Kalan (No 16)**

313 **Kishn Das Tunwar**

He was under Akbar and Jahāngīr accountant (*mushrif*) of the elephant and horse stables In the 7th year of J, he was made a commander of 1,000 A short time before he had received the title of Rājā (*Tuzuk*, p 110)

314 **Man Singh Kachhwaha**

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 333, 335) mentions a Man Singh Darbārī

315 **Mīr Gadaʾī, son of Mīr Abū Turāb**

Abū Turāb belonged to the Salāmī Sayyids of Shīrāz His grandfather, Mīr Ghiyāsu 'd Dīn, had come to Gujrat during the reign of Qutbu 'd Dīn, grandson of Sultān Ahmad (the founder of Ahmadabād), but he soon after returned to Persia The disturbances however, during the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī obliged him to take again refuge in Gujrāt, where he arrived during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd

Bīgara[1] He settled with his son Kamālu 'd Dīn (Abū Turāb's father) in Champānīr Maḥmūdābād, and set up as a teacher and writer of school books (*darsiya kitāb*) Kamālu 'd Dīn also was a man renowned for his learning

The family has for a long time been attached to the *Silsila yi Maghribiyya*, or Maghribī (Western) Sect, the "lamp" of which was the saintly Shaykh[2] Aḥmad i Khattū The name "Salāmī Sayyids" is explained as follows One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary *salām*, when a heavenly voice returned his greeting

Abū Turab was a highly respected man He was the first that paid his respects to Akbar on his march to Gujrat, and distinguished himself by his faithfulness to his new master Thus he was instrumental in preventing Iʿtimad Khan (No 67) from joining, after Akbar's departure for Kambhāyat, the rebel Ikhtiyāru 'l Mulk Later, Akbar sent him to Makkah as Mīr Ḥajj, in which quality he commanded a large party of courtiers and begams On his return he brought a large stone from Makkah, which bore the footprint of the prophet (*qadam i sharīf*, or *qadam-i mubarak*), *vide* p 207 The "tarikh" of his return is *khayru 'l aqdām* (A H 987), or "the best of footprints" The stone was said to be the same which Sayyid Jalāl i Bukhari at the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz had brought to Dihli Akbar looked upon the whole as a pious farce, and though the stone was received with great *éclat*, Abū Turab was graciously allowed to keep it in his house

When Iʿtimād was made governor of Gujrāt, Abu Turāb followed him as Amīn of the Sūba, accompanied by his sons Mīr Muḥibbu llah and Mīr Sharafu d Dīn

Abū Turab died in 1005 and was buried at Ahmadabād

His third son Mīr Gadaʾi though he held a mansab adopted the saintly

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1 ... [illegible]

[illegible]

Champanir according to Bird is also called Mahmudabād The *Muʾāṣir* has Champanir *Muhammadabad*

2 Born A H 738 died at the age of 111 (*lunar*) years on the 10th Shawwal 849 [illegible]

[illegible] Shaykh Aḥmad was educated by his adoptive father Shaykh Isḥaq i Maghribī (died A H 776) lies east of Nagor

mode of life which his ancestors had followed In the 46th year he served in the Dakhin

316 Qasim Khwaja, son of Khwaja ʿAbdᵘ ʾl Bari *Vide* No 320

317 Nādi ʿAli Maydani

In MSS he is often wrongly called *Yād* ʿAli

The word *nadi* is an Arabic Imperative, meaning "*call*" It occurs in the following formula used all over the East for amulets

Nādi ʿAliyᵃⁿ mazharᵃ ʾl ʿajaʾib,
Tajid hū ʿawnᵃⁿ fī kulli ʾl-masāʾib
Kullᵘ hammᵢⁿ wᵃ ghammᵢⁿ sa yanjalī
Bi-nubuwwati kᵃ yā Muhammad, bi walāyati kᵃ yā ʿAlī
Yā ʿAlī, yā ʿAlī yā ʿAli

Call upon ʿAli in whom all mysteries reveal themselves,
Thou wilt find it a help in all afflictions
Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish
Through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness,
O ʿAli
O ʿAli, O ʿAli, O ʿAli!

The beginning of the amulet suggested the name

In the 26th year Nadi ʿAli served against M Muhammad Hakim, in 993 (the 30th year) in Kabul, and two years later under Zayn Koka (No 34) against the Tarikis

In the 6th year of Jahangir's reign, he was made a commander of 1,500, chiefly for his services against the Kabul rebel Ahdad In the 10th year he served in Bangash, when he was a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse He died in the following year (1026), *vide Tuzuk* p 172 His sons were provided with mansabs

His son Bizan (or Bizhan) distinguished himself, in the 15th year, in Bangash and was made a commander of 1,000, 500 horse (*l c* pp 307, 309)

The *Padishahnama* (I, b, 322) mentions a Muhammad Zamān, son of Nadi ʿAli *Arlāt*, who in the 10th year of Shāhjahan was a commander of 500, 350 horse

Nadi ʿAli is not to be confounded with the Hafiz Nadi ʿAli, who served under Jahāngir as Court Hafiz (*Tuzuk*, p 155, and its *Dībāja*, p 19), nor with the Nadi ʿAli who served under Shahjahan (*Padishāhn*, II 719) as a commander of 500, 200 horse

318 Nil Kanth, Zamindar of Orisa

319 Ghiyas Beg of Tihran [Iʿtimadᵘ ʾd Dawla]

His real name [illegible] Mirza Ghiyas[u] d Din Muhammad In old European histories his name is often spelled Ayas a corruption of *Ghiyās*, not of Ayāz (اياز)

Ghiyās Beg's father was Khwāja Muhammad Sharif, who as poet wrote under the assumed name of *Hijri* He was Vazir to Tātār Sultān, son of Muhammad Khan Sharaf[u] 'd Din Ughlu Taklū who held the office of Beglar Beg of Khurasan After Tatar Sultan s death, the Khwaja was continued in office by his son Qazāq Khān, and on Qazāq's death, he was made by Shah Tahmāsp Vazir of Yazd [1]

Khwaja Muhammad Sharif is said to have died in A H 984 He had two brothers Khwaja Mirza Ahmad, and Khwajagi Khwaja The son of Kh Mirza Ahmad was the well known Khwaja Amin Razi (رازى, i e , of the town of Ray of which he was *kalantar*, or magistrate) who travelled a good deal and composed the excellent work entitled *Haft Iqlim*, A H 1002 Khwājagi Khwaja had a son of the name of Khwaja Shāpūr, who was likewise a literary man

Ghiyas Beg was married to the daughter of Mirza ʿAlā[u] 'd Dawlah, *son of*[2] Āgha Mulla After the death of his father in consequence of adverse circumstances, Gh B fled with his two sons and one daughter from Persia He was plundered on the way, and had only two mules left, upon which the members of the family alternately rode On his arrival at Qandahar, his wife gave birth to another daughter, who received the name of Mihr[u] 'n Nisa (the Sun of Women ') a name which her future title of Nur Jahan has almost brought into oblivion [3] In their misfortune, they found a patron in Malik Masʿud, leader of the caravan, who is said to have been known to Akbar We are left to infer that it was he who directed Ghiyas Beg to India After his introduction at Court in Fathpur Sikri [4] Gh rose, up to the 10th year to a command of 300 In the same year he was made Diwan of Kabul and was in course of time promoted to a mansab of 1 000 and appointed *Diwān i Buyutāt*

[1] [illegible]

[illegible] looked upon as [illegible] women

[4] Where he had some distant relations as Jaʿfar Beg (No 98)

Regarding Mihr[u] 'n-Nisā's marriage with ʿAlī Qulī, *vide* No 394

In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, Ghiyās Beg received the title of Iʿtimād[u] 'd Dawla In the second year, his eldest son, Muhammad Sharīf,[1] joined a conspiracy to set Khusraw at liberty and murder the emperor, but the plot being discovered, Sharīf was executed, and Iʿtimād himself was imprisoned After some time he was let off on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees At the death of Sher Afkan (under 275) Mihr[u] 'n Nisā was sent to court as a prisoner "for the murder of Qutb[u] 'd Dīn", and was handed over to Ruqayya Sultan Begum,[2] with whom she lived "unnoticed (*ba-nākāmī*) and rejected" In the 6th year (1020) she no longer slighted the emperor's proposals, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp She received the title of *Nūr Mahall*, and a short time afterwards that of Nūr Jahān [3]

Ghiyās, in consequence of the marriage, was made *Vakīl-i kul*, or prime minister, and a commander of 6,000, 3,000 horse He also received a flag and a drum, and was in the 10th year allowed to beat his drum at court, which was a rare privilege In the 16th year, when J was on his way to Kashmir, Ghiyās fell ill The imperial couple were recalled from a visit to Kāngra Fort, and arrived in time to find him dying Pointing to the emperor, Nūr Jahān asked her father whether he recognized him He quoted as answer a verse from Anwarī —

آنکه نابینای مادرزاد اگر حاضر بود　　　در جبین عالم‌آرا پس بہ بیند مہتری

"If one who is blind from birth stood here, he would recognize his majesty by his august forehead"

He died after a few hours The *Tuzuk* (p 339) mentions the 17th Bahman, 1031 (Rabiʿ I, 1031) as the day of his death, and says that he died broken hearted three months and twenty days after his wife, who had died on the 29th Mihr, 1030, i e, 13th Zi Qaʿda, 1030).

Ghiyās Beg was a poet He imitated the old classics, which ruling passion, as we saw, showed itself a few hours before he died He was a clever correspondent, and is said to have written a beautiful *Shikasta* hand Jahāngīr praises him for his social qualities, and confessed that his society was better than a thousand *mufarrih i yāquts* [4] He was generally liked, had no enemies, and was never seen angry "Chains,

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[1] Who according to custom had the same name as his grandfather, *vide* p 497 No 278

[2] The *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbalnāma* have Ruqaiya Sultān Begum (p 309) The *Maʾāsir* has *Salīma* Sultan Begum (p 309) The *Iqbalnāma* (p 56) has wrongly بہ for بہ

[3] In accordance with the name of her husband *Nūr[u] d Dīn Jahāngīr*

[4] As the diamond when reduced to powder was looked upon in the East as a deadly poison so was the cornelian (*yāqūt*) [garnet ?—P] supposed to possess exhilarating properties *Mufarrih* means an exhilarative

the whip, and abuse, were not found in his house " He protected the wretched, especially such as had been sentenced to death He never was idle, but wrote a great deal, his official accounts were always in the greatest order But he liked bribes, and showed much boldness in demanding them [1]

His mausoleum near Āgra has often been described.

Nūr Jahān's power over Jahāngīr is sufficiently known from the histories The emperor said, " Before I married her, I never knew what marriage really meant," and, " I have conferred the duties of government on her, I shall be satisfied if I have a *ser* of wine and half a *ser* of meat per *diem* " With the exception of the *khutba* (prayer for the reigning monarch), she possessed all privileges of royalty Thus her name was invariably mentioned on farmāns, and even on coins The jāgīrs which she held would have conferred on her the title of a commander of 30,000 A great portion of her zamīndārīs lay near Rāmsīr, S E of Ajmīr (*Tuzuk*, p 169) She provided for all her relations, even her nurse, Dā,ī Dilārām, enjoyed much influence, and held the post of " Ṣadr of the Women " (*ṣadr-i anās*), and when she conferred lands as *suyūrghāls*, the grants were confirmed and sealed by the Ṣadr of the empire Nūr Jahān is said to have particularly taken care of orphan girls, and the number whom she betrothed or gave outfits to is estimated at five hundred She gave the tone to fashion, and is said to have invented the *ʿatr-i jahāngīrī* (a peculiar kind of rosewater) She possessed much taste in adorning apartments and arranging feasts For many gold ornaments she laid down new patterns and elegant designs, and her *dudāmī* for *peshwāz* (gowns), her *pāchtoliya* for *orhnīs* (veils), her *lādla* (brocade), *kināri* (lace), and *farsh i chandanī*,[2] are often mentioned

Her influence ceased with Jahāngīr's death and the capture of Shahryār, fifth son of the emperor, to whom she had given her daughter (by Sher Afkan) Lādlī Begum, in marriage She had no children by Jahāngīr Shāhjahān allowed her a pension of two lacs per annum [3]

She died at Lāhor at the age of 72, on the 29th Shawwāl 1055, and lies buried near her husband in a tomb which she herself had built (*Pādishāhn*, II, 475) [4] She composed occasionally Persian poems, and

[1] So the Tuzuk and the Iqbalnama
[2] *Dudamī* weighing two dams, *pāchtoliya* weighing five tolas The latter was ... ood colour
... highest allowance of Begams
Vide Padishahn I 96
... *Mahall*

like Salīma Sultān Begum and Zeb^u 'n Nisā Begum wrote under the assumed name of *Makhfī*

Ghiyāṣ Beg's sons The fate of his eldest son Muhammad Sharīf has been alluded to His second son, Mirzā Abū 'l Hasan Āsaf Khān (IV), also called *Āṣaf-jāh* or *Āṣaf-jāhī*, is the father of Muntāz Mahall (Taj Bībī), the favourite wife of Shāhjahān whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II He received from Shāhjahān the title of *Yamīn^u 'd Dawla* and *Khān Khānān Sipahsālār*, and was a commander of 9,000 He died on the 17th Sha'bān, 1051, and was buried at Lāhor, north of Jahāngīr's tomb As commander of 9,000 *du aspa* and *sī-aspa* troopers, his salary was 16 krors, 20 lacs of *dāms*, or 4,050,000 rupees, and besides, he had jagirs yielding a revenue of five millions of rupees His property at his death, which is said to have been more than double that of his father, was valued at 25 millions of rupees, and consisted of 30 lacs of jewels, 42 lacs of rupees in gold muhurs, 25 lacs of rupees in silver, 30 lacs of plate, etc , and 23 lacs of other property His palace in Lāhor which he had built at a cost of 20 lacs, was given to Prince Dāra Shikoh, and 20 lacs of rupees, in cash and valuables, were distributed among his three sons and five daughters The rest escheated to the State

Āsaf Khān was married to a daughter of Mīrzā Ghiyās^u 'd Din 'Alī Āsaf Khān II (p 398)

His eldest son is the renowned Mirzā Abū Talib Shā'ista Khān, who, as governor of Bengal, is often mentioned in the early history of the E I Company Shā'ista was married to a daughter of Irij Shāhnawāz Khān (No 255), son of 'Abd^u 'r Rahīm Khan Khānān, by whom he had, however, no children He died at Āgra in 1105, the 38th year of Awrangzīb's reign His eldest son, Abū Talib,[1] had died before him His second son was Abū 'l Fath Khān One of his daughters was married to Rūh^u 'llah (I), and another to Zū 'l Faqār Khān Nusrat jang

Āsaf Khān's second son, Bahmanyar, was in the 20th year of Shāhj a commander of 2,000, 200 horse (*Pādishāhn* , II, 728)

Ghiyās Beg's third son is Ibrāhim Khan Fath jang, who was the governor of Bihār (*vide* note to Kokra under No 328) and Bengal He was killed near his son's tomb during Shāhjahan's rebellion His son had died young and was buried near Rājmahall, on the banks of the Ganges (*Tuzuk*, p 383) Ibrāhīm Khān was married to Hājī Hūr Parwar Khānum, Nūr Jahān's maternal aunt (*khāla*) She lived up to the middle of Awrangzib's reign, and held Kol Jalālī as *āltamghā*

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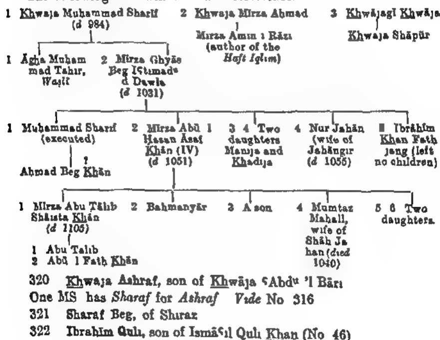
[1] Also called Muhammad Tālib *Vide Pādishāhn* , II, 248

An Ahmad Beg Khān is mentioned in the histories as the son of Nūr Jahān's brother[1] He was with Ibrahīm Fatḥ jang in Bengal, and retreated after his death to Dhakā, where he handed over to Shāhjahān 500 elephants, and 45 lacs of rupees (*Tuzuk*, p 384) On Shāhj 's accession he received ■ high mansab, was made governor of Thathah and Siwistān, and later of Multan He then returned to court and received as jāgīr the Parganas of Jais and Amethi, where he died In the 20th year of Shahj he was a commander of 2,000, 1,500 ho-se (*Pādishāhn*, II, 727)

A sister of Nūr Jahān Manija Begum was mentioned under No 282

A fourth sister, Khadija Begum, was married to Hakim Beg, a noble man of Jahangir's court

The following tree will be found serviceable —



320 Khwaja Ashraf, son of Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l Bāri

One MS has *Sharaf* for *Ashraf* *Vide* No 316

321 Sharaf Beg, of Shiraz

322 Ibrahim Quli, son of Ismāʿil Quli Khan (No 46)

XXI Commanders of Two Hundred and Fifty

323 Abū 'l Fath, son of Muzaffar, the Mughul

324 Beg Muhammad Toqbāʾī

He served in the end of the 28th year in Gujrāt and was present in the fight near Maisana, S.E of Patan, in which Sher Khan Fūlādi was defeated, and also against Muzaffar of Gujrat (*Akbarn*, III 423)

[1] It seems therefore that he was the son of Muhammad Sharif

Regarding *Toqbā*'ı, *vide* No 129

325 Imam Quli Shighali

The *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) mentions an Imam Quli, who, in the 37th year served under Sultan Murād in Malwa

The meaning of *Shighālī* is unclear to me A Muhammad Quli Shighāli played a part in Badakhshan history (*Akbarn*, III, 132, 249)

326 Safdar Beg, son of Haydar Muhammad Khan Ākhta Begī (No 66)

A Safdar Khan served, in the 21st year, against Dauda of Bundī (*vide* under No 96)

327 Khwaja Sulayman of Shiraz

He has been mentioned on p 383 and under No 172

328 Barkhurdar [Mirzā Khan Āʿlam] son of ʿAbdu 'r Rahman Dulday (No 186)

Mirza Barkhurdar was in the 40th year of Akbar's reign a commander of 250 His father (No 186) had been killed in a fight with the rebel Dalpat [1] This Bihar Zamindar was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on the payment of a heavy *peshkash*, he was allowed to return to his home But B wished to avenge the death of his father, and lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape Akbar was so annoyed at this breach of peace that he gave orders to hand over B to Dalpat, but at the intercession of several countries B was imprisoned

As Jahangir was fond of him, he released him after his accession,[2] and made him *Qūshbegī*, or superintendent of the aviary [3] In the fourth

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[1] Dalpat is called in the *Akbarnāma* [illegible] *Ujjainiya* for which the MSS have various readings as [illegible] etc Under Shāhjahān Dalpat's successor was Rāja [illegible] p 123

[2] If we can trust the Lucknow edition of the *Akbarnāma* B could not have been imprisoned for a long time for in the end of the 44th year of Akbar's reign he served again at court (*Akbarn* III 825)

[[3] Grand Falconer or superintendent of the *qush khāna* or mews —P]

of the entrance to Salim i Chishti's shrine at Fathpūr Sikri, last words of which are —"*Said and written by Muhammad* *ʿṣūm poetically styled Nāmī, son of Sayyid Ṣafāʾī of Tirmiz,* *b* ... *of Bhakkar, descended from Sayyid Sher Qalandar, son of Bābā Hasan Abdāl, who was born at Sabzwār and settled at Qandahār*" Dowson, in his edition of *Elliot's Historians*, mentions Kirmān as the residence of Sayyid Ṣafaʾi, and gives (I, 239) a few particulars from the Tarikh i Sindh, regarding the saint Baba Ḥasan Abdal, who lived under Mirzā Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr The town of Hasan Abdāl in the Panjab, east of Aṭak, is called after him

M M built also several public edifices especially in Sakhar opposite to Bhakkar and in the midst of the branch of the Indus which flows round Bhakkar he built a dome, to which he gave the name of Satyasur (ستاسر) " It is one of the wonders of the world, and its *Tārikh* is contained in the words گنبد دریائی," water dome, which gives A H 1007

He was a pious man and exceedingly liberal, he often sent presents to all the people of Bhakkar, great and small But when he retired, he discontinued his presents, and the people even felt for some cause oppressed (*mutaazzi*) It is especially mentioned of him that on his jagir lands he laid out forests for hunting

His eldest son, for whose instruction he wrote the Tarikh i Sindh, was Mir Buzurg He was captured in full armour on the day Prince Khusraw's rebellion was suppressed, but he denied having had a share in it Jahangir asked him why he had his armour on "My father,' replied he ' advised me to dress in full armour when on guard," and as the *Chaukīnawīs*, or guard writer, proved that he had been on guard that day, he was let off

On the death of his father, Jahangir is said to have left Mir Buzurg in possession of his father's property He was for a long time Bakhshi of Qandahār, but he was haughty and could never agree with the Ṣubahdārs He spent the 30 or 40 lacs of rupees which he had inherited from his father His contingent was numerous and well mounted He subsequently served in the Dakhin, but as his jagir did not cover his expenses, he resigned and retired to Bkakkar, contenting himself with the landed property which he had inherited He died in 1044 Some of his children settled in Multan

330 **Khwaja Malik ʿAli, Mir Shab**

His title of Mir Shab implies that he was in charge of the illuminations and the games and animal fights held at night (p 232)

331 **Rāy Ram Dās Diwan** *Vide* No 238

332 **Shāh Muḥammad, son of Saʿīd Khān, the Gakkhar**

For his relations, *vide* under No 247

333 **Rahīm Qulī, son of Khān Jahān (No 24)**

334 **Sher Beg, Yasāwulbāshī**

Karam Beg, son of Sher Beg, is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (III, 623)

XXII Commanders of Two Hundred

335 **Iftikhar Beg, son of Bāyazid Beg (No 299)**

He was alive in the end of A H 1007 (*Akbarn*, III, 804)

336 **Pratab Singh, son of Rāja Bhagwan Dās (No 27)**

He was mentioned under No 160

337 **Husayn Khan Qazwini.** *Vide* No 281

338 **Yadgar Husayn, son of Qabūl Khan (No 137)**

He was mentioned under No 137 In the 31st year he served under Qasim Khān in Kashmīr The Yadgar Husayn mentioned in the *Tuzuk* (p 146) may be the same He was promoted, in the 10th year of Jahāngir s reign, to a command of 700, 500 horse for his services in the Dakhin *Vide* also *Padishahnama*, I, b, p 323, l 2 from below

He is not to be confounded with Khwaja Yadgār, a brother of ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Fīruz jang

339 **Kamran Beg of Gilan**

He served in the 33rd year (996) in Gujrat and Kachh against Fath Khan, the younger son of Amin Khan Ghori and Muzaffar, and in the 36th year against Muzaffar and the Jam *Akbarn*, III, 553, 621

340 **Muhammad Khan Turkman**

341 **Nizamu 'd Din Ahmad, son of Shah Muhammad Khān (No 95)**

He is not to be confounded with the author of the *Tabaqāt*

342 **Sakat Singh, son of Rāja Man Singh (No 30)**

Vide No 256

343 **ʿImadu 'l Mulk**

The *Akbarnāma* mentions a Qāzi ʿImadu 'l Mulk, who in the end of 984 (21st year) accompanied a party of courtiers to Makkah

344 **Sharif i Sarmadi.**

He was a poet *Vide* below, among the poets of Akbar's reign

345 **Qara Bahr, son of Qarataq**

Qarataq, whose name in the *Akbarnāma* is spelled *Qarātāq*, was killed by Gajpati in the same fight in which Farhang Khān, son of Farhat Khān (No 145), was slain (No 145)

346 **Tātar Beg**, son of ʿAlī Muḥammad Asp. (No. 258).

347 **Khwāja Muhibb ʿAlī of Khawāf.**

Vide No 159, note.

348 **Hakim [Jalālᵘ 'd-Dīn] Muẓaffar of Ardıstān**

Ardıstān is a Persian town which lies between Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was at first a doctor at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and emigrated when young to India, where he was looked upon as a very experienced doctor, though his theoretical reading is said to have been limited *Badāʾonī* (III, 169) and the *Tuzak* (p 59) praise the purity of his character and walk of life

He served in 988 (25th year) in Bengal, returned in the end of the 28th year with Mirzā ʿAzīz (No 21) to court, and served subsequently under him in Gujrāt and Kachh *Akbarn*, III, 283, 418 620. Under Jahāngīr he was made a commander of 3,000 1,000 horse (*Tuzuk*, p 37) The emperor was fond of him, as he had been with him in Ilāhābād, when as prince he had rebelled against Akbar The news of the Ḥakīm's death reached J on the 22nd Jumāda I, 1016 For about twenty years before his death, he had suffered from *qarha*[1] *yı shush*, or disease of the lungs, but his uniform mode of living (*yaktawrī*) prolonged his life His cheeks and eyes often got quite red and when he got older, his complexion turned bluish He was accidentally poisoned by his compounder

349 **ʿAbdᵘ 's Subhan**, son of ʿAbdᵘ r Rahmān, Dulday (No 186)

He was mentioned under No 328

350 **Qāsim Beg of Tabrız**

He served in the 36th year under Sultān Murad in Malwa, and died on the 23rd Ābān (end of) 1007, *vide Akbarn*, III, 628, 803 *Vide* below under the learned men of Akbar's reign

351 **Sharıf** (Amīrᵘ 'l Umarā), son of Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 's Ṣamad (No 266)

Muhammad Sharıf was the school companion of Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him When the prince had occupied Ilāhābād in rebellion against Akbar, Sharıf was sent to him to advise him, but he only widened the breach between the prince and his father, and gained such an ascendancy over Salım, that he made the rash promise to give him half the kingdom should he obtain the throne When a reconciliation had been effected between Salım and Akbar, Sh had to fly for his life, and concealed himself in the hills and jungles He was reduced to starvation, when he heard of Akbar's death He went at once to court,

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[[1] *Qarla* ulceration ?—P]

and Jahāngir, true to his promise, made him Amīr^u 'l-Umarā, Vakīl, entrusted him with the great seal (ū-uẓ) and allowed him to select his jāgīr lands The emperor says in his Memoirs, " He is at once my brother, my friend, my son, my companion When he came back, I felt as if I had received new life I am now emperor, but consider no title sufficiently high to reward him for his excellent qualities, though I can do no more than make him Amīr^u 'l-Umāra and a commander of 5,000 My father never did more "

Sharīf seems to have advised the emperor to drive all Afghans from India, but the Khān i A'ẓam (No 21) warned Jahangir against so unwise a step Though Sh 's position at court was higher than that of Mirza 'Aziz, the latter treated him contemptuously as a mean upstart, and Sh recommended the emperor to kill 'Aziz for the part he had played in Khusraw's rebellion But 'Aziz was pardoned and advised to make it up with Sharif, and invite him to his house The Khan i A'ẓam did so, and invited him and the other Amirs At the feast however, he said to him, in the blandest way, " I say, Nawab, you do not seem to be my friend Now your father Abd^u ṣ Ṣamad, the *Mullā* was much attached to me He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in " Khān Jahān (*vide* under 309) and Mahabat Khan could not stand this insolent remark, and left the hall, and when Jahangir heard of it he said to Sh , " The Khān cannot bridle his tongue, but don t fall out with him "

In the second year, Sh accompanied the emperor on his tour to Kābul, but fell so ill that he had to be left in Lahor Āṣaf Khan (No 98) being appointed to officiate for him On his recovery, he was sent to the Dakhin, but was soon afterwards called to court, as he could not agree with the Khan Khanān (No 29) *It is said that illness deprived* him of the faculty of memory, and Jahangir was on the point of making him retire, when Khan Jahān interceded on his behalf He was again sent to the Dakhīn, and died there a natural death

Like his father, Sh was a good painter He also made himself known as a poet, and composed a Diwan His *takhalluṣ* is *Fārisī* (*Badā'onī*, III, 310)

Sh 's eldest son, Shāhbaz Khab, died when young A Sara'i near Lakhnau, about a *kos* from the town, bears his name

His two younger sons, Mirza Gul and Mirza Jar^u 'llah used to play with Jahāngir at chess and *nard*, but this ceased at the death of their father M Jār^u 'llah was married to Misri Begam, a daughter of Āṣaf Khan (No 98), but from a certain aversion, the marriage was never consummated At Āṣaf s death, Jahāngir made him divorce his wife,

and married her to Mīrzā Lashkarī (No 375), son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (under No 35)

Both brothers followed Mahābat Khān to Kābul, where they died

352 Taqiyā of Shustar

Taqiyā is the Īrānī from for *Taqī* The *Ṭabaqat* calls him Taqī Muhammad *Badāʿonī* (III, 206) has Taqiyᵘ 'd-Dīn and says that he was a good poet and a well educated man At Akbar's order he undertook a prose version of the *Shāhnāma* He is represented as a "murīd" or disciple of Akbar's Divine Faith

He was still alive in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1017) when he received for his attainments the title of *Muʾarrikh Khān* (*Tuzuk*, p 69, where in Sayyid Ahmad's edition we have to read *Shushtarī* for the meaningless *Shamsherī*)

Taqiya is not to be confounded with the more illustrious Taqiyā of Balbān (a village near Isfahan), who according to the *Mirʾ-ātᵘ 'l ʿAlam*, came in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign to India He is the author of the rare *Tazkira*, or Lives of Poets, entitled *ʿArafāt o ʿArasāt*, and of the Dictionary entitled *Surma yi Sulaymānī*, which the lexicographer Muhammad Husayn used for his *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ*

353 Khwaja ʿAbdᵘ 's Samad of Kashān

354 Hakim Lutfᵘ 'ullāh, son of Mulla ʿAbdᵘ 'r Razzāq of Gilān

He is the brother of Nos 112 and 205, and arrived in India after his brothers Badāʾonī (III, 169) calls him a very learned doctor

355 Sher Afkan }
356 Amanᵘ 'llah } sons of Sayf Khān Koka (No 38)

Amanᵘ 'llah died in the 45th year of Akbar's reign at Burhānpūr "He was an excellent young man, but fell a victim to the vice of the age, and died from excessive wine drinking" *Akbarnāma*, III, 835

357 Salim Quli }
358 Khalil Quli } sons of Ismāʿil Quli Khān (No 46)

359 Wali Beg, son of Payanda Khān (No 68)

He served under Qasim Khān (No 59) in the conquest of Kashmīr

360 Beg Muhammad Uighur

361 Mīr Khan Yasawul

When Akbar during the first Gujrātī war (p 480, note 2) had left Patan for Chotana (Rajab 980) it was reported that Muzaffar of Gujrat had fled from Sher Khan Fuladi and was concealed in the neighbourhood; *vide* under No 67 Akbar therefore sent Mir Khan the Yasāwul and Farid the Qarāwul, and afterwards Abū 'l Qasim Namakin (No 199) and Karam ʿAli, in search of him Mīr Khān had not gone far when he

found the *chatr* and *sāyabān* (p 52) which Muzaffar had dropped, and soon after captured Muzaffar himself in a field Mīr Khān took him to Akbar.

362 **Sarmast Khān**, son of Dastam Khān (No 79)

363 **Sayyid Abū 'l Hasan**, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mīr ʿAdl (No 140)

364 **Sayyid ʿAbdᵘ 'l-Wāhid**, son of the Mīr ʿAdl's brother

365 **Khwāja Beg Mīrzā**, son of Maʿsūm Beg

366 **Sakrā**, brother of Rānā Pratāb

Sakrā is the son of Rānā Udai Singh, son of Rānā Sānkā (*died* A H 934) When his brother Pratāb, also called Rāna Kīkā, was attacked by Akbar, he paid his respects at court, and was made a commander of 200

In the 1st year of Jahāngīr's reign he got a present of 12,000 rupees, and joined the expedition led by Prince Parwīz against Rānā Amrā, Pratāb's successor In the end of the same year he served against Dalpat (*vide* under No 44), and was in the 2nd year made a commander of 2,500, 1,000 horse He received, in the 11th year, a mansab of 3,000, 2,000 horse

The *Akbarnāma* mentions another son of Udai Singh, of the name of *Sakat Singh*, who in the 12th year of Akbar's reign was at court The emperor had just returned from the last war with Khān Zamān when he heard that Udai Singh had assisted the rebellious Mīrzas He therefore resolved to punish the Rānā, and on a hunting tour in Pargana Bārī told Sakat Singh of his intentions, and expressed a hope that he would accompany him Sakat, however, fled to his father, and told him of Akbar's intentions This determined the emperor to carry out his plan without delay Udaipur was invaded, and Chitor surrendered

367 **Shādī Be Uzbak** } sons of Nazar Be (No 169)
368 **Baqī Be Uzbak** }

They have been mentioned above From the *Akbarnāma* (III, 628) we see that Nazar Be received a jāgīr in Handia, where he rebelled and perished (36th year)

369 **Yunan Beg**, brother of Murād Khan (No 54)

Some MSS have *Mīrzā Khān* for *Murād Khān*

370 **Shaykh Kabīr ᵘ'r Chishtī** [Shujāʿat Khān, Rustam i Zaman] [2]

The *Ma'āṣir* calls him "an inhabitant of Mau" He was a relation of Islām Khān i Chishtī, and received the title of Shujā'at Khān from Prince Salīm who on his accession made him a commander of 1,000 (*Tuzuk*, p 12) He served under Khan Jahān (*vide* under No 309) in the Dakhin as *harāwal*, an office which the Sayyids of Bārha claimed as hereditary in their clan Afterwards he went to Bengal and commanded the imperialists in the last war with 'Usmān During the fight he wounded 'U 's elephant, when the Afghān chief received a bullet, of which he died the night after the battle The day being lost, Walī Khān, 'Usmān's brother, and Mamrez Khān 'Usman's son, retreated to a fort with the dead body of their relation, and being hotly pursued by Shaykh Kabīr, they submitted with their families and received his promise of protection The 49 elephants which they surrendered were taken by Sh K to Islām Khan in Jahnāgirnagar (Dhaka), 6th Safar, 1021 (*Tuzuk*, p 104)

Jahangir gave him for his bravery the title of *Rustam i Zamān* The *Ma'āṣir* says that Islam Khān did not approve of the promise of protection which Sh K had given the Afghāns, and sent them prisoners to court On the road they were executed by 'Abdu 'llāh Khan at the emperor's orders Sh K annoyed at this breach of faith, left Bengal While on the way he received an appointment as governor of Bihār At his entry in Patna he sat upon a female elephant when another elephant suddenly came up against his Sh K jumped down and broke his neck

The *Tuzuk* tells the story differently, and says that Islām Khān appointed Sh K to Orisa and that on his way to that province the accident took place Nothing is said about 'Usmān's relations

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Note on the death of 'Usmān Lohānī

There are few events in Indian history so confused as the details attending the death of 'Usman Khwaja 'Usman, according to the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* was the second son of Miyān 'Isa Khan Lohānī, who after the death of Qutlū Khan was the leader of the Afghāns in Orisa and Southern Bengal Qutlu left three sons—Nasib Shah, Lodi Khan Jamal Khān 'Isa Khan left five sons, Khwaja, Sulayman, 'Usmān, Walī, Ibrahīm Stewart makes 'Usman a son of Qutlū (*History of Bengal*, p 133) Sulayman "reigned" for a short time He killed in a fight with the imperialists Himmat Singh, son of Rāja Man Singh (*vide* No 244) held lands near the Brahmaputra, and subjected the Rajas of the adjacent countries 'Usman succeeded him, and received from Man Singh lands in Orisa and Satgāw, and later in *Eastern Bengal*,

with a revenue of 5 to 6 lacs *per annum* His residence is described to have been the *Kohistān i Dhākā*, or "hills of Dhākā" (Tiparah ?), the *vilāyat i Dhākā*, or District of Dhakā, and Dhākā itself The fight with ʿUsmān took place on Sunday, 9th Muharram, 1021, or 2nd March, 1612,[1] at a distance of 100 *kos* from Dhakā My MS of the Makhzan calls the place of the battle *Nek Ujyāl*[2] Stewart (p 134) places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnrikha river" in Orisa, which is impossible, as Shujāʿat Khān arrived again in Dhākā on the 6th Safar, or 26 days after the battle According to the *Tuzuk*, Islam Khān was in Dhaka when the fight took place, and Wali Khān submitted to Shujāʿat, who had been strengthened by a corps under ʿAbdu 's-Salam son of Muʿazzam Khān (No 260), but the Makhzan says that Islam besieged Wali in the Mahalls where ʿUsmān used to live, between the battlefield and Dhakā, and afterwards in the Fort of Dhākā itself Wali, on his submission, was sent to court with 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants taken from ʿUsmān, received a title of jagir, and was made a commander of 1,000 after which he lived comfortably According to the *Māʿaṣir*, as said above he was murdered before he came to court The *Tuzuk* says nothing about him

Stewart says (p 136) that he was taken to court by Hoshang Islām Khan's son, but the *Tuzuk*, p 115, though it has a long passage on the Mugs which he brought with him, does not mention the Afghan prisoners

The Makhzan also says that ʿUsmān, after receiving his wound at the time when the battle was nearly decided in his favour, was carried off by Wali in a litter and buried on the road When Shujāʿat came up to the place where he had been buried, he had ʿUsmān's corpse taken out, cut off the head, and sent it to court

ʿUsmān is said to have been so stout that he was obliged to travel on an elephant At his death he was forty two years of age

The Dutch traveller De Laet (p 488, note) has the following interesting passage *Rex* (Jahangir) *eodem tempore misit Tseziad ghanum Chiech zaden* (Shujaʿat Khān Shaykhzada) *ad Tzalanghanum* (Islam Khān) *qui Bengalae praeerat, ut illum in praefecturam Odiae* (Orisa) *mitteret Sed Osmanchanus Patanensis, qui jam aliquot annis regionem quae Odiam et Daeck* (between Orīsa and Dhakā, i e, the Sunderban) *interjacet, tenuerat et limites regni incursaverat, cum potentissimo exercitu advenit, Daeck oppugnaturus Tzalanchanus autem praemisit adversus ipsum*

[1] According to Prinsep's Useful Tables the 9th Muharram was a Monday not a Sunday *Tuzuk* p 102

[2] There are several Ujjals mentioned below among the Parganas of Sirkār Mahmūdābād (Bosnah) and Sarkar Bazuha (Mymensing Bogra)

(ʿUsman) *Tzesiad chanum, una cum Mirza Ifftager et Ethaman chano* (Iftikhār Khān and Ihtimam Khan [1]) *et aliis multis Omerauvvis, cum reliquis copiis X aut XV cosarum intervallo subsequens, ut suis laborantibus subsidio esset Orto dein certamine inter utrumque exercitum, Efftager et Mierick Zalaier* (Mirak Jalair—not in the *Tuzuk*) *tam acrem impressionem decerunt ut hostes loco moverent, sed Osman inter haec ferocissimum elephantum in illos emisit, ita ut regii vicissim cedere cogerentur, et Efftager caederetur, Tzesiad gaunus autem ▪ ipse elephanto insidens, ut impetum ferocientis belluae, declinaret, se e suo dejecit, ▪ crus prefregit, ita ut aegre a suis e certamine subduceretur, ▪ regii passim fugam capescerent actumque fuisset de regiis, nisi inopinatus casus proelium restituisset miles quidem saucius humi jacens, casu Osmano qui elephanto vehebatur, oculum globo trajecit, e quo vulnere paulo post expiravit, cujus morte milites illius ita fuerunt consternati ut statim de fuga cogitarent Regii vero ordinibus sensim restitutis, eventum proelii Tzalanchano perscripsere qui biduo post ad locum venit ubi pugnatum fuerat, et Tzedsiatgano e vulnere defuncto, magnis itineribus fratrem* (Walī Khan) *et biduam atque liberos Osmanis assecutus, vivos cepit, eosque cum elephantis et omnibus thesauris defuncti, postquam Daeck Bengalae metropolim est reversus, misit ad regem Anno* (the year is left out)

De Laet says that Shujaʿat Khan died from a fall from his elephant during the battle, but the accident took place some time later The *Maʾāṣir* says that he was on horseback when ʿUsmān's elephant, whom the Tuzuk calls *Gajpatī*, and Stewart *Bukhta* (?), knocked him over, but Sh quickly disentangled himself and stuck his dagger into the animal s trunk

The Makhzan says that the plunder amounted to 7 lacs of rupees and 300 elephants

371 Mirza Khwaja, son of Mirza Asadu 'llah *Vide* No 116

372 Mirza Sharif, son of Mirza ʿAlāʾu d Din

373 Shukru llah [Zafar Khan] son of Zayn Khan Koka (No 34)

He was mentioned above on p 369 On the death of his father, he was made a commander of 700, and appears to have received at the end of Akbar s reign, the title of Zafar Khan

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[1] The *Tuzuk* (p 102) mentions Kishwar Khan (▪ 497) Iftikhār Khān Sayyid Ādam Bārha Shaykh Achhe brother s son of Muqarrab Khan Muʿtamid Khān and Ihtimām Khān, as under Shujāʿat s command. Sayyid Ādam (the *Tuzuk* p 132 l 4 from below has wrongly Sayyid Aʿẓam) Iftikhār and Shaykh Achhe were killed Later ʿAbdu s Salām son of Muʿazzam Khan (No 260) joined and pursued ʿUsmān

As his sister was married to Jahāngīr (*vide* under No 37, and note 2, to No 225) Z Kh was rapidly promoted When the emperor, in the second year of his reign, left Lāhor for Kābul, he halted at Mawzaʿ Ahroʾī,[1] near Fort Atak, the inhabitants of which complained of the insecurity of the district arising from the predatory habits of the Khatar (p 506, note 2) and Dilahzak (note to No 247) Zafar was appointed to Atak, *vice* Ahmad Beg Khān (No 191), and was ordered to remove the tribes to Lāhor, keep their chiefs imprisoned, and restore all plunder to the rightful owners On Jahāngīr's return from Kābul, he joined the emperor, and was in the following year promoted to a mansab of 2,000, 1,000 horse In the 7th year he was made a commander of 3,000, 2,000 horse, and governor of Bihār In the 10th year he was removed, went back to court, where he received an increase of 500 horse, and then served in Bangash "Nothing else is known of him." *Maʾāsir*

From the *Tuzuk* (p 343) we see that Zafar Khan died in the beginning of 1031, when Jahāngīr made his son Saʿādat a commander of 800, 400 horse

Saʿādat Khān, his son He served in Kābul, and was at the end of Jahangir's reign a commander of 1,500, 700 horse In the 5th year after Shāhjahān's accession, he was made a commander of 1,500, 1,000 horse, and was promoted up to the 25th year to a full command of 3,000 horse He again served in Kābul, and under Murād Bakhsh in Balkh and Badakhshān, was made commandant of Tirmiz and distinguished himself in repelling a formidable night attack made by Subhān Quli Khān, ruler of Bukhārā (19th year) Later he served in the Qandahār wars, was in the 29th year Fawjdar of Upper and Lower Bangash, and two years later commandant of Fort Kābul

In 1069, the second near of Awrangzib's reign, he was killed by his son Sherullah Mahābat Khan, Sūbahdār of Kābul, imprisoned the murderer

374 Mīr ʿAbdᵘ 'l Mumin, son of Mīr Samarqandi

Mir Samarqandi was a learned man who came during Bayrām's regency of Āgra *Badāʾonī*, III, 149

375 Lashkarī, son of Mirza Yūsuf Khān (No 35)

Vide above, p 405, and for his wife under No 351.

376 Agha Mulla Qazwīnī *Vide* No 278

377 Muhammad ʿAlī of Jam

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[1] The *Maʾāsir* has اهروئی, the *Tuzuk* p 48 اسروهی I cannot find it on the maps It is described as a green flat spot The Khatars and Dilahzaks are estimated in the *Tuzuk* at 7 to 8 000 families

ʿAlī Qulī accompanied the prince on his expedition against the Rānā, and received from him the title of Sher Afkar Khān On his accession, he received Bardwan as *tuyūl* His hostile encounter with Shaykh Khūbū (No 275) was related on p 551 The *Maʾāsir* says that when he went to meet the Ṣūbahdar, his mother put a helmet (*dubalgha*) on his head, and said, "My son make his mother cry, before he makes your mother weep," then kissed him, and let him go

ʿAlī Q 's daughter, who, like her mother, had the name of Mihr^{u} 'n Nisā, was later married to Prince Shahryar, Jahangīr's fifth son

Jahangīr, in the *Tuzuk*, expresses his joy at ʿA Q 's death, and hopes that "the blackfaced wretch will for ever remain in hell" Khafi Khān (I, p 267) mentions an extraordinary circumstance, said to have been related by Nūr Jahān's mother According to her, Sher Afkan was not killed by Qutb^{u} 'd Din's men, but, wounded as he was managed to get to the door of his house, with the intention of killing his wife, whom he did not wish to fall into the emperor's hands But her mother would not let him enter, and told him to mind his wounds, especially as Mihr^{u} 'n Nisā had committed suicide by throwing herself into a well ' Having heard the sad news, Sher Afkan went to the heavenly mansions "

His body was buried in the shrine of the poet Bahram Saqqā (*vide* below among the poets), the place is pointed out to this day at Bardwan

A verse is often mentioned by Muhammadans in allusion to four tigers which Nūr Jahan killed with a musket The tigers had been caught (*Tuzuk*, p 186) and Nur Jahān requested Jahangir to let her shoot them She killed two with one ball each, and the other two with two bullets, without missing for which the emperor gave her a present of one thousand Ashrafīs One of the courtiers said on the spur of the moment —

نورجهان گرچه بصورت زن است   درصف مردان زن شیر افکن است

"Though Nūr Jahān is a woman she is in the array of men a *zan i sher afkan*," i e , either the wife of Sher Afkan, or a woman who throws down (*afkan*) tigers (*sher*)

395 **Shah Muhammad, son of Masnad i ʿAlī**

Vide Nos 306 and 385

396 **Sanwaldas Jadon**

He accompanied Akbar on his forced march to Patan and Ahmadābād (p 458, note) and served in 989 under Prince Murād in Kābul In 992 he was assaulted and dangerously wounded by some Bhāṭi Akbar visited him, as he was given up by the doctors, but he recovered after an illness of three years

He was the son of Raja Gopal Jadon's brother (*vide* No 305) and Abū 'l Fazl calls him a personal attendant of the emperor *Akbarn*, III, 24, 333, 435

397 Khwaja Zahir[u] 'd Din, son of Shaykh Khalil[u] llah

He served in the 31st year under Qasim Khan (No 59) in the conquest of Kashmir, and in the 46th year in the Dakhin

His father is also called *Shāh* Khalil[u] llah He served in the 10th year against Khān Zaman, and under Munʿim Khan in Bengal and Orisa, and died in 983 at Gaur of fever (p 407)

Father and son are not to be confounded with the more illustrious Mir Khalil[u] 'llah of Yazd and his son Mir Zahir[u] d Din, who in the 2nd year of Jahāngir came as fugitives from Persia to Lahor The history of this noble family is given in the *Ma*ʾ*asir*

398 Mir Abu l Qasim of Nishapur

399 Haji Muhammad Ardistani

400 Muhammad Khan, son of Tarson Khan's sister (No 32)

401 Khwaja Muqim, son of Khwāja Mirakı

He served under ʿAziz Koka in Bengal and returned with him to court in the 29th year In 993 he served again in Bengal, and was besieged, together with Tahir Sayf[u] 'l Muluk (No 201) in Fort Ghoraghat by several Bengal rebels In the end of the 35th year (beginning of 999), he was made *Bakhshī* *Akbarn*, III, 418, 470, 610

Vide Dowson's edition of *Elliot s Historians*, I, pp 248, 251

402 Qadir Quli, foster brother of Mirzā Shahrukh (No 7)

He served in the 36th year in Gujrāt *Akbarn*, III, 621

403 Firuza, a slave of the emperor Humāyūn

Badaʾoni (III, 297) says that he was captured, when a child, by a soldier in one of the wars with India, and was taken to Humāyūn, who brought him up with Mirzā Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother He played several musical instruments and composed poems He came to India with Ghāzī Khān i Badakhshi (No 144)

Badaʾoni also says that he was a Langā

404 Tāj Khān Khatriya. *Vide* No 172

405 Zayn[u] 'd Din ʿAlī

He served in the 25th year (end of 988) under Mān Singh against M Muhammad Hakim

406 Mir Sharif of Kolāb

407 Pahār Khān, the Baluch

He served in the 21st year against Daudā, son of Surjan Hāda (No 96),

and afterwards in Bengal In 989, the 26th year, he was *tuyūldār* of Ghazipūr, and hunted down Ma'sūm Khan Farankhūdī, after the latter had plundered Muhammadabād (*vide* under No 175) In the 28th year he served in Gujrāt, and commanded the centre in the fight at Maisānā, S E of Patan, in which Sher Khān Fulādī was defeated *Akbarn*, III, 160, 355, 416

Dr Wilton Oldham, C S, states in his "Memoir of the Ghazepoor District" (p 80) that Fawjdār Pahār Khān is still remembered in Ghazipūr, and that his tank and tomb are still objects of local interest

408 **Keshu Das, the Rāthor**

In the beginning of 993 (end of the 29th year) he served in Gujrat A daughter of his was married to Prince Salim (*vide* under No 4) From the *Akbarnama*, III, 623, it appears that he is the son of Ray Ray Singh's brother (No 44) and perished in the 36th year, in a private quarrel

409 **Sayyid Lad Barha**

In 993, Sayyid Lad served with the preceding in Gujrāt, and in the 46th year, in the Dakhin

410 **Nasir Ma'in**

Ma'in (منس) or Munj, is the name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rajpūts, chiefly inhabiting Sarhind and the Bahat Du'ab "The only famous man which this tribe has produced is 'Isa Khan Ma'in He served under Bahadur Shāh and Jahandar Shah *Ma'āsir*

411 **Sanga, the Puwar**

412 **Qabil, son of 'Atiq**

413 **Adwand** } Zamindars of Orisā
414 **Sundar** }

415 **Nuram, foster brother of Mirzā Ibrahim**

He served in the 31st year against the Afghans on Mount Terah, and in 1000, under Man Singh in the expedition to Orisā *Akbarn*, III, 532, 642

Mirza Ibrahim was Akbar's youngest brother, who died as an infant

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The above list of grandees includes the names of such Mansabdars above the rank of commanders of Five Hundred as were alive and dead in the 40th year of his Majesty's reign, in which this book was completed, but the list of the commanders from Five hundred to Two hundred, only contains such as were alive in that year Of those who hold a lower rank and are now alive, I shall merely give the number There are at present —

of Commanders of 150			53
Do	120		1
Do	100	or *Yuzbashis*	250
Do	80		91
Do	60		204
Do	50		16
Do	40		260
Do	30	or *Tarkashbands*	39
Do	20		250
Do	10		224

[Total 1 388 Mansabdars below the rank of a Commander of 200]

Scarcely a day passes away on which qualified and zealous men are not appointed to mansabs or promoted to higher dignities Many Arabians and Persians also come from distant countries and are honoured with commissions in the army whereby they obtain the object of their desires A large number again both of old and young servants receive their discharge and are rewarded by his Majesty with daily allowances or grants of land that render them independent

As I have mentioned the Grandees of the state both such as are still alive and such as have gone to their rest I shall also give the names of those who have been employed in the administration of the government and thus confer upon them everlasting renown

The following have been *Vakils* or prime ministers [1] —

Bayram Khan (No 10) Munʿim Khan (No 11) Atga Khan (No 15) Bahadur Khan (No 23) Khwaja Jahan (No 110) Khan Khanan Mirza Khan (No 29) Khan i Aʿzam Mirza ʿKoka (No 21)

The following have been *Vazirs* or ministers of finances —

Mir ʿAzizu llah Turbati Khwaja Jalalu d Din Mahmud [2] of Khurasan (No 65) Khwaja Muʿinu d Din Farankhudi (No 128) Khwaja ʿAbdu l Majid Āsaf Khan (No 49) Vazir Khan (No 41) Muzaffar Khan (No 37) Raja Todar Mal (No 39) Khwaja Shah Mansur of Shiraz (No 122) Qulij Khan (No 42) Khwaja Shamsu d Din Khawafi (No 159)

The following have been *Bakhshis* —

Khwaja Jahan (No 110) Khwaja Tahir of Sijistan (No 111) Mawlana Habi Bihzadi [3] Mawlana Darwish Muhammad of Mashhad

[1] Abu 'l Fazl's list is neither complete nor chronologically arranged
[2] The MSS and my text have wrong *Masʿud* for Mahmud.
[3] Some MSS have *Ha* instead of *Habi* (an abbreviation for *Habib*)

Mawlana ʿIshqi [1] Muqim of Khurasan (No 410) Sultan Mahmud of Badakhshan Lashkar Khan (No 90) Shahbaz Khan (No 80) Ray Pi rukhotam Shaykh Farid i Bukhari (No 99) Qazi ʿAli of Baghad Jaʿfar Beg ʿAsaf Khan (No 98) Khwaja Nizamu d Din Ahmad [2] Khwajagi Fathu llah (No 258)

The following have been *Sadrs* [3] —

Mir Fathu llah Shaykh Gada'i son of Shaykh Jamal i Kambu Khwajagi Muhammad Salih descendant in the third generation from Khwaja ʿAbdu llah Marwarid Mawlana ʿAbdu l Baqi Shaykh ʿAbdu n Nabi Sultan Khwaja (No 108), Sadr Jahan (No 194)

Concluding Note by the Translator of Akbar s Mansabdars

The principal facts which Abu l Fazl s list of Grandees discloses are *first* that there were very few Hindustani Musulmans in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service most of the officers being foreigners especially Persians and Afghans *secondly* that there was a very fair sprinkling of Hindu Amirs as among the 415 Mansabdars there are 51 Hindus

The Mansabdars who had fallen into disgrace or had rebelled have mostly been excluded Thus we miss the names of Mir Shah Abu l Maʿali Khwaja Muʿazzam brother of Akbar s mother Baba Khan Qaqshal Maʿsum i Kabuli (p 476 note) ʿArab Bahadur Jab ri etc But there are also several left out as Khizr Khwaja (p 391 note 2) Sultan Husayn Jala'ir (*vide* under No 64) Kamal Khan the Gakkhar (*vide* p 507) Mir Gesu (p 464) Nawrang Khan son of Qutbu d Din Khan (No 29) Mirza Quli (p 118) Raja Askaran (under No 171) and others for whose omission it is difficult to assign reasons

Comparing Abu l Fazl s list with that in the *Tabaqat* or the careful lists of Shahjahan s grandees in the *Padishahnama* we observe that Abu l Fazl has only given the *man sab* but not the actual commands which would have shown the strength of the contingents (*tabinan*) In other words Abu l Fazl has merely given the *zati* rank (p 251) This will partly account for the discrepancies in rank between his list and that by Nizamu d Din in the *Tabaqat* which may advantageously be given here Nizam gives only mansabdars of higher rank viz —

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[1] [illegible] He was of Ghazni

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible] ʿAbdu l Baq who was *Sadr* in the fifth

	In the Tabaqāt[1]	*In Abū 'l Fazl's list*
1	Khān Khānān Bayrām Khān .	No. 10 Mansab, 5,000[1]
2	Mīrzā Shāhrukh, 5,000 . .	„ 7, 5,000
3	Tardī Beg Khān . .	„ 12, do
4	Munʿim Khān . .	„ 11, do
5	Mīrzā Rustam, 5,000 . .	„ 9, do
6	Mīrzā Khān Khānān . .	„ 29, do
7.	ʿAlī Qulī Khān Zamān . .	„ 13, do
[illegible]	Adham Khān	„ 19, do
9	Mīrzā Sharafu 'd Dīn Husayn .	„ 17, do
10	Shamsu 'd-Dīn Muhammad Atga Khān	„ 15, do
11.	Muhammad ʿAzīz Kokultāsh, 5,000	„ 21, do
12	Khizr Khwāja . . .	not in the Āʾīn; *vide* p 394
13	Bahādur Khān, 5,000 . .	No 22, 5,000
14	Mīr Muhammad Khān Atga .	„ 16, do
15	Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās*	„ 31, do
16	Khān Jahān, 5,000 .	„ 24, do
17	Shihābu 'd Dīn Ahmad Khān, 5,000 . . .	„ 26, do
18	Saʿīd Khān, 5,000 . .	„ 25, do
19	Pīr Muhammad Khān . .	„ 20, do.
20	Rāja Bihārī Mal[2] . .	„ 23, do
21	Rāja Bhagwān Dās, 5,000 .	„ 27, do
22	Mān Singh, 5,000 . .	„ 30, do
23	Khwāja ʿAbdu 'l Majīd Āsaf Khān, maintained 20,000 horse	„ 49, 3,000
24	Sikandar Khān Uzbak[2]	„ 48, 3,000
25	ʿAbdu 'llah Khān Uzbak .	„ 14, 5,000
26	Qiyā Khān Gung[2] . .	„ 33, 5,000
27.	Yūsuf Muhammad Khān Koka, 5,000	„ 18; 5,000
28	Zayn Khān Koka, 5,000 .	„ 34, 4,500
29	Shujāʿat Khān, 5,000 . .	„ 51; 3,000

[1] [illegible] as belonging to the *Umarā-i kibār* = the great Amirs, i e probably the commanders of 5 000

	In the Tabaqāt	*In Abū 'l Fazl's list*
30	Shah Budagh Khān	No 52, 3,000
31	Ibrahim Khān Uzbak, 4,000	,, 64, 2,500
32	Tarsō Muhammad Khān, 5,000	,, 32, 5,000
33	Vazīr Khan, 5 000	,, 41, 4 000
34	Muhammad Murad Khān [1]	,, 54, 3,000
35	Ashraf Khān [1]	,, 74, 2,000
36	Mahdi Qasim Khan [2]	,, 36, 4,000
37	Muhammad Qāsim Khan	,, 40, 4,000
38	Khwāja Sultān ʿAli	,, 56, 3,000
39	Raja Todar Mal, 4 000	,, 39, 4 000
40	Mirzā Yūsuf Khan Razawī, 4,000	,, 35, 4 500
41	Mirza Qulī Khān [1]	not in the Āʾīn, *vide* p 418
42	Muzaffar Khan	No 37, 4,000
43	Haydar Muhammad Khan, 2 000	,, 66, 2 500
44	Shaham Khān Jalaʾir, 2 000	,, 97, 2 000
45	Ismaʾil Sultān Dulday	,, 72, 2 000
46	Muhammad Khān Jalaʾir [3]	not in the Āʾīn
47	Khān i ʿĀlam, 3,000	No 58, 3,000
48	Qutbᵘ 'd Din Muhammad Khan, maintained 5,000 horse	,, 28, 5 000
49	Muhibb ʿAli Khan, 4,000	,, 107, 1,000
50	Qulij Khan, 4,000	,, 42, 4 000
51	Muhammad Ṣādiq Khān, 4,000	,, 43, 4,000
52	Mirza Jani Beg, 3 000	,, 47, 3,000
53	Ismāʿil Quli Khān, 3,000 [3]	,, 46, 3,500
54	Iʿtimād Khān Gujrātī, 4,000	,, 67, 2,500
55	Rāja Ray Singh, of Bikānīr and Nagor, 4,000	,, 44, 4,000
56	Sharif Muhammad Khān, 3,000	,, 63, 3,000
57	Shāh Fakhrᵘ 'd Din, Naqabāt Khān, 1,000	,, 88, 2,000
58	Habib ʿAli Khān	,, 133, 1,000
[illegible]	Shāh Qulī Mahram, 1,000	,, 45, 3,500

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[1] Mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as belonging to the *Umarāʾ i kibār* "the great Amirs" i.e., probably the commanders of 5 000

[2] He got insane *Tabaqāt*

[3] MS 1 000

	In the Tabaqāt	*In Abū 'l Fazl's list*
60	Muhibb ʿAli Khān Rahtāsī, 4,000	not in the Āʾīn, *vide* p 466
61	Muʿinuʾd Din Ahmad . .	No 128, 1,000
62	Iʿtimad Khan Khwājasarā .	„ 119, 1,000
63	Dastam [1] Khān .	„ 79, 2,000
64	Kamal Khān, the Gakkhar, 5,000 5,000	not in the Āʾīn, *vide* p 507, and under No 247
65	Tāhir Khān Mir Farāghat, 2,000	No 94, 2,000
66	Sayyid Hamid of Bukhara, 2,000	„ 78, 2,000
67	Sayyid Mahmūd Khan, Bārha, 4,000	„ 75, 2,000
68	Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Barha, 3,000 . .	„ 91, 2,000
69	Qarā Bahādur Khān,[2] 4,000 (?)	„ 179, 700
70	*Bāqī Muhammad Khān Koka,* 4,000	„ 60, 3,000
71	Sayyid Muhammad Mir ʿAdl	„ 140, 1,000
72	Maʿsūm Khān Farankhūdi, 2,000	„ 157, 1,000
73	Nawrang Khan, 4,000 . .	not in the Āʾīn, *vide* p 354
74	Shāh Muhammad Khān Atga, younger brother of Shamsuʾd Din Atgah [3]	not in the Āʾīn
75	Matlab Khan, 2,000	No 83, 2,000
76	Shaykh Ibrāhim, 2,000 .	„ 82, 2,000
77	ʿAli Quli Khān, 2,000 .	„ 124, 1,000
78	Tolak Khān Qūchin, 2,000	„ 158, 1,000
79	Shāh Beg Khān Kabuli, 3,000	„ 57, 3 000
80	Fattū Khān Afghan, 2,000	not in the Āʾīn, *vide* No 385
81	Fath Khān Filban, [illegible] 000	not in the Āʾīn *vide* under [No 385
82	Samanji Khan Mughul, 2,000	No 100, 1,500
83	Babū Mankli, 1,000	„ 202, 700
84	Darwish Muhammad Uzbak, 2 000	„ 81, 2,000
85	Shāhbaz Khan Kambū, 2 000	„ 80, 2,000
86	Khwāja Jahan Khurāsanī	„ 110, 1,000

[1] The MSS of the *Tabaqāt* also have wrongly *Rustam Khan*
[2] MS Bahadur Khan
[3] This is probably a mistake of the author of the *Tabaqāt*

In the Tabaqat	*In Abu 'l-Fazl's list*
87 Majnun Khan Qaqshal kept 5 000 horse	No 50 3 000
88 Muhammad Qasim Khan [1] 3 000	40 [illegible] 000
89 Muzaffar Husayn Mirza 1 000	180 700
90 Raja Jagannath 3 000	69 2 500
91 Raja Askaran 3 000	not in the Ā'īn vide No 174
92 Ray Lonkaran 2 000	not in the A'in vide No 2[illegible]
93 Madhu Singh brother of R Man Singh 2 000	No 104 1 500
94 Sayf Khan Koka	38 4 000
95 Ghiyasu d Din ʿAli Asaf Khan	126 1 000
96 Payanda Khan Mughul 2 000	68 2 500
97 Mubarak Khan the Gakkhar 1 000	171 1 000
98 Baz Bahadur Afghan 2 000	120 1 000
99 Mirak Khan Jinkjank (?)	not in the Ā'īn
100 Sayyid Qasim Barha 2 000	No 105 1 500
101 Raja Kangar 2 000	not in the Ā'īn vide under No 134
102 Muhammad Husayn Lashkar Khan kept 2 000 horse	No 90 2 000
103 Husayn Khan Tukriyah 2 000	53 3 000
104 Jalal Khan the Gakkhar 1 500	170 1 000
105 Saʿid Khan the Gakkhar 1 500	not in the Ā'īn vide p 508 and under No [illegible]
106 Iʿtibar Khan Eunuch 2 000	No 84 [illegible] 000
107 Khwajah Tahir Muhammad Tatar Khan	111 1 000
108 Moth Raja 1 500	1[illegible]1 1 000
109 Mihtar Khan Khasa Khayl 2 000	10[illegible] 1 500
110 Safdar Khan Khasa Khayl 2 000 [1]	not in the Ā'īn
111 Bahar Khan Khasa Khayl 2 000	No 87 (?) 2 000

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[1] The same as No 37 on p 9[illegible]

	In the *Ṭabaqāt*	In Abū 'l Faẓl's list
112	Farḥat Khān Khāṣa Khayl, 2,000	No 145, 1,000
113	Rāy Sāl Darbārī, 2,000	„ 106, 1,250
114	Rāy Durgā, 1,500 [1]	„ 103, 1,500
115	Mirak Khān Bahādur,[2] 2,000	„ 208, 500
116	Shāh Muhammad Qalātī	„ 95, 2,000
117	Maqṣūd ʿAlī Kor	„ 136, 1,000
118	Ikhlas Khan, the Eunuch, 1,000	„ 86, 2,000
119	Mihr ʿAlī Sildoz, 1,500	„ 130, 1,000
120	Khudawand Khan Dakhinī, 1,500	„ 151, 1,000
121	Mīr Murtaẓā Dakhinī, 1,000	„ 162, 1,000
122	Hasan Khan, a Batanī Afghan, 1,000	„ 220, 500
123	Naẓar Beg, son of Saʿīd, the Ghakkhar, 1,000	„ 247, 500
124	Raja Gopāl, 2,000	not in the Āʾīn, vide under No 305.
125	Qiyā Khān, 1,000	No 184, 700
126	Sayyid Hāshim Bārha, 2,000	„ 143, 1,000
127	Razawī Khan, 2,000	„ 141, 1,000
128	Rāja Bīr Bal, 2 000	„ 85, 2 000
129	Shaykh Farīd i Bukhārī, 1,500	„ 99, 1,500
130	Rāja Surjan, 2 000	„ 96, 2 000
131	Jaʿfar Beg Āṣaf Khan, 2,000	„ 98, 2 000
132	Raja Rūpsī Bairagī, 1,500	„ 118, 1 000
133	Faẓl Khan, 1,500	„ 156, 1,000
134	Shāh Qulī Khan Naranjī, 1,000	„ 231, 500
135	Shaykh Muhammad Khān Bukhārī, 2,000	„ 77, 2,000
136	Lāl Khān Badakhshī	„ 209, 500
137	Khanjar Beg Chaghtā [3]	not in the Āʾīn
138	Makhṣūṣ Khān, 2 500	No 70, 2,500
139	Sānī Khān Arlāt	„ 216, 500

[1] MS 1 000

[2] He died in the explosion of a mine before Chitor

[3] He belongs to the old Amirs of the present dynasty He was an accomplished man excelled in music and composed poems There exists a well known Masnawī by him *dar bāb-i akhara* on the subject of dancing girls *Tabaqāt* Vide *Akbarnāma* II 82

	In the Tabaqāt	*In Abū 'l-Fazl's list*
140	Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān .	No 149; 1,000
141	Jagat Singh, 1,500 .	„ 160, 1,000
142	Mīrzā Najāt Khān	„ 142; 1,000
143	ʿAlī Dost Khān, 1,000 [1]	not in the Āʾīn
144	Sultān Husayn Khān	not in the Āʾīn
145	Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī	No 122, 1,000
146	Salīm Khān, 1,000 .	„ 132, 1,000
147	Sayyid Chhajhū Bārha . .	„ 221, 500
148	Darbār Khān, 1,000	„ 185, 700
149	Ḥājī Muhammad Sīstānī, 1,000 (?)	„ 55, 3,000
150	Muhammad Zamān [2] . .	not in the Āʾīn
151	Khurram Khān, 2,000 [3] .	not in the Āʾīn
152	Muhammad Qulī Toqbāy, 1,000	No 129, 1,000
153	Mujāhid Khān, 1,000 [4] .	not in the Āʾīn
154	Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Awbahī [5]	not in the Āʾīn
155	Shāh Ghāzī Khān Turkmān .	not in the Āʾīn
156	Sheroya, 1,000 . .	No 168, 1,000
157	Kākar ʿAlī Khān, 1,000	„ 92, 2,000
158	Naqīb Khān, 1,000 .	„ 161, 1,000
159	Beg Nūrīn Khān, 1,000	„ 212, 500
160	Qutlū Qadam Khān, 1,000	„ 123, 1,000
161	Jalāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000	„ 213; 500
162	Shimāl Khān Qurchī, 1,000 .	„ 154, 1,000
163	Mīrzāda ʿAlī Khān	„ 152, 1,000
164	Sayyid ʿAbdu 'llāh Khan .	„ 189, 700
165	Mīr Sharīf i Āmulī, 1,000	No 166, 1,000
166	Farrukh Khān	„ 232, 500
167	Dost Khān [6]	not in the Āʾīn
168	Jaʿfar Khān Turkmān, 1,000 .	No 114, 1,000

200 281 297

He is not to be confounded with

	In the Ṭabaqāt		*In Abū 'l Faẓl's list*
169	Rāy Manohar . .	No	265, 400
170	Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'r Raḥīm of Lakhnau	„	197, 700
171	Mirza Abū 'l Muẓaffar	„	240, 500
172	Rāj Singh, son of Rāja Āskaran	„	174, 1,000
173	Rāy Patr Dās . .	„	196, 700
174	Jānish Bahādur .	„	235, 500
175	Muhammad Khān Niyazī	„	239, 500
176	Ram Dās Kachhwāha	„	238, 500
177	Mir Abu 'l Qasim	„	251, 500
178	Khwāja ʿAbdᵘ 'l Hay, Mir ʿAdl	„	230, 500
179	Shamsᵘ 'd Din Husayn, son of Aʿẓam Khan .	„	163, 1,000
180	Khwaja Shamsᵘ 'd Din Khawāfī	„	159, 1,000
181	Mir Jamalᵘ 'd Din Husayn Injū, 1,000 .	„	164, 1,000
182	Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'llah Khān, son of Muhammad Ghaws, 1,000 .	„	173, 1,000
183	Sayyid Rajū Barha, 1,000	„	165, 1,000
184	Medni Ray Chauhān, 1,000	„	198, 700
185	Mir Ṭahir Raẓawī, brother of M Yūsuf Khan .	„	236, 500
186	Tash Beg Kābulī	„	172, 1,000
187	Ahmad Beg Kabulī, keeps 700 horse	„	191, 700
188	Sher Khwāja .	„	176, 800
189	Muhammad Qulī Turkmān	„	203, 600
190	Mirzā ʿAli Alamshāhī[1] .	„	237, 500
191	Wazir Jamīl .	„	200, 700
192	Rāy Bhoj, 1,000	„	175, 1,000
193	Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān .	„	204, 600
194	Mir Ṣadr Jahān . .	„	194, 700
195	Hasan Beg Shaykh ʿUmari	„	167, 1,000
196	Shādmān, son of ʿAziz Koka	„	233, 500
197	Raja Mukatmān Bhadaurya	„	219, 500
198	Baqī Safarchi[2] son of Ṭahir Khān Farāghat		not in the Āʾīn, *vide* No 91

[1] "He is the brother of ʿAlamshāh a courageous man skilful in the use of arms" *Ṭabaqāt* This remark is scarcely in harmony with the facts recorded under No 23"

[[2] Or *Safra-chī*—P]

In the Tabaqat		In Abu l Fazl's list	
199 Faridun Barlas	No	227	500
200 Bahadur Khan Qurdar a Tarin Afghan		269	400
201 Shaykh Bayazid i Chishti		260	400

In this above list a few grandees are mentioned whom Abu l Fazl classes among the commanders of 400 Nizam however adds the following note to his own l st— Let it be known that the title of *Amir* is given to all such as hold Mansabs from 500 upwards *None of those whom I have enumerated holds a less rank*

The Historian Bada'oni has not g ven a list of Amirs but has compiled instead a very valuable list of the poets doctors learned men and saints of Akbar s reign together with biographical notices which make up the third volume of the edition printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal With his usual animus he says (III 1)— I shall not give the names of the Amirs as Nizam has given them in the end of his work and *besides most of them have died without having obtained the pardon of God*

I have seen none that is faithful in this generation
If thou knowest one give him my blessing

Of the Mansabdars whose names Abu l Fazl has not given because the *A'in* list refers to the period prior to the 40th year of Akbar s reign the most famous are Mahabat Khan Khan Jahan Lodi (*vide* under No 309) and 'Abd^u llah Khan Firuz jang

We have no complete list of the grandees of Jahangir s reign but the Dutch traveller De Laet in his work on India (p 151) has a valuable note on the numerical strength of Jahangir s Mansabdars which may be compared with the lists in the *A'in* and the *Padishahn ma* (II 717) Leaving out the princes whose *mansabs* were above 5 000 we have —

Commanders of	*Under Akbar* (A'in)	*Under Jahang r* (De La t)	*Under Sh hjahan* (*P dish hnama*)
5 000	30	8	20
4 500	2	9	II
4 000	9	25	20
3 500	2	30	0
3 000	17	36	44
2 500	8	42	11
2 000	°7	45	51
1 500	7	51	52
1 °50	1	0	0

Commanders of	*Under Akbar* (A'in)	*Under Jahangir* (De Laet)	*Under Shāhjahān* (*Padishāhnāma*)
1 000	31	55	97
900	38	0	23
800	[illegible]	0	40
700	25	58	61
600	4	0	30
500	46	80	114
Total	249	439	563
400	18	73	
350	19	58	
300	33	72	
250	12	85	not specified
200	81	150	
Total	163	438	
150	53	242	
120	1	0	
100	250	300	
80	91	245	not specified
60	204	397	
50	16	0	
40	260	298	
30	39	240	
20	250	232	
10	224	110	
Total	1 388	2 064	

The number of Ahadis under Jahangir, De Laet fixes as follows —

Chabaraspas	741
Sihaspas	1 322
Duaspas	1,428
Yakaspas	950
	4 441 Ahadis

Under Shāhjahān, 17 Grandees were promoted, up to the 20th year of his reign, to mansabs above 5,000 There is no Hindū among them

De Laet has not mentioned how many of the Amīrs were Hindūs But we may compare the lists of the *Ā*ʾ*īn* and the *Pādishāhnāma*

We find under Akbar —

among 252 mansabdars from 5,000 to 500	32 Hindūs
among 163 mansabdars from 400 to 200	25 „

Under Shāhjahan (20th year of his reign), we have —

among 12 mansabdars above 5,000 . .	no Hindūs
among 580 mansabdars from 5,000 to 500	110 Hindūs

The names of commanders below 500 are not given in the *Pādishāh nāma* Regarding other *facts connected with the relative position of* Hindus and Muhammadans at the Mughul court, I would refer the reader to my "Chapter from Muhammadan History," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871

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*Ā*ʾ*īn* 30 (continued)

THE LEARNED MEN OF THE TIME

I shall now speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed His Majesty, who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honours five classes of sages as worthy of attention And yet all five, according to their light, are struck with his Majesty's perfection, the ornament of the world The *first* class, in the lustre of their star, perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal, and in their understanding and the breadth of their views, fully comprehend both realms of thought, and acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of his Majesty The *second* class pay less attention to the external world, but in the light of their hearts they acquire vast knowledge The *third* class do not step beyond the arena of observation (*naẓar*) and possess a certain knowledge of what rests on testimony The *fourth* class look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion, and handle nothing without proof The *fifth* class are bigoted, and cannot pass beyond the narrow sphere of revealed testimony Each class has many subdivisions

I do not wish to set up as a judge and hold forth the faults of people The mere classification was repugnant to my feelings, but truthfulness helps on the pen

First Class —Such as understand the mysteries of both worlds

1 Shaykh Mubarak of Nāgor[1]

Vide under No 253 The *Tabaqāt* also mentions a Shaykh Mubarak of Alwar, and a Sayyid Mubārak of Gwālyār

2 Shaykh Nizam

Abū 'l Fazl either means the renowned Nizamu 'd Dīn of Amethi, near Lakhnau of the Chishti sect, who died A H 979 or Nizāmu 'd Din of Nārnaul, of the same sect, who died in 997

3 Shaykh Adhan

He also belonged to the Chishtīs, and died at Jaunpūr in 970

4 Miyān Wajihu 'd Din

Died at Ahmadābād in 998 The *Tabaqāt* mentions a contemporary, *Shaykh* Wajihu 'd Din Gujratī, who died in 995

5 Shaykh Ruknu 'd Dīn

He was the son of Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l Quddūs of Gango Badāʾonī saw him at Dihli at the time of Bayrām's fall

6 Shaykh Abdu 'l Aziz (of Dihlī)

7 Shaykh Jalālu 'd Dīn

He belongs to Thanesar, and was the pupil and spiritual successor (*khalīfa*) of ʿAbdu 'l Quddus of Gango Died 989

8 Shaykh Ilāhdiya

Ilāhdiya is Hindūstānī for the Persian *Ilāhdād*- "given (*diyā*) by God," "Theodore" He lived at Khayrabad and died in 993

9 Mawlana Husāmu 'd Din

"Mawlānā Husāmu 'd Din Surkh of Lāhor He differed from the learned of Lāhor, and studied theology and philosophy He was very pious" *Tabaqāt*

10 Shaykh ʿAbdu 'l Ghafūr

He belongs to Aʿzampur in Sambhal, and was the pupil of ʿAbdu 'l Quddus Died in 995

11 Shaykh Panjū

He was wrongly called Bechū on p 110, note 3 He died in 969 *Badaʾonī*, II, 53

12 Mawlānā Ismāʿil

He was an Arabian, and the friend of Shaykh Husayn, who taught in Humāyūn's Madrasa at Dihlī He was a rich man, and was killed by some burglars that had broken into his house

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[1] The notes are taken from the *Tabaqat* the third volume of *Badāʾonī* and the *Mirʾat 'l ʿĀlam*

13 Madhū Sarsutı
14 Madhūsudan
15 Nārayn Asram
16 Harıjı Sūr
17 Damūdar Bhat
18 Rāmtīrth
19 Nar Sing
20 Parmındar
21 Ādıt

Second Class — Such as understand the mysteries of the heart

22 Shaykh Ruknu 'd Dın Mahmūd [1] Kamangar (the bow maker)

23 Shaykh Amānu llah

24 Khwāja ʿAbdu 'sh Shahīd

He is the son of Khwajagan Khwaja, son of the renowned Khwāja Ahrar *Vide* No 17 and No 108 He died in 982, and was buried at Samarqand He had been for twenty years in India, and held a jagir in Pargana چمیاری, in the Barı Duāb, where he maintained two thousand poor

25 Shaykh Mūsā

He was a smith (*āhangar*) and performed many miracles He died in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and was buried at Lāhor The elder brother of Shaykh Salım ı Chishtı also was called Shaykh Mūsā, *vide* under No 82 *Vide* also below, No 102

26 Babā Balas

27 Shaykh ʿAlāʾu 'd Dın Majzūb *Vide Badāʾonī*, III, 61

28 Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun

The *Tabaqāt* calls him Shaykh Yūsuf Harkun Majzūb of Lāhor

29 Shaykh Burhan

He lived as a recluse in Kālpı, and subsisted on milk and sweetmeats, denying himself water He knew no Arabic, and yet explained the Quran He was a Mahdawı He died in 970 at the age of one hundred years, and was buried in his cell

30 Baba Kıpūr

Shaykh Kıpūr Majzūb of Gwālyar, a Husaynī Sayyıd, was at first a soldier, then turned a *bihishtī*, and supplied widows and the poor with water He died in 979 from a fall from his gate

31 Shaykh Abū Is ḥāq Firang *Vide Badaʾonī*, III, 48

32 Shaykh Dāʾūd

He is called Jhannıwāl from Jhannı near Lāhor His ancestors had come from Arabia and settled at Sıtpūr in Multān, where Dāʾūd was born *Badāʾonī* (III, p 28) devotes eleven pages to his biography He died in 982

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[1] *Badāʾonī* (III p 151) mentions a *Zaynu d Dın Mahmūd Kamangar*

33 Shaykh Salīm i Chishti

He was a descendant of Shaykh Farid i Shakarganj and lived in Fathpūr Sikri highly honoured by Akbar Jahangir was called after him Salim He died in 979 Several of his relations have been mentioned above

34 Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws of Gwalyar

Vide No 173

35 Ram Bhadr 36 Jadrup

Third Class —Such as know philosophy and theology [1]

37 Mir Fathu llah of Shiraz

Vide pp 34 110 208 284 His brother was a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of *Farighi*, *vide Bada'onī* III, 292 His two sons were Mir Taqi and Mir Sharif

38 Mir Murtaza

He is not to be confounded with Mir Murtaza No 162 Mir Murtaza Sharif of Shiraz died in 974 at Dihli and was buried at the side of the poet Khusraw, from where his body was taken to Mashhad He had studied the Hadis under the renowned Ibn Hajar in Makkah, and then came over the Dakhin to Āgra *Vide Akbarnāma* II, 278, 337

39 Mawlana Saʿid of Turkistan

He came in 968 from Mawara 'n nahr to Āgra *Bad*, II, 49 He died in Kabul in 970, *l c*, III, 152

40 Hafiz of Tashkand

He is also called Hafiz Kumaki He came in 977 from Tashkand to India and was looked upon in Mawara 'n nahr as a most learned man He had something of a soldier in him and used to travel about like all Turks with the quiver tied to his waist He went over Gujrat to Makkah and from there to Constantinople where he refused a vazirship Afterwards he returned to his country, where he died *Vide Bada'onī* II, 187

41 Mawlana Shah Muhammad

Vide p 112, *Bad* II, 295 *ll*

42 Mawlana Alaʿu 'd Din

He came from Laristan, and is hence called *Lārī* He was the son of Mawlana Kamalu d Din Husayn and studied under Mawlana Jalal Dawwani Shafiʿi He was for some time Akbar's teacher Once at a darbar he placed himself before the Khan i Aʿzam when the Mir Tozak

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[1] *Maʿqul o manqul* pr that which is based on reason (*ʿaql*) and traditional testimony (*naql*)

told him to go back "Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools," said he, and left the hall, and never came again He got 4,000 bīghas as sayūrghāl in Sambhal, where he died

43 Hakīm Misri *Vide* No 251

44 Mawlānā Shaykh Husayn (of Ajmīr)

He was said to be a descendant of the great Indian saint Muʿīnu Chishtī of Ajmīr, was once banished to Makkah, and had to suffer, in common with other learned men whom Akbar despised, various persecutions *Badāʾonī*, III, 87

45 Mawlānā Mīr Kalān

He died in 981, and was buried at Āgra He was Jahāngīr's first teacher *Bad*, II, 170

46 Ghāzī Khān *Vide* No 144

47 Mawlānā Ṣādiq

He was born in Samarqand, came to India, and then went to Kābul, where he was for some time the teacher of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's brother He then went back to his home, where he was alive in 1001 The *Tabaqāt* calls him Mullā Ṣādiq Halwāʾī *Badāʾonī* (III, 255, where the Ed Bibl India has wrongly *Halwānī*) puts him among the poets

48 Mawlānā Shah Muhammad

Vide No 41 This seems to be a mere repetition Other Histories only mention one Mawlānā of that name

Fourth Class —Such as know philosophy (ʿaqlī kalām) [1]

49 Mawlānā Pīr Muhammad *Vide* No 20

50 Mawlānā ʿAbdu 'l Bāqī

He was a Ṣadr, *vide* pp 282, 528 [and *Akbarnāma*, II, 143]

51 Mīrzā Mufiis

He was an Uzbak, came from Māwarāʾ 'n-nahr to India, and taught for some time in the Jāmiʿ Masjid of Muʿīnu 'd-Dīn Farankhūdī (*vide* No 128) at Āgra He died in Makkah at the age of seventy. *Vide Bad*, II, 187

52 Mawlānāzāda Shukr

53 Mawlānā Muhammad

He lived at Lāhor and was in 1004 nearly ninety years old *Badāʾonī* (III, 154) calls him Mawlānā Muḥammad Muftī

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[1] This means chiefly religious testimony based on human reason not on revelation. Abū l Fazl evidently takes it in a wider sense as he includes the doctors in this class.

Abū 'l Fazl, however, means perhaps Mawlānā Muhammad of Yazd, a learned and bigoted Shī'ah, who was well received by Akbar and Abū 'l Fazl, to whose innovations he at first agreed. But he got tired of them and asked for permission to go to Makkah. He was plundered on the road to Sūrat. *Mir'āt*. But *Badā'onī* tells quite a different story; *vide* p. 198.

Or it may refer to No. 140, p. 438.

54. Qāsim Beg.

Vide No. 350, p. 112. The *Tabaqāt* also says of him that he was distinguished for his acquirements in the *'aqlī 'ulum*.

55. Mawlānā Nūr^u 'd Dīn Tarkhān.

Vide under No. 393. He was a poet and a man of great erudition. Towards the end of his life "he repented" and gave up poetry. He was for a long time Mutawallī of Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī, where he died.

The *Tabaqāt* says that he was a good mathematician and astronomer. According to the *Ma'āsir*, he was born in Jām in Khurāsān, and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Bābar, and was a private friend of Humāyūn's, who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with the emperor to 'Irāq, and remained twenty years in his service. As poet, he wrote under the *takhallus* of "Nūrī." He is also called "Nūrī of Safīdūn", because he held Safīdūn for some time as jāgīr. Akbar gave him the title of Khān and later that of Tarkhān,[1] and appointed him to Sāmānah.

56. Narāyn.
57. Madhūbhat.
58. Sribhat.
59. Bishn Nāth.
60. Rām Kishn.
61. Balbhadr Misr.
62. Bisūdev Misr.
63. Bamarbhat.
64. Bidyāniwās.
65. Gorināth.
66. Gopīnāth.
67. Kishn Pandit.
68. Bhattāchārj.
69. Bhagīrat Bhattāchārj.
70. Kāshī Nāth Bhattāchārj.

Physicians.

71. Hakīm Misrī. *Vide* No. 254.

72. Hakīm^u 'l Mulk.

His name is Shams^u 'd Dīn, and, like several other doctors of Akbar's court, he had come from Gīlān on the Caspian to India. He was a very learned man. When the learned were driven from court and the innova-

[1] The title carried with it [illegible] vide p. 3[illegible]. The Ma'āsir has some verses made by Nūrī on his [illegible].

tions commenced, he asked for permission to go to Makkah (988), where he died

73 Mullā Mīr

The *Ṭabaqāt* calls him Mullā Mīr Ṭabīb of Hairāt, grandson of Mullā ʿAbdᵘ 'l Hay Yazdī

74 Hakim Abū 'l Fath *Vide* No 112, p 468

75 Hakim Zanbil Beg *Vide* No 150, p 490

76 Hakim ʿAlī of Gīlān *Vide* No 192, p 519

77 Hakim Hasan

He also came from Gīlān His knowledge, says *Badāʾonī* (III, 167), was not extensive, but he was an excellent man

78 Hakim Aristū

79 Hakīm Fathᵘ 'llah

He also came from Gīlān, knew a great deal of medical literature, and also of astronomy He wrote a Persian Commentary to the Qānūn In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign he was a Commander of 1,000, three hundred horse (*Tuzuk*, p 34) The *Pādishāhnāma* (I, b , 350) says that he afterwards returned to his country, where he committed suicide His grandson, Fathᵘ 'llāh, was a doctor at Shājahān's court

80 Hakim Masihᵘ 'l Mulk

He came from the Dakhin where he had gone from Shiraz He was a simple, pious man, and was physician to Sultān Murad He died in Mālwah

81 Hakim Jalalᵘ 'd Din Muzaffar *Vide* No 348, p 582

82 Hakīm Lutfᵘ 'llāh *Vide* No 354, p 584

83 Hakim Sayfᵘ 'l Mulk Lang

Badāʾonī and the *Ṭabaqat* call him Sayfᵘ 'l Muluk Because he killed his patients, he got the nickname of *Sayfᵘ 'l Hukamā*, " the sword of the doctors " He came from Damāwand, and was in Āgra during Bayrām's regency Later he went back to his country He was also a poet and wrote under the *takhallus* of " Shujāʿī " He is not to be confounded with No 201, p 528

84 Hakim Humam *Vide* No 205, p 529

85 Hakim ʿAinᵘ 'l Mulk *Vide* No 234, p 480

86 Hakim Shifāʾī

The *Mirʾāt* mentions a Hakim Shifāʾī who in his poetical writings calls himself Muzaffar ibn i Muhammad Al husaynī As shifāʾī He was born at Isfahan, and was a friend of Shāh ʿAbbas i Ṣafawī He died in 1037 There is a copy of his Masnawī in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No 795)

87. Hakīm Niʿmatu 'llāh
88 Hakīm Dawā'ī
Dawā'ī was also the *takhallus* of No 85
89. Hakīm Talab ʿAlī
90 Hakim ʿAbdu 'r Rahīm
91 Hakim Rūhu 'llāh
92 Hakim Fakhru 'd Dīn ʿAlī
93 Hakīm Is hāq
94 Shaykh Hasan, and 95 Shaykh Bīnā

Shaykh Hasan of Panipat, and his son Shaykh Bīnā were renowned surgeons Instead of "Bīnā", the MSS have various readings The *Ma'āsir* has *Phaniyā*, the *Tabaqāt Bhaniyā*

Shaykh Bina's son is the well known Shaykh Hasan, or Hassū, who under Jahangir's rose to great honours, and received the title of *Muqarrab Khān* Father and son, in the 41st year, succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer fight Hassū was physician to Prince Salīm, who was much attached to him After his accession, he was made a commander of 5,000 and governor of Gujrāt, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Sūrat He gave no satisfaction, and was recalled In the 13th year (1027) he was made governor of Bihār, and in the 16th, governor of Āgra In the beginning of Shahjahān's reign, he was pensioned off, and received the Pargana of Kayrāna, his birthplace, as jāgīr He constructed a mausoleum near the tomb of the renowned Saint Sharafu 'd Din of Panipat, and die dat the age of ninety In Kayrāna, he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful garden with an immense tank He obtained excellent fruit trees from all parts of India, and the Kayrāna mangoes, according to the *Ma'āsir*, have since been famous in Dihlī

Muqarrab's son, Rizqu 'llah, was a doctor under Shāhjahān, and a commander of 800 Awrangzeb made him a Khān He died in the 10th year of Awrangzeb

Muqarrab's adopted son is Masihā i Kairanawi His real name was Saʿadu 'llah He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of Sita Rāmchandra's wife

96 Mahādev
97 Bhīm Nāth
98 Nārāyin
99 Siwajī[1]

[1] The *Tabaqat* mentions a few other Hindu doctors of distinction who lived during Akbar's reign viz Bhiraū, Durgā Mal Chandr Sen (an excellent surgeon) and Illi (one MS has Abi)

Fifth Class —Such as understand sciences resting on testimony (naql)[1]

100 Miyān Hatim

He lived at Sambhal The historian Bada*onī, when twelve years old, learned under him in 960 Hatim died in 969

101 Miyān Jamal Khān

He was Muftī of Dihli and died more than ninety years old in 981. He was a Kambū

102 Mawlanā ʿAbdu 'l Qadir

He was the pupil of Shaykh Hāmid Qadirī (buried at Hāmidpūr, near Multān), and was at enmity with his own younger brother Shaykh Musā regarding the right of succession ʿAbdu 'l Qadir used to say the *nafl* prayers[2] in the audience hall of Fathpūr Sikri and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, "My king this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders" Akbar called him a fool, and cancelled his grant of land, whereupon ʿAbdu 'l Qadir went back to Uchh Shaykh Mūsā did better, he joined the army, and became a commander of 500 *Vide* below, Nos 109, 131

The *Mir*ʾ*āt* mentions a Mawlanā ʿAbdu 'l Qadir of Sirhind as one of the most learned of Akbar's age

103 Shaykh Ahmad

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Hājī Ahmad of Lāhor, and a Shaykh Ahmad Hājī Pūlādī Majzūb of Sind

104 Makhdūmu 'l Mulk *Vide* p 172

This is the title of Mawlana ʿAbdu 'llāh of Sultānpūr, author of the ʿ*Asmat i Anbiyā*, and a commentary to the *Shamā*ʾ*ilu 'n Nabī* Humāyūn gave him the titles of Makhdūmu 'l Mulk and Shaykhu 'l Islam He was a bigoted Sunnī, and looked upon Abū 'l Fazl from the beginning as a dangerous man He died in 990 in Gujrāt after his return from Makkah

105 Mawlana ʿAbdu 's Salām

The *Tabaqāt* says, he lived at Lāhor and was a learned man

The *Mir*ʾ*at* mentions another Mawlanā ʿAbdu 's Salām of Lāhor, who was a great lawyer (*faqīh*) and wrote a commentary to Baizawi He died more than ninety years old in the first year of Shāhjahan's reign

106 Qāzī Sadru 'd Din

Qazi Sadru 'd Din Qurayshi ʿAbbāsī of Jālindhar was the pupil of Makhdūmu 'l Mulk (No 104) He was proverbial for his memory He was attached to dervishes and held such broad views, that he was looked upon by common people as a heretic When the learned were driven

[1] As religious law Hadis history, etc
[2] Voluntary prayers

from court, he was sent as Qāzī to Bharōch, where he died His son, Shaykh Muhammad, succeeded him His family remained in Gujrāt

107 Mawlanā Saʿadᵘ 'llāh

He lived at Biyana and was looked upon as the best grammarian of the age He was simple in his mode of life, but liberal to others Towards the end of his life he got silent and shut himself out from all intercourse with men, even his own children He died in 989

108 Mawlanā Is haq

He was the son of Shaykh Kakū, and lived at Lahor Shaykh Saʿadᵘ 'llah Shaykh Munawwar, and many others, were his pupils He died more than a hundred years old in 996

109 Mir ʿAbdᵘ 'l Latif *Vide* No 161, p 496

110 Mir Nūrᵘ 'llah

He came from Shustar and was introduced to Akbar by Hakīm Abu 'l Fath He was a Shiʿah, but practised *taqiya* among Sunnis, and was even well acquainted with the law of Abū Hanifa When Shaykh Muʿin Qāzī of Lahor retired, he was appointed his successor, and gave every satisfaction After Jahāngir's accession, he was recalled Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word and was executed

111 Mawlana ʿAbdᵘ 'l Qadir

He was Akbar's teacher (*ākhūnd*) *Vide* No 242, p 542

112 Qāzī Abdᵘ 'l Samī

He was a Miyankali[1] and according to *Badā'onī* (II, 314) played chess for money and drank wine Akbar made him in 990, Qāziyᵘ 'l Quzat, in place of Qazī Jalalᵘ 'd Din Multānī (No 122) *Vide Akbarnāma*, III, 593

113 Mawlana Qasim

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Qāsim of Qandahār

114 Qāzī Hasan *Vide* No 281, p 559

115 Mullā Kamal

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Shaykh Kamal of Alwar, the successor and relative of Shaykh Salim

116 Shaykh Yaʿqub (of Kashmir) *Vide* below among the poets

117 Mulla ʿĀlam *Vide* p 159, note

He died in 991, and wrote a book entitled *Fawātihᵘ 'l Wilāyat* *Bad*, II, 337

118 Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī *Vide* pp 182, 186, 195, 197, 549, 616, note

He was the son of Shaykh Ahmad, son of Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l Quddūs

[1] Miyankal is the name of the hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhāra

of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Hadīs When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal The execution of a Brahman, the details of which are related in *Bada'oni* (III, 80) led to the Shaykh's deposal

Badā'onī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the *Mir'āt* in 992 ʿAbdu 'n Nabī's family traced their descent from Abū Hanifa

119 Shaykh Bhīk

The *Tabaqāt* has also "Bhīk" while *Badā'onī* (III, 21) has "Bhīkan" Shaykh Bhīk lived in Kakor near Lakhnau He was as learned as he was pious He died in 981

120 Shaykh Abū 'l Fath

Shaykh Abū 'l Fath of Gujrat was the son in law of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur the great Mahdawi He was in Āgra at the time of Bayram Khan

121 Shaykh Bahaʿu d Din Muftī

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man

122 Qazi Jalalu d Dīn Multani *Vide* pp 183, 195

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant He then took to law In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhin, from where he went to Makkah He died there

123 Shaykh Ziyaʿu 'd Din

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyaʿu llah were intended *vide* No 173

124 Shaykh ʿAbdu l Wahhab

125 Shaykh ʿUmar

126 Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Mir Adl *Vide* No 140, p 485 and No 251 p 548

127 Mawlana Jamal

The *Tabaqat* has a Mulla Jamal a learned man of Multan *Bada'onī* (III 108) mentions a Mawlana Jamal of تلنبه which is said to be a Mahalla of Lahor

128 Shaykh Ahmadī

Shaykh Ahmadi Fayyaz of Amethi a learned man contemporary of the saint Nizamu 'd Din of Amethi (p 607)

129 Shaykh Abdu 'l-Ghani [1]

He was born at Bada on and lived afterwards in Dihli a retired life The Khan Khanan visited him in 1003

130 Shaykh ʿAbdu l Wahid

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[1] Sayyid Ahmad's ed on of the *Tuzuk* (p 91 l 11 from below) ment ons that Jahangir when a child read the Hadis under *Shaykh ʿAbdu l Ghani* whose fate is related in the *Akbarnāma* This is a mistake for ʿAbdu n Nabi (No 118)

He was born in Bilgrām, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhat" 'l Arwāḥ*, and several treatises on the technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) of the Sūfīs, one of which goes by the name of *Sanabil*

131 Sadr i Jahan *Vide* No 194 p 522

132 Mawlana Isma'il *Vide* above No 12

The *Tabaqāt* mentions a Mullā Isma'il Muftī of Lahor, and a Mulla Isma'il of Awadh

133 Mulla Abdu 'l Qādir

This is the historian Bada'onī Abū 'l Fazl also calls him *Mullā* in the *Akbarnāma*

134 Mawlāna Ṣadr Jahan

This seems a repetition of No 131

135 Shaykh Jawhar

136 Shaykh Munawwar

Vide p 112 He was born at Lāhor, and was noted for his memory and learning He is the author of commentaries to the *Mashāriq" 'l-anwār* (Hadīs), the *Badī'" 'l-bayan*, the *Irshad-i Qāẓī*, etc When the learned were banished from court he was imprisoned in Gwaliyar, where he died in 1011

His son, Shaykh Kabir, was also renowned for his learning He died in 1026, in Ahmadabād, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Ahmadabādi saint Shah 'Ālam *Mir'at*

137 Qazi Ibrahim

Vide pp 181, 183 198 *Badā'onī* and the *Tabaqat* mention a Hajī Ibrāhim of Āgra, a teacher of the Hadis

138 Mawlana Jamal *Vide* above, No 127

139 Bijai Sen Sur

140 Bhān Chand

A'īn 30 (continued)

THE POETS OF THE AGE

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store they pass their time in praising the mean minded, or soil their language with invectives against the wise If it were not so, the joining of words were wonderful indeed, for by this means lofty ideas are understood

of Gango, and was several times in Makkah, where he studied the Hadīṣ. When he held the office of Ṣadr he is said to have been arbitrary, but liberal. The execution of a Brahman, the details of which are related in *Badā'onī* (III, 80) led to the Shaykh's deposal.

Badā'onī (III, 83) places his death in 991, the *Mirʿāt* in 992. ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī's family traced their descent from Abū Hanīfa.

119. Shaykh Bhīk.

The *Tabaqāt* has also "Bhīk", while *Badā'onī* (III, 24) has "Bhīkan". Shaykh Bhīk lived in Kakor near Lakhnau. He was as learned as he was pious. He died in 981.

120. Shaykh Abū 'l Fath.

Shaykh Abū 'l Fatḥ of Gujrat was the son in law of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, the great Mahdawī. He was in Āgra at the time of Bayram Khān.

121. Shaykh Bahaʿᵘ 'd Dīn Muftī.

He lived at Āgra, and was a learned and pious man.

122. Qāzī Jalalᵘ 'd Dīn Multānī. *Vide* pp. 183, 195.

He comes from near Bhakkar and was at first a merchant. He then took to law. In 990, he was banished and sent to the Dakhin, from where he went to Makkah. He died there.

123. Shaykh Ziyāʿᵘ 'd Dīn.

It looks as if Shaykh Ziyâʿᵘ llah were intended; *vide* No. 173.

124. Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l Wahhab.

125. Shaykh ʿUmar.

126. Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Mīr Adl. *Vide* No. 140, p. 485 and No. 251, p. 548.

127. Mawlana Jamal.

The *Tabaqat* has a Mulla Jamal, a learned man of Multan. *Badā'onī* (III, 108) mentions a Mawlana Jamal of ﻃﻠﺒﻪ, which is said to be a Mahalla of Lahor.

128. Shaykh Ahmadī.

Shaykh Ahmadī Fayyaz of Amethī, a learned man, contemporary of the saint Nizāmᵘ 'd Dīn of Amethī (p. 607).

129. Shaykh Abdᵘ 'l Ghanī.[1]

He was born at Bada,on and lived afterwards in Dihlī a retired life. The Khān Khanan visited him in 1003.

130. Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l Wahid.

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[1] Sayyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tuzuk* (p. 31, l. 11 from below) mentions that Jahangir when a child read the Hadis under '*Shaykh ʿAbdᵘ 'l Ghanī*,' whose fate is related in the *Akbarnama*. This is a mistake for ʿAbdᵘ 'n Nabī (No. 118).

He was born in Bilgram, and is the author of a commentary to the *Nuzhat" 'l Arwāh*, and several treatises on the technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) of the Sufis, one of which goes by the name of *Sanābil*

131 Sadr i Jahān *Vide* No 194 p 522

132 Mawlana Ismaʿil *Vide* above No 12

The *Tabaqat* mentions a Mulla Ismaʿil Mufti of Lahor, and a Mulla Ismaʿil of Awadh

133 Mulla Abdu 'l Qadir

This is the historian Badaʾoni Abū 'l Fazl also calls him *Mullā* in the *Akbarnāma*

134 Mawlana Sadr Jahān

This seems a repetition of No 131

135 Shaykh Jawhar

136 Shaykh Munawwar

Vide p 112 He was born at Lahor, and was noted for his memory and learning He is the author of commentaries to the *Mashāriq" 'l-anwār* (Hadis), the *Badīʿ" 'l-bayān*, the *Irshad-i Qaẓī*, etc When the learned were banished from court he was imprisoned in Gwaliyar, where he died in 1011

His son, Shaykh Kabir, was also renowned for his learning He died in 1026, in Ahmadabad, and was buried in the mausoleum of the great Ahmadabadi saint Shah ʿĀlam *Mirʾāt*

137 Qazi Ibrahim

Vide pp 181, 183 198 *Badāʾonī* and the *Tabaqāt* mention a Haji Ibrahim of Āgra, a teacher of the Hadis

138 Mawlana Jamal *Vide* above No 127

139 Bijai Sen Sur

140 Bhan Chand

Āʾīn 30 (continued)

THE POETS OF THE AGE

I have now come to this distinguished class of men and think it right to say a few words about them Poets strike out a road to the inaccessible realm of thought, and divine grace beams forth in their genius But many of them do not recognize the high value of their talent, and barter it away from a wish to possess inferior store they pass their time in praising the mean minded or soil their language with invectives against the wise If it were not so the joining of words were wonderful indeed, for by this means lofty ideas are understood

He who joins words to words, gives away a drop from the blood of his heart [1]

Every one who strings words to words, performs, if no miracle, yet a wonderful action [2]

I do not mean a mere external union Truth and falsehood, wisdom and foolishness, pearls and common shells, though far distant from each other, have a superficial similarity I mean a spiritual union, and this is only possible in the harmonious, and to recognize it is difficult, and to weigh it still more so

For this reason his Majesty does not care for poets, he attaches no weight to a handful of imagination Fools think that he does not care for poetry, and that for this reason he turns his heart from the poets Notwithstanding this circumstance, thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *dīwān*, or have written a *masnawī* I shall now enumerate the best among them

1. Shaykh Abū 'l-Fayz-i Fayzī.

(*Vide* p 548)

He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser He was a disciple of the emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world His Majesty understood the value of his genius, and conferred upon him the title of *Malik* '*sh shuʿarā* or king of the poets [3] He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of *Fayzī*, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to *Fayyāzī*, as he himself says in his "Nal Daman" —

Before this, whenever I issued anything,
The writing on my signet was "Fayzī"
But as I am now chastened by spiritual love,
I am the "Fayyāzī" of the Ocean of Superabundance (God's love) [4]

His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius He was

eminently distinguished in several branches He composed many works in Persian and Arabic Among others he wrote the *Sawāṭiʿu 'l ilhām*[1] ("rays of inspiration"), which is a commentary to the *Qurʿan* in Arabic, in which he only employed such letters as have no dots The words of the *Sūratu 'l ikhlās*[2] contain the date of its completion

He looked upon wealth as the means of engendering poverty,[3] and adversity of fortune was in his eyes an ornament to cheerfulness. The door of his house was open to relations and strangers, friends and foes, and the poor were comforted in his dwelling As he was difficult to please, he gave no publicity to his works, and never put the hand of request to the forehead[4] of loftiness He cast no admiring glance on himself Genius as he was, he did not care much for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits He was profound in philosophy, what he had read with his eyes was nourishment for the heart He studied medicine deeply, and gave poor people advice gratis

The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten Should leisure permit, and my heart turn to worldly occupations, I would collect some of the excellent writings of this unrivalled author of the age, and gather, with the eye of a jealous critic, yet with the hand of a friend, some of his verses[5] But now it is brotherly love—a love which does

[1] [illegible] ... ūan etc and possesses [illegible] ... with the words *Qul huwa* [illegible] ... rote the book two years [illegible] ... *Haydar Muʿammaʾī* of [illegible] ... poet [illegible] styled *Rafīʿ* [illegible] ... ide below the 31st poet

[3] i e the more he had the more he gave away and thus he became poor or he [illegible] ... felt that riches make a man poor in a spiritual sense

[4] *Turul*, properly the crown of the head Putting the hand upon the crown of the head is an old form of the *salam* Abu 'l Fazl wishes to say that Fayzi was never mean enough to [illegible]

[illegible] leave [illegible] As a [illegible] death [illegible] MS [illegible] ... Lughar [illegible] f Ma[illegible] aft [illegible] *Fayzi yi Dakh*[illegible]

[5] Many of the extracts given below are neither found in printed editions nor in MSS of Fayzi's works

not travel along the road of critical nicety—that commands me to write down some of his verses

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Extracts from Fayzī's Qaṣīdas (Odes)

1 O Thou who existest from eternity and abidest for ever, sight cannot bear Thy light praise cannot express Thy perfection

2 Thy light melts the understanding and Thy glory baffles wisdom, to think of Thee destroys reason Thy essence confounds thought

3 Thy holiness pronounces that the blood drops of human meditation are shed in vain in search of Thy knowledge human understanding is but an atom of dust

4 Thy jealousy, the guard of Thy door, stuns human thought by a blow in the face, and gives human ignorance a slap on the nape of the neck

5 Science is like blinding desert sand on the road to Thy perfection, the town of literature is a mere hamlet compared with the world of Thy knowledge

6 My foot has no power to travel on this path which misleads sages, I have no power to bear the odour of this wine it confounds my knowledge

7 The tablet of Thy holiness is too pure for the (black) tricklings of the human pen, the dross of human understanding is unfit to be used as the philosopher's stone

8 Man's so called foresight and guiding reason wander about bewildered in the streets of the city of Thy glory

9 Human knowledge and thought combined can only spell the first letter of the alphabet of Thy love

10 Whatever our tongue can say and our pen can write, of Thy Being is all empty sound and deceiving scribble

11 Mere beginners and such as are far advanced in knowledge are both eager for union with Thee but the beginners are tattlers, and those that are advanced are triflers

12 Each brain is full of the thought of grasping Thee the brow of Plato even burned with the fever heat of this hopeless thought

13 How shall a thoughtless man like me succeed when Thy jealousy strikes down with a fatal blow the thoughts [1] of saints?

14 O that Thy grace would cleanse my brain, for if not my restlessness (*qutrub*) [2] will end in madness

---

[1] *Literally* strikes a dagger into the livers of thy saints

[2] My text has *fitrat* but several MSS of Fayzī's Qaṣīdas have *qutrub* which signifies incipient madness restlessness of thought

15 For him who travels barefooted on the path towards Thy glory, even the mouths of dragons would be as it were a protection for his feet (*lit* greaves)[1]

16 Compared with Thy favour, the nine metals of earth are but as half a handful of dust, compared with the table of Thy mercies, the seven oceans are a bowl of broth

17 To bow down the head upon the dust of Thy threshold and then to look up is neither correct in faith nor permitted by truth

18 Alas, the stomach of my worldliness takes in impure food like a hungry dog, although Love, the doctor[2] bade me abstain from it

---

1 O man, thou coin bearing the double stamp of body and spirit, I do not know what thy nature is, for thou art higher than heaven and lower than earth

2 Do not be cast down, because thou art a mixture of the four elements, do not be self complacent because thou art the mirror of the seven realms (the earth)

3 Thy frame contains the image of the heavenly and the lower regions be either heavenly or earthly, thou art at liberty to choose

4 Those that veil their faces in Heaven [the angels] love thee thou misguiding the wise, are the fond petted one of the solar system (lit the seven planets)

5 Be attentive, weigh thy coin for thou art a correct balance [i e, thou hast the power of correctly knowing thyself], sift thy atoms well, for thou art the philosopher's stone (اکسیر اکبری)

6 Learn to understand thy value, for the heaven buys (*mushtarī*)[3] thy light, in order to bestow it upon the planets

7 Do not act against thy reason, for it is a trustworthy counsellor, set not thy heart on illusions, for it (the heart) is a lying fool

8 Why art thou an enemy to thyself, that from want of perfection thou shouldst weary thy better nature and cherish thy senses (or tongue)?

9 The heart of time sheds its blood on thy account [i e, the world is dissatisfied with thee], *for in thy hypocrisy thou art in speech like balm*, but in deeds like a lancet

10 Be ashamed of thy appearance, for thou pridest thyself on the title of "sum total", and art yet but a marginal note

---

[1] *i e* the terror of the mouths of dragons is even a protection compared with the difficulties on the road to the understanding of God's glory

[2] *Literally* Hippocrates

[3] This is a pun *Mushtarī* also means Jupiter one of the planets

11 If such be the charm of thy being, thou hadst better die, for the eye of the world regards thee as an optical illusion (*mukarrar*)

12 O careless man, why art thou so inattentive to thy loss and thy gain, thou sellest thy good luck and bargainest for misfortunes

13 If on this hunting ground thou wouldst but unfold the wing of resolution, thou wouldst be able to catch even the phœnix with sparrow feathers[1]

14 Do not be proud (*farbih*) because thou art the centre of the body of the world Dost thou not know that people praise a waist (*miyān*) when it is thin ?[2]

15 Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thyself when thou seest the doings of such as from zeal wander barefooted on the field of love, since thou ridest upon a swift camel [i e, as thou hast not yet reached the higher degree of zeal, that is, of walking barefooted] thou shouldst not count thy steps [i e, thou shouldst not be proud]

16 If thou wishest to understand the secret meaning of the phrase "to prefer the welfare of others to thy own", treat thyself with poison and others with sugar

17 Accept misfortune with a joyful look, if thou art in the service of Him whom people serve

18 Place thy face, with the humble mien of a beggar, upon the threshold of truth, looking with a smile of contempt upon worldly riches,—

19 Not with the (self complacent) smirk which thou assumest[3] in private, whilst thy worldliness flies to the east and the west

20 Guard thine eye well, for like a nimble handed thief it takes by force the jewel out of the hand of the jeweller

21 Those who hold in their hand the lamp of guidance often plunder caravans on the high road

22 My dear son, consider how short the time is that the star of good fortune revolves according to thy wish, fate shows no friendship

23 [4] There is no one that understands me for were I understood,

[1] i e thou wouldst perform great deeds

[2] *Proud* in Persian *farbih* i e fat In the East the idea of pride is suggested by stoutness and portliness The Pun on *farbih* and *miyan* cannot be translated

[3] As a hypocrite does

[4] The next verses are *fakhriya* (boastful) All Persian poets write encomiums on themselves

fries

was

The

I would continually cleave my heart and draw from it the wonderful mirrors of Alexander

24 My heart is the world, and its Hindūstan is initiated in the rites of idolatry and the rules of idol making [i e , my heart contains wonderful things]

25 This [poem] is the masterpiece of the Greece of my mind read it again and again , its strain is not easy

26 Plunged into the wisdom of Greece, it [my mind] rose again from the deep in the land of Hind , be thou as if thou hadst fallen into this deep abyss [of my knowledge, i e , learn from me]

---

1 The companion of my loneliness is my comprehensive genius the scratching of my pen is harmony for my ear

2 If people would withdraw the veil from the face of my knowledge they would find that what those who are far advanced in knowledge call certainty, is with me (as it were) the faintest dawn of thought

3 If people would take the screen from the eye of my knowledge, they would find that what is revelation (ecstatic knowledge) for the wise is but drunken madness for me

4 If I were to bring forth what is in my mind I wonder whether the spirit of the age could bear it

5 On account of the regulated condition of my mind, I look upon myself as the system of the universe, and heaven and earth are the result of my motion and my rest

6 My vessel does not require the wine of the friendship of time , my own blood is the basis of the wine of my enthusiasm [i e I require no one's assistance]

7 Why should I wish for the adulation of mean people ? My pen bows down its head and performs the *sijda* in adoration of my knowledge

---

Extracts from Fayzī's Ghazals

1 Rise and ask, in this auspicious moment, a favour at my throne , in noble aspirations I excel any army

2 Expect in my arena the victory of both worlds , the banner of royalty weighs down the shoulder of my love

3 When I cast a favourable glance upon those that sit in the dust, even the ant from my good fortune becomes possessed of the brain of Sulayman [1]

---

[1] The insignificance of the ant is often opposed to the greatness of Solomon Once when all animals brought Solomon their presents the ant offered him the leg of a locust as her only treasure

4 The keepers of my door have their swords drawn, where is the desire that dares intrude on my seclusion?

5 Although I have buried my head in my hood, yet I can see both worlds, it may be that Love has woven my garment from the threads of my contemplation

6 My eye is open and waits for the manifestation of truth, the spirit of the Universe flees before the insignia of my ecstatic bewilderment

7 I am the simple Fayzī, if you do not believe it, look into my heart through the glass of my external form

---

1 The flame from my broken heart rises upwards, to-day a fiery surge rages in my breast

2 In the beginning of things, each being received the slate of learning [i e, it is the appointed duty of each to learn something], but Love has learned something from looking at me, the duties of a handmaid

3 May the eye of him who betrays a word regarding my broken heart be filled with the blood of his own heart!

4 O Fayzī thou dost not possess what people call gold, but yet the alchemist knows how to extract gold from thy pale cheek

---

It were better if I melted my heart, and laid the foundation for a new one I have too often patiently patched up my torn heart

---

1 From the time that love stepped into my heart, nothing has oozed from my veins and my wounds but the beloved [1]

2 The wings of angels have melted in the heat of my wine Woe to the world, if a flash of lightning should some day leap from my jar [i e, the world would come to an end, if the secret of my love were disclosed]!

---

[1] The beloved has taken entire possession of the poet He has no blood left in him, for blood is the seat of life and he only lives in the beloved who has taken the place of his blood The close union of the lover and the beloved is well described in the following couplet by Khusraw —

من تو شدم تو من شدی
من تن شدم تو جان شدی
تا کس نگوید بعد ازین
من دیگرم تو دیگری

1 Two difficulties have befallen me on the path of love, I am accused of bloodshed, but it is the beloved who is the murderer

2 O travellers on the right road, do not leave me behind! I see far, and my eye espies the resting place

---

I walk on a path [the path of love], where every footstep is concealed, I speak in a place where every sigh is concealed [1]

Although life far from thee is an approach to death yet to stand at a distance is a sign of politeness

---

1 In this world there are sweethearts who mix salt with wine, and yet they are intoxicated

2 The nightingale vainly pretends to be a true lover, the birds on the meadow melt away in love and are *yet* silent [2]

---

1 My travelling companions say, "O friend, be watchful, for caravans are attacked suddenly"

2 I answer, "I am not careless, but alas! what help is there against robbers that attack a watchful heart?"

3 A serene countenance and a vacant mind are required, when thou art stricken by fate with stripes from God's hand [3]

---

1 The cupbearers have laid hold of the goblet of clear wine, they made Khizr thirst for this fiery fountain

2 What wine could it have been that the cupbearer poured into the goblet? Even Masih and Khizr are envious (of me) and struggle with each other to possess it [4]

---

[1] A sigh indicates that a man is in love hence if the sigh [illegible] a stranger [i.e. does not appear] the love will remain a secret Eastern poets frequently say that love loses its purity and value if it becomes known The true lover bears the pangs of love and is [illegible]

[illegible] providence

[4] Masih (the "Messiah") and Khizr (Elias) tasted the water of life (āb-i-ḥayāt) Wine also is a water of life and the wine given to the poet by the pretty boy who acts as cupbearer is so reviving that even Messiah and Khizr would fight for it

Ask not to know the components of the antidote against love they put fragments of diamonds into a deadly poison [1]

For me there is no difference between the ocean (of love) and the shore (of safety), the water of life (love) is for me the same as a dreadful poison

---

Fayzī have not quite left the caravan of the pilgrims, who go to the Kaʿba indeed, I am a step in advance of them [2]

---

1 How can I complain that my travelling companions have left me behind, since they travel along with Love, the caravan chief?

2 O that a thousand deserts were full of such unkind friends! They have cleared the howdah of my heart of its burden [3]

---

1 I am the man in whose ear melodies attain their perfection, in whose mouth wine obtains its proper temper

2 I show no inclination to be beside myself, but what shall I do, I feel annoyed to be myself

---

1 Do not ask how lovers have reached the heavens, for they place the foot on the battlement of the heart and leap upwards

2 Call together all in the universe that are anxious to see a sight they have erected triumphal arches with my heart blood in the town of Beauty

---

1 Those who have not closed the door on existence and non existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and the world to come

2 Break the spell which guards thy treasures, for men who really know what good luck is have never tried their good fortune with golden chains [4]

---

[1] *Vide* p 573 note 4 Fragments of diamonds when swallowed tear the liver and thus cause death Hence poison mixed with diamond dust is [illegible] This is the case with [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

wit[illegible] to console himself he [illegible] all-concealed, for

Hi[illegible] he finds rest in

The bright sun knows the black drops of my pen for I hav carried my book (*baya*) to the white dawn of morn [1]

O Fayzı ■ there anyone ın this world that possesses more patience and strength than he who can twice walk down his street ? [2]

Desires are not to be found within my dwelling place when thou comest come with a content heart

---

Renounce love for love ıs an affair which cannot be satisfactorily terminated Neither fate nor the beloved will ever submit to thy wishes

---

1 Come let us turn towards a pulpit of light let us lay the foundation of a new Kaʿba with stones from Mount Sinai !

2 The wall (*hatīm*) of the Kaʿba ıs broken and the basis of the *qibla* ıs gone let us build a faultless fortress on a nev 1 dation ! [3]

---

1 Where ıs Love that we might melt the ham of the door of the Kaʿba ın order to make a few ıdols for the sake of worship

2 We might throw down this Kaʿba which Hajjaj has erected ın order to raise a foundation for a (Christian) monastery [4]

---

1 How long shall I fetter my heart with the coquettishness of beautiful boys ? I will burn this heart and make a new another heart

2 O Fayzı thy hand ■ empty and the way of love lies before thee then pawn the only thing that ıs left thee thy poems for the sake of obtaining the two worlds

---

How can I approve of the blame which certain people attach to

---

[1] Observe the pun ın the text on *sawād bayāz* and *musawwada*

[2] The street where the lovely boy lives Can anyone walk in the street ■ love without los ng his pat ence ?

[3] If the *Kaʿba* (the temple of Makkah) were pulled down, Islām would be pulled down for Muhammadans would have no *qibla* left i.e., no place where to turn the face ın prayer

[4] When a man is ın love he loses his faith and becomes a *kāfir* Thus Khusraw says— *Kāfir ı ʿishqam mard musalmānī darkār nīst* etc I am in love and have become an infidel—what do I want with Islām ? So Fayzī is ın love and has turned such an infidel, hat he would make holy furn ture into ıdols or bu ld a cloister on the ground of the holy temple

Zulaykha ? It would have been well if the backbiting tongues of her slanderers had been cut instead of their hands [1]

I cannot show ungratefulness to Love Has he not overwhelmed me with—sadness and sadness ?

I cannot understand the juggler trick which love performed it introduced Thy form through an aperture so small as the pupil of my eye into the large space of my heart, and yet my heart cannot contain it

---

Flee, fate [illegible] the raiser of battle fields, the behaviour of the companions is in the spirit of (the proverb) "hold it (the jug) oblique, but do not spill (the contents)" [2]

My intention is not to leave my comrades behind What shall I do with those whose feet are wounded whilst the caravan travels fast onwards ?

This night thou tookest no notice of me, and didst pass by
Thou receivedst no blessing from my eyes and didst pass by
The tears, which would have caused thy hyacinths to bloom,
Thou didst not accept from my moistened eye, but didst pass by

---

1 On the field of desire, a man need not fear animals wild or tame in this path thy misfortunes arise from thyself

[illegible] O Love, am I permitted to take the banner of thy grandeur from off the shoulder of heaven, and put it on my own ?

---

1 O Fayzi, I am so high minded that fate finds the arm of my thought leaning against the thigh of the seventh heaven

---

[1] When Zulaykhā wife of Potiphar had fallen in love with Yusuf (Joseph) she became the talk [illegible] the whole town To take revenge she invited the women who had spoken ill of her to a feast and laid a sharp knife at the side of each plate While the women were [illegible]
friends they merely give you useless advice

[2] You may hold (the jug) crooked but do not spill (the contents) is a proverb and expressed that A allows B to do what he wishes to do but adds a condition which B cannot fulfil The friends tell Fayzi that he may fall in love but they will not let him have the boy

2 If other poets [as the ancient Arabians] hung their poems on the door of the temple of Makkah, I will hang my love story on the vault of heaven

---

1 O cupbearer Time, cease doing battle! Akbar's glorious reign rolls along, bring me a cup of wine

2 Not such wine as drives away wisdom, and makes fools of those who command respect, as is done by fate,

3 Nor the harsh wine which fans in the conceited brain the fire of foolhardiness on the field of battle,

4 Nor that shameless wine which cruelly and haughtily delivers reason over to the Turk of passion,

5 Nor that fiery wine the heat of which, as love-drunken eyes well know, melts the bottles (the hearts of men) —

6 But that unmixed wine the hidden power of which makes Fate repent her juggling tricks (i e, which makes man so strong, that he vanquishes fate),

7 That clear wine with which those who constantly worship in cloisters sanctify the garb of the heart,

8 That illuminating wine which shows lovers of the world the true path,

9 That pearling wine which cleanses the contemplative mind of fanciful thoughts

---

In the assembly of the day of resurrection, when past things shall be forgiven, the sins of the Kaʿba will be forgiven for the sake of the dust of Christian churches[1]

---

1 Behold the garb of Fayzi's magnanimity! Angels have mended its hem with pieces of the heaven

2 The most wonderful thing I have seen is Fayzī's heart: it is at once the pearl, the ocean, and the diver

---

The look of the beloved has done to Fayẓī what no mortal enemy would have done

---

[1] The sins of Islām are as worthless as the dust of Christianity On the day of resurrection both Muhammadans and Christians will see the vanity of their religious doctrines Men fight about religion on earth, in heaven they shall find out that there is only one true religion, the worship of God's Spirit

1 The travellers who go in search of love are on reaching it no longer alive in their howdas, unless they die, they never reach the shore of this ocean (love)

2 Walk on, Fayzī, urge on through this desert the camel of zeal, for those who yearn for their homes [earthly goods] never reach the sacred enclosure, the heart

---

The dusty travellers on the road to poverty seem to have attained nothing, is it perhaps because they have found there [in their poverty] a precious jewel ?

---

1 In the beginning of eternity some love glances formed mirrors, which reduced my heart and my eye to a molten state [i e, my heart and eye are pure like mirrors]

2 What attractions lie in the curls of idols, that the inhabitants of the two worlds [i e many people] have turned their face [from ideal] to terrestrial love ?

3 If a heart goes astray from the company of lovers, do not inquire after it, for whatever is taken away from this caravan, has always been brought back [i e, the heart for a time did without love, but sooner or later it will come back and love]

It is not patience that keeps back my hand from my collar, but the collar is already so much torn, that you could not tear it more [1]

---

1 If Laylī [2] had had no desire to be with Majnūn, why did she uselessly ride about on a camel ?

2 If anyone prevents me from worshipping idols, why does he circumambulate the gates and walls in the Haram [the temple of Makkah] ? [2]

3 Love has robbed Fayzī of his patience, his understanding, and his sense, behold, what this highway robber has done to me the caravan chief !

When Love reaches the emporium of madness, he builds in the desert triumphal arches with the shifting sands

---

[1] A lover has no patience hence he tears the collar of his coat

[2] Each man shows in his own peculiar way that he is in love Laylī rode about in a restless way some people show their love in undergoing the fatigues of a pilgrimage to Makkah I worship idols

1 Take the news to the old man of the tavern on the eve of the ʿId,[1] and tell him that I shall settle to night the wrongs[2] of the last thirty days

2 Take Fayzī's Dīwān to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free thinker who belongs to a thousand sects

---

1 I have become dust, but from the odour of my grave people shall know that man rises from such dust

2 They may know Fayzī's[3] end from his beginning without an equal he goes from the world, and without an equal he rises

---

O Love, do not destroy the Kaʿba, for there the weary travellers of the road sometimes rest for a moment

---

Extracts from the Rubāʿīs

He [Akbar] is a king whom, on account of his wisdom, we call *zūfunūn* [possessor of the sciences] and our guide on the path of religion

Although kings are the shadow of God on earth, he is the emanation of God's light How then can we call him a shadow ?[4]

He is a king who opens at night the door of bliss, who shows the road at night to those who are in darkness

Who even by day once beholds his face, sees at night the sun rising in his dream

---

If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without having seen the king

---

[1] The ʿId-ul fiṭr or feast after the thirty days of fasting in the month Ramaẓān Fayẓī like a bad Muhammadan has not fasted and now intends to drink wine (which is forbidden) and thus make up for his neglect

[2] Done by me by not having fasted.

[3] Fayẓī means the heart

[4] A similar verse is ascribed by the author of the *Mirʾāt ul-ʿĀlam* to the poet Yahya of Kashan who during the reign of Shāhjahan was occupied with a poetical paraphrase of the *Pādishahnama*

گر بی شریک خوانمت ای شاه دین رواست
زین گفته حاجتم بدلیل و بآیه نیست
تو سایهٔ خدائی و ای همچو آفتاب
روشن بود که هیچ یکی را دو سایه نیست

If I call thee a king of Islām one without equal it is but right
I require neither proof nor verse for this statement
Thou art the shadow of God and like daylight,
It is clear that no one has two shadows

Thy old fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee—see Akbar, and you see God [1]

O king give me at night the lamp of hope, bestow upon my taper the everlasting ray!

Of the light which illuminates the eye of Thy heart,[2] give me an atom, by the light of the sun!

No friend has ever come from the unseen world, from the caravan of non-existence no voice has ever come

The heaven is the bell from which the seven metals come, and yet no sound has ever come from it notwithstanding its hammers [3]

In polite society they are silent, in secret conversation they are screened from the public view

When you come to the thoroughfare of Love do not raise dust, for there they are all surma sellers [4]

Those are full of the divine who speak joyfully and draw clear wine without goblet and jar

Do not ask them for the ornaments of science and learning, *for* they are people who have thrown fire on the book [5]

O Fayzi, go a few steps beyond thyself, go from thyself to the door, and place thy furniture before the door [6]

Shut upon thyself the folding door of the eye, and then put on it two hundred locks of eyelashes

---

O Fayzi, the time of old age has come, look where thou settest thy feet If thou puttest thy foot away from thy eyelashes, put it carefully

---

[1] This is a *strong apotheosis and reminds* one of similar expressions used by the poets of imperial Rome

[2] [illegible]

A pair of glass spectacles avails nothing, nothing Cut off a piece from thy heart,[1] and put it on thine eye

---

A sigh is a zephyr from the hyacinth bed of speech, and this zephyr has spread a throne for the lord of speech

I sit upon this throne as the Sulayman of speech, hear me speaking the language of birds[2]

O Lover, whose desolate heart grief will not leave, the fever heat will not leave the body, as long as the heart remains!

A lover possesses the property of quicksilver, which does not lose its restlessness till it is *kushta*[3]

O Fayzi, open the ear of the heart and the eye of sense, remove thy eye and ear from worldly affairs

Behold the wonderful change of time, and close thy lip, listen to the enchanter Time and shut thy eye

---

What harm can befall me, even if the ranks of my enemies attack me? They only strike a blow on the ocean with a handful of dust

I am like a naked sword in the hand of fate he is killed that throws himself on me

---

To-day I am at once both clear wine and dregs, I am hell paradise, and purgatory

Any thing more wonderful than myself does not exist, for I am at once the ocean, the jewel, and the merchant

---

Before I and thou were thought of, our free will was taken from our hands

Be without cares, for the maker of both worlds settled our affairs long before I and thou were made

He held the office of a magistrate[4] and turned to poetry He made himself widely known His manners were simple and pure

---

[1] For thy heart is pure and transparent

[2] Solomon understood the language of the birds

[3] *Kushta* pr killed is prepared quicksilver as used for looking glasses The lover must die before he can find rest

[4] My text has *arbābi* *Arbāb* is the plural of *rabb* and is used in Persian as a singular in the sense of *kalāntar* or *rish-safid* the head man of a place *Germ.* Amtmann, hence *arbābi* the office of a magistrate

2 Khwaja Husayn Sana'i of Mashhad [1]

1 My speech is the morning of sincere men, my tongue is the sword of the morning of words

2 It is clear from my words that the *Ruh'u 'l-quds* is the nurse of the Maryam of my hand [composition] [2]

3 It is sufficient that my pen has made my meanings fine, a single dot of my pen is my world

4 In short words exist in this world of brief duration, and my words are taken from them

5 No one on the day of resurrection will get hold of my garment except passion, which numbers among those whom I have slain

---

When thou goest out to mingle in society at evening the last ray of the sun lingers on thy door and thy walls, in order to see thee

---

1 In the manner of beauty and coquetry many fine things are o be seen (as for example) cruel ogling and tyrannical flirting

2 If I hold up a mirror to this strange idol his own figure does not appear to his eye as something known to him [3]

3 If for example, thou sittest behind a looking glass, a person standing before it would see his own face with the head turned backwards [4]

4 If, for example an ear of corn was to receive its water according to an agreement made with thee [O miser] no more grain would ever be crushed in the hole of a mill

---

1 A sorrow which reminds lovers of the conversation of the beloved is for them the same as sweet medicine

---

[1] [illegible]

[3] [illegible] is the boy whom I love

[4] This verse is unintelligible to me

2 I exposed the prey of my heart to death, but the huntsman has given me quarter on account of my leanness and let me run away [1]

3 If lovers slept with the beloved till the morning of resurrection, the morning breeze would cause them to feel the pain of an arrow [2]

O sober friends now is the time to tear the collar, but who will raise my hand to my collar? [3]

The messenger Desire comes again running saying [4]

It is incumbent upon lovers to hand over to their hearts those (cruel) words which the beloved (boy) took from his heart and put upon his tongue

---

When my foot takes me to the Kaʿba expect to fine me in an idol temple, for my foot goes backwards, and my goal is an illusion

---

1 The spheres of the nine heavens cannot contain an atom of the love grief which Sanaʾi's dust scatters to the winds

2 Like the sun of the heaven thou livest for all ages every eye knows thee as well as it knows what sleep is

3 Huzni of Ispahan

He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology He was free and easy and good hearted, friendliness was stamped upon his forehead [5]

---

1 I search my heart all round to look for a quiet place—and gracious God! if I do not find sorrow, I find desires

2 Zulaykha stood on the flowerbed, and yet she said in her grief that it reminded her of the prison in which a certain ornament of society [Yusuf] dwelled

3 I am in despair on thy account and yet what shall I do with love? for between me and it (love) stands (unfulfilled) desire

---

[1] Or we m[illegible]
hun[illegible]
[Th[illegible]

note [illegible]
[4] Th[illegible]

[illegible]

Gabriel's wing would droop, if he had to fly along the road of love, this message (love) does not travel as if on a zephyr

---

Whether a man be an *Ayāz* or a *Mahmūd*, here (in love) he is a slave; for love ties with the same string the foot of the slave and the freeman [1]

---

1 Last night my moist eye caught fire from the warmth of my heart, the lamp of my heart was burning until morning, to show you the way to me

2 The power of thy beauty became perfectly known to me, when its fire fell on my heart and consumed me unknown to myself

---

O Huznī I sometimes smile at thy simplicity thou hast become a lover, and yet expectest faithfulness from the beloved

---

Don't cast loving eyes at me for I am a withered feeble plant, which cannot bear the full radiance of the life consuming sun [of thy beauty]

Alas! when I throw myself on the fire, the obstinate beloved has nothing else to say but "Huznī, what is smoke like?"

I hear, Huznī, that thou art anxious to be freed from love's fetters Heartless wretch, be off, what dost thou know of the value of such a captivity!

To day, like every other day, the simple minded Huznī was content with thy false promises, and had to go

4 Qasim i Kahī [2]

He is known as Miyan Kahi He knew something of the ordinary sciences and lived quiet and content He rarely mixed with people in high position On account of his generous disposition, a few low men had gathered round him for which reason well meaning people who did not know the circumstances, often upbraided him Partly from his

---

[1] Ayaz was a slave of Mahmud of Ghāznī and is proverbial in the East for faithfulness There are several [illegible]

[2] *Kahi* [illegible]
and the ideas [illegible]
read in the ex[illegible]
the name of [illegible]
visited severa[illegible]
But he was a [illegible]
and sodomites [illegible]

own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his Majesty, he counted himself among the disciples and often foretold future events.

A low minded man must be he who can lift up his hand for terrestrial goods in prayer to God's throne

---

If lovers counted the hours spent in silent grief, their lives would appear to them longer than that of Khizr [1]

Wherever thou goest, I follow thee like a shadow, perhaps, in course of time, thou wilt by degrees cast a kind glance at me [2]

---

1 When I saw even elephants attached to my beloved, I spent the coin of my life on the road of the elephant

---

where you set the foot, withdraw from society, travel when you are at home He was liberal to a fault and squandered what he got For an ode in praise of Akbar in every

[illegible]

تاریخ وفات سال و ماهش جستم
گفتا دوم از ماه ربیع الثانی

gives 2nd Rabiʿ II 978 unless we read نوم for دوم Maulānā Qasim of Bukhāra a pupil of Kāhi expressed the *tarikh* by the words —

رحمت ملا قاسم کاهی

" Mulla Qasim i Kahi died which gives 988 *Vide* also *Iqbālnāma yi Jahāngiri*, p 5, and above p 219

[illegible] M rankāl (vide p 615) is the name of the hills

2 Wherever I go I, like the elephant, throw dust on my head, unless I see my guide above my head

3 The elephant taming king is Jalal[u] 'd Dīn Muhammad Akbar, he who bestows golden elephants upon his poets

---

1 O friend, whose tongue speaks of knowledge divine, and whose heart ever withdraws the veil from the light of truth,

2 Never cherish a thought of which thou oughtest to be ashamed, never utter a word for which thou wouldst have to ask God's pardon

5 Ghazālī of Mashhad[1]

He was unrivalled in depth of understanding and sweetness of language, and was well acquainted with the noble thoughts of the Sūfis

---

I heard a noise and started from a deep sleep, and stared—the awful night had not yet passed away—I fell again asleep[2]

Beauty leads to fame, and love to wretchedness Why then do you speak of the cruelties of the sweetheart and the faults of the miserable lover ?

Since either acceptance or exclusion awaits all in the world to come, take care not to blame anyone, for this is blameworthy

---

[illegible] sixteen books containing 4,000 verses [illegible]

[1] [illegible] (30) [illegible]
The *Haft Iq*' [illegible] another Ghazāli
[2] This is to be [illegible] in a mystic sense *Rieu* [illegible] (III 171) says that he had not found this verse in Ghazāli's Dīwān

1 O Ghazali, I shun a friend who pronounces my actions to be good, though they are bad

2 I like a simple friend, who holds my faults like a looking glass before my face

---

1 In love no rank, no reputation, no science, no wisdom no genealogical tree is required

2 For such a thing as love is, a man must possess something peculiar the sweetheart is jealous—he must possess decorum

---

1 The king says, "My cash is my treasure" The Sufi says, "My tattered garment is my woollen stuff"

2 The lover says, "My grief is my old friend" I and my heart alone know what is within my breast

---

1 If thy heart, whilst in the Kaʿba, wanders after something else, thy worship is wicked, and the Kaʿba is lowered to a cloister

2 And if thy heart rests in God, whilst thou art in a tavern, thou mayest drink wine, and yet be blessed in the life to come

6 ʿUrfi of Shiraz[1]

The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace Self admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself

---

1 [illegible] Beale [illegible] p 537) says that ʿUrfi's name was [illegible] was not recognized he therefore went to Fathpur Sikri where Hakim ʿAbu l Fath of Gilan (No 112) took an interest in him When the Hakim died ʿUrfi became an attendant on ʿAbdu r Rahim Khan Khanan and was also introduced at court He died at Lahor in Shawwal A.H 999 according to the *Haft Iqlim* and several MSS of the [illegible]

عرفی سوانه مرگ سعدی [illegible] The first edition of his poetical works contained 26 [illegible]

Cling to the hem of a heart which saddens at the plaintive voice of the nightingale, for that heart knows something

---

If someone cast a doubt on the loftiness of the cypress, I melt away from envy, for loftiness is so desirable that even a doubtful mention of it creates envy

---

He who is intimate with the morning zephyr, knows that the scent of the Jasmin remains notwithstanding the appearance of chill autumn

---

My wounded heart cannot endure a healing balm, my turban's fold cannot endure the shadow of a blooming rose

---

1 It is incumbent on me, when in society, to talk low, for the sensible people in society are stupid, and I speak but Arabic

2 Remain within the boundary of thy ignorance, unless you be a Plato, an intermediate position is mirage and raving thirst

---

Do not say that those who sing of love are silent, their song is too fine, and the audience have cotton in their ears

---

The more I exert myself, the more I come into trouble, if I am calm, the ocean's centre is at the shore

---

There is some hope that people will pardon the strange ways of ʿUrfi for the homeliness of his well known poems

---

his jagir in getting copies made of his verses but yet no one had a copy of them unless it was a present made by [illegible]

[illegible]

wrong in the dates

There exist several lithographs of ʿUrfi's Odes The Calcutta printed edition of A.H 1254 contains a Commentary by Ahmad ibn i ʿAbd[u] r Rahim (author of the Arabic Dictionary Muntahal Arab) of Safipur

No one has yet come into the world that can bear the grief of love, for every one has through love lost the colour of his face and turned pale

---

O ʿUrfī, live with good and wicked men in such a manner, that Muhammadans may wash thee (after thy death) in Zamzam water, and Hindūs may burn thee

---

If thou wishest to see thy faults clearly, lie for a moment in ambush for thyself, as if thou didst not know thyself

---

ʿUrfī has done well to stand quietly before a closed door, which no one would open He did not knock at another door

---

To pine for the arrival of young spring shows narrowness of mind in me, for there are hundreds of pleasures on the heap of rubbish in the backyard, which are not met with in a rose garden

---

My heart is sinking as the colour on Zalykhā's cheek when she saw herself alone, and my grief has become the talk of the market like the suspicion cast on Yūsuf

---

1 On the day when all shall give an account of their deeds, and when the virtues of both Shaykh and Brâhman shall be scrutinized,

2 Not a grain shall be taken of that which thou hast reaped, but a harvest shall be demanded of that which thou hast not sown

---

1 O thou who hast experienced happiness and trouble from good and bad events and who art in consequence full of thanks and sometimes full of complaints,

2 Do not take high ground, so that thy efforts may not be in vain, be rather (yielding) like grass that stands in the way of the wind, or like a bundle of grass which others carry off on their shoulders

---

1 O ʿUrfī, for what reason is thy heart so joyful? Is it for the few verses which thou hast left behind?

2 Alas! thou losest even that which thou leavest behind as something once belonging to thee Thou oughtest to have taken it with thee, but hast thou taken it with thee?

7 Mayli of Hirat

His name was Mirza Quli [1] He was of Turkish extraction and lived in the society of gay people

---

Since I have become famous through my love, I shun all whom I see, for I am afraid lest my going to anyone might put thee into his thoughts

---

I die and feel pity for such as remain alive, for thou art accustomed to commit such cruelties as thou hast done to me

---

1 My heart derived so much pleasure from seeing thee, that fate—God forbid, that it should think of revenge

2 Thou art neither a friend nor a stranger to me, what name is man to give to such a relation?

Thou knowest that love to thee does not pass away with the lives of thy lovers for thou passest by the tombs of those whom thy love slew and yet thou behavest coquettishly

---

When thou biddest me go cast one glance upon me, for from carefulness people tie a string to the foot of a bird, even if it be so tame as to eat from the hand

---

My last breath is at hand! O enemy, let me have him, (the lovely boy) but for a moment so that with thousands of pangs I may restore him to thee

---

1 I promised myself that I would be patient and did not go to him (the boy) I had hopes to be content with loneliness

2 But the woe of separation kills me and whispers every moment to me 'This is the punishment of him who puts confidence in his patience

---

[1] The Nafa'is [illegible]

[illegible]

He is much praised for his poetry the author of the *Atashkada* says that he was one of his favourite poets

1 Thy clients have no cause to ask thee for anything for every one of them has from a beggar become a Crœsus in wealth

2 But thou findest such a pleasure in granting the prayers of beggars that they make requests to thee by way of flattery

8 JaSfar Beg of Qazwin

He is a man of profound thought has learnt a good deal and describes very well the events of past ages As an accountant he is unrivalled From his knowledge of human nature he leans to mirth and is fond of jokes He was so fortunate to obtain the title of Āsaf Khan and was admitted as a disciple of his Majesty [1]

I am jealous of the zephyr but I gladden my heart with the thought that this is a rose garden and no one can close the door in the face of the wind

---

When the town could not contain the sorrows of my heart I thought that the open country was created for my heart

---

I am prepared for another interview to night for I have patched up my torn torn heart

---

It is the fault of my love that he [the lovely boy] is an enemy What is love worth if it makes no impression [2]

I admire the insight of my heart for its familiarity with beauties whose ways are so strange

---

He came and made me confused but he did not remain long enough for me to introduce my heart to consolation

---

As I am entirely at fault do not threaten me with revenge for the pleasure of taking revenge on thee makes me bid my fault defiance

---

1 Dost thou show me thy face so boldly Happiness ? Wait a moment that I may announce my love-grief

---

[1] His biography was given above No 98 Vide also Iqbalnama ye Jahangiri ... JaSfar as may be seen from Abu l Fazl s extracts ... Sprenger (Catalogue p 444) may belong to ... le above p 493 and Sprenger loc cit p 120

2 Jaʿfar came to day so broken hearted to thy house, that the hearts of the stones burnt on seeing his extraordinary condition

---

1 Whoever has been in thy company for a night, is the companion of my sad fate

2 Jaʿfar has found the road to the street of the sweetheart so difficult, that he can no more rise to his feet

---

The morning zephyr, I think, wafts to me the scent of a certain sweetheart, because Jacob keeps his closed eye turned towards a caravan [1]

A new rose must have opened out in the garden, for last night the nightingale did not go asleep till the morning

9 Khwāja Husayn of Marw [2]

He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price He lived at the Court of Humāyūn, and was also during this reign highly favoured

---

1 The realms of speech are in my possession, the banker of speech is the jeweller of my pearl strings

2 Creation's preface is a sheet of my book, the secrets of both worlds are in the nib of my pen

10 Hayātī of Gīlān [3]

A stream from the ocean of thought passes by his house, correctness and equity are visible on his forehead Serenity and truth are in him united, he is free from the bad qualities of poets

---

[1] Jacob had become blind from weeping over the loss of Joseph One day he smelled the scent of Joseph's coat, which a messenger was bringing to Egypt When the coat was

1 Whenever you speak watch yourself repentance follows every word which gladdens no heart

2 You do not require the swift wing of a bird, but since fortune is so borrow the foot of the ant and flee

---

A love-sick man is so entangled in his grief that even the wish of getting rid of it does him harm

---

Whatever you see is in some way or other a highway robber I know no man that has not been waylaid

---

1 This is the thoroughfare of love it is no open market keep your lips closed no talk is required

2 I too have been among the heathens but have seen no waist worthy of the sacred thread

3 Covetous people are from covetousness each other's enemies, in friendship alone there are no rivals

---

1 Let every thorn which people sow in thy road bloom in the lustre of thy smiles

2 Say nothing and heal the wound of the heart with poisoned arrows

---

1 My love makes me delay over everything even if it were a scent in the house or a colour in the bazaar

2 Thou knowest what people call me— mad from shame and dejected from baseness

---

Since everything which I mended has broken again my heart has gone altogether from trying to patch it

---

1 I suffer thy cruelties and die, perhaps I thus complete my faithfulness

2 Thou canst not deprive me of the means of union with thee unless thou shuttest the zephyr in a box.[1]

This turf and this field have a tinge of madness, insanity and drunken i e have to-day a good omen

---

[1] Because the zephyr wafts the breath of the beloved boy to the poet

1 Love-grief is followed by an increase of sorrow, the desire to meet him is followed by bloody tears

2 Neither the one nor the other, however, is the means of attaining love's perfection, be sound in mind, or else completely mad.

---

1 I am neither as high as the Pleiades, nor as low as the abyss; I neither cherish the old grief, nor do I possess a new thought

2 If I am not the wailing nightingale, there is yet this excellence left, I am the moth and am pledged to the flame.[1]

---

1 I am the heart-grief of my dark nights, I am the misfortune of the day of my fate

2 Perhaps I may go a step back to myself, it is a long time that I have been waiting for myself

11 Shikebi of Ispahān

He possesses taste and writes well He is acquainted with chronology and the ordinary sciences, and the purity of his nature led him to philosophical independence [2]

I have lived through nights of lonely sorrow, and am still alive; I had no idea of the tenaciousness of my life

---

1 Th[illegible]

عاشقان کشتگان معشوقند
بر نیاید ز کشتگان آواز

The lovers are [illegible]

[illegible]

gave him 18 000 or according to the *Haft Iqlim* 10 000 rupees as a present He wrote several other poems in praise of his patron The *Ma'asir i Rahimi* mentions a Masnawi on the conquest of Thatha (A H 999 1000) for which Jani Beg and ʿAbdur Rahim gave him one thousand Ashrafis I do not know whether this Masnawi is the same as the Masnawi written by Shikebi in the Khusrau Shirin metre [The As Soc of Bengal has a MS of the *Kulliyat i Sanai* in Shikebi's handwriting —B]

Grief, not mirth, is my ware Why dost thou wish to know its price? I know that thou wilt not buy it, and that I shall not sell it

---

On account of the jealousy of the watcher I had resolved to stay away from thy feast I was deceived by my bad luck and called it jealousy, and stayed away

---

O God, bestow upon my wares a market from the unseen world! I would sell my heart for a single interview, vouchsafe a buyer!

Thou art warm with my love, and in order to keep off bad omens, I sit over the fire, and burn myself as wild rue [1]

I uprooted my heart from my being, but the burden of my heart did not leave my being I severed my head from my body, but my shoulders did not leave my collar

---

1 To day, when the cup of union with thee is full to the brim I see Neglect sharpen the sword, in order to kill me

2 Thou dost not dwell in my heart and hast girded thy loins with hatred towards me—ruin upon the house which raises enemies!

---

1 The plaintive song of my bird [heart] turns the cage to a rosebed, the sigh of the heart in which thou art, turns to a rosebed

2 When thy beauty shines forth covetousness also is love, straw, when going up in flames, turns to a rosebed

---

1 Happy are we if we come to thee, through thee, like blind men we search for thee, through thee

2 Increase thy cruelties till the tenaciousness of my life takes revenge on me, and thy cold heart on thee

---

1 The world is a game, the winning of which is a loss, playing cleverly consists in being satisfied with a low throw

2 This earthly life is like a couple of dice—you take them up, in order to throw them down again

---

[1] *Sipand* People even nowadays put the seeds of wild rue on heated iron plates The smoke is said to drive away evil spirits Vide p 146 note 1

12 Anīsī Shāmlū.[1]

His real name is Yol Qulī He is a man of a happy heart and of pure manners, he is brave and sincere

---

In seeking after thee, a condition [illegible] put upon us miserable lovers, viz, that our feet remain unacquainted with the hems of our garments[2]

It is possible to travel along this road, even when one lightning only flashes We blind lovers are looking for the ray of thy lamp

---

If I remain restless even after my death, it is no wonder, for toil undergone during the day makes the sleep of the night restless

---

1 How can the thought of thy love end with my death? for love [illegible] not like wine, which flows from the vessel when it is broken

2 The lover would not snatch his life from the hand of death though he could Why should the owner of the harvest take the grain from the ant?

---

1 The rosebed of time does not contain a songster like me, and yet it is from the corner of my cage that I have continually to sing

2 In order satisfactorily to settle my fortune, I spent a life in hard work, but with all my mastership I have not been able to draw silk from reeds

---

The nature of love resembles that of the magnet, for love first attracts the shaft in order to wound the heart when it wishes to get rid of the point

---

[1] T [illegible]
of the [illegible]
Khan [illegible]
and M[illegible]
Ibrahim [illegible]

May God preserve all men from falling into my circumstances! for my sufferings keep the rose from smiling and the nightingale from singing

---

Love has disposed of me, but I do not yet know who the buyer is, and what the price is

---

Anisi drinks the blood of his heart, and yet the vessel is never empty, it seems as if, at the banquet of love's grief the red wine rises from the bottom of the goblet

---

1 I am intoxicated with love do not bring me wine throw me into the fire do not bring me water

2 Whether I complain or utter reproaches I address him alone do not answer me!

---

1 I went away, in order to walk a few steps on the path of destruction, and to tear a few ties that bind me to existence

2 I will spend a few days without companions and will pass a few nights without a lamp till morning make its appearance

---

1 O heart, beware! O heart beware! Thus should it be, the hand of asking ought to be within the sleeve [1]

2 O that I could but once catch a certain object! the hunter is for ever in the ambush

13 Naziri of Nishapur [2]

He possesses poetical talent and the garden of thought has a door open for him Outwardly he is a good man, but he also devises plans for the architecture of the heart

---

Every place whether nice or not appears pleasant to me I either rejoice in my sweetheart or grieve for him

---

1 Th.

If thou destroyest the ware of my heart, the loss is for once, whilst to me it would be the loss of world and faith

---

If thou wilt not put my cage below the rose tree, put it in a place where the meadow hears my plaint

---

It is from kindness that he [the beautiful boy] favours me, not from love, I can distinguish between friendship and politeness

---

It is a generation that I have been girding my waist in thy service, and what am I worth? I must have become a Brahman, so often have I put on the badge (the thread)

Thy blood is worth nothing, Nazīrī, be silent! Suffice it that he who slew thee, has no claim against thee

---

I am costly and there are no buyers, I am a loss to myself, and am yet the ornament of the bazaar

---

The impression which my sorrow makes upon him consists in depriving his heart of all sympathy, and the peculiar consequence of my reminding him of my love is that he forgets it

---

Like a watch dog I lie at his threshold, but I gnaw the whole night at my collar and think of chasing him not of watching him

---

[illegible]

O Ṣayib what dost thou think? Canst thou become like Nazīrī?
ʿUrfī even does not approach Nazīrī in genius

The Tarīkh of Na[illegible]

The Hassan of [illegible]
Arabian poet Has[illegible]
markiz i dāʾira [illegible]
gives 1021 unless [illegible]
tarīkhs Dāghistānī also mentions a poet Sawādī of Gujrat a pious man who was in Nazīrī's service On the death of his master he guarded his tomb and died in A H 1031

1 From carelessness of thought I transformed a heart, by the purity of which Kaʿba swore, into a Farangi Church

2 The simoom of the field of love possesses so inebriating a power, that the lame wanderer thinks it sublime transport to travel on such a road

3 The ship of love alone is a true resting place, step out of it, and thou art surrounded by the stormy sea and its monsters

4 Tell me which song makes the greatest impression on thy heart, so that I may utter my plaint in the same melody

14 Darwish Bahram.[1]

He is of Turkish extraction and belongs to the Bayat tribe The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him He renounced the world and became a water-carrier

---

1 I have broken the foundation of austerity, to see what would come of it, I have been sitting in the bazaar of ignominy [love], to see what would come of it

2 I have wickedly spent a lifetime in the street of the hermits, now I am a profligate, a wine bibber, a drunkard, to see that will come of it

3 People have sometimes counted me among the pious, sometimes among the licentious, whatever they call me I am, to see what will come of it

15 Sayrafi [Sarfi] of Kashmir[2]

His name is Shaykh Yaʿqub He is well acquainted with all branches of poetry and with various sciences He knows well the excellent writings of Ibn ʿArab, has travelled a good deal, and has thus become acquainted with many saints He obtained higher knowledge under Shaykh Husayn of Khwarazm, and received from him permission to guide others

[1] Bahram's takhallus is Saqqa i e water-carrier This occupation is often chosen by those who are favoured with a sight of the Prophet Khizr (Elias) Khizr generally appears as an old man dressed in green (in allusion to the meaning of the name in Arabic or to his functions as spring deity)

The Bayat tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbayjān Erivan Tihrān Fars and Nishapur

Bahrām is worshipped as a saint His mausoleum is in Bardwan near Calcutta. Regarding the poet himself and the legends connected with him vide my "Arabic and

He stole from my heart all patience, and then took the whole mad heart itself, my thief stole the house with its whole furniture

---

The weakness of the boy has brought the love sick man into a strange position, from weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery

16 Sabuhi, the Chaghtai[1]

He was born in Kâbul Once he slept in the bedroom of Amîr Khusraw, when the shining figure of an old man with a staff in his hand awoke him and ordered him to compose a poem As he had no power of doing so, he took the whole for a vision, and lay down in another place, but the same figure woke him up, and repeated the order The first verse that he uttered is the following —

When I am far from thee, my tears turn gradually into an ocean
Come and see, enter the ship of my eye, and make a trip on the ocean[2]

My sweetheart saw the scroll of my faith, and burnt my sad heart, so that no one afterwards might read its contents[3]

---

1 I have no need to explain him my condition, for my heart, if really burning, will leave a trace behind

2 Weakness has overpowered me, and my heart has sunk under its sorrow Who shall now inform him of my wretched state ?

[illegible] the poet

His takhallus [illegible] variously given as ṣayrafî and ṣarfî The latter seems the correct form to judge from the metre of one of his verses preserved by Badaʿonî (III, 148) Both words occur as takhallus thus there was a Qâ[illegible]î Savrafî encomiast of Fîruz Shah [illegible]

[illegible] the wine

Badakh[illegible]

[illegible] verse [illegible]otwithstanding the vision is stolen, vide Badaʿonî III 180 under Atashi

[3] [illegible] this verse too was uttered at the [illegible]me he had the vision he stole thought and words from Âṣafî Jamî's pupil who has a verse —

دل که طومار وفا بود من محزون را
پاره کردند ندانسته بیان مضمون را

17. Mushfiqī of Bukhārā[1]

I went to his street, and whilst I was there, a thorn entered deep into the foot of my heart Thanks be to God that I have now a reason for staying in it!

---

1. Hindūstan is a field of sugar-cane, its parrots are sugar sellers
2. Its flies are like the darlings of the country, wearing the *chīra* and the *takauchiya*[2]

18 Sāhhī[3]

His name is Muhammad Mīrak He traces his descent from Nizāmu 'l-Mulk of Tūs

---

Men without feeling tell me to use my hand and catch hold of his garment. If I had a hand [i e, if I had the opportunity], I would tear my collar to pieces

---

There are many reasons why I should be dead, and yet I am alive O grief! thy forbearance has made me quite ashamed of myself

---

[1] [illegible]
994 (Vāmbēry's *Bokhara* p 301)

[2] This verse is a parody on the well known Ghazal which Hafiz sent from Shīrāz to Sultān Ghiyās of Bengal (Metre Muzāri)

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود

The parrots of Ind will learn to enjoy sweets,
When this Persian sugar (the poem) *reaches Bengal.*

[3] [illegible]
and that his family had always been employed by kings
Sprenger (Catalogue p 50) calls him wrongly *Muhammad Mīr Beg* The *Ātash kada* and the MSS have Muhammad Mīrak; and thus also his name occurs in the *Maʿāsir i Rahīmī*.

I told him [the beautiful boy] my grief he paid no heed Oh, did you ever see such misery! I wept, he laughed—Oh, did you ever see such contempt!

My life is in his hand It is quite clear, Salih, that even the falcon Death sits tame on his hand

19 Marhari of Kashmir[1]

He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ʿIrâq From living together with good people he acquired excellent habits

---

1 I cannot understand the secret of Salma's beauty, for the more you behold it, the greater becomes your desire

2 What friendly look lay in Layli's eyes, that Majnûn shut his eyes to friends and strangers?

I admire the looking glass which reflects my sweetheart standing on a flower bed,[2] although he is inside his house

---

The good fortune of thy beauty has caused thy affairs to prosper, else thou wouldst not have known how to manage matters successfully

---

1 Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore

2 Though I break through a hundred screens I cannot step out of myself, I wander over a hundred stages, and am still at the old place

---

I am a tulip of Sinai and not like the stem born flower I cast flames over the slit of my collar instead of hemming it[3]

He of whom my eye makes light, appears to heaven dull and heavy

---

[1] Daghistani says that in ʿIraq he was [illegible]

[illegible]

an apple the black [illegible]

[3] The hot tears [illegible] by flames like a flow[illegible]

20 Mahwi of Hamadan[1]

His name is Mughis He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom

---

1 Once I did not know burning sorrow, I did not know the sighs of a sad heart

2 Love has now left neither name nor trace of me—I never thought, Love, that thou art so

---

1 You said that my condition was low from love grief A cup! bring me a cup! for my heart is stagnant

2 Be ashamed of thyself, be ashamed! Which is the cup and which is the wine that has inebriated the nightingale?

---

1 O Mahwī, beckon to a friend and ring the bell of the caravan

2 The stage is yet far and the night is near O thou who hast fettered thy own foot, lift up thy foot and proceed!

---

1 A single lover requires hundreds of experiences, hundreds of wisdoms, and hundreds of understandings

2 Thy luck is excellent, go away love is a place where misery is required

---

1 O Mahwī, do not sing a song of the passion of thy heart, do not knock at the door of a single house in the street

2 Thou hast seen this strange world, beware of speaking of a friend

---

[1] Mir Mughis according to the *Ma'asir i Rahimi* was born in Asadabad (Hamadan) and went when twelve years old to Ardabil where he studied for four years at the "Astana yi Safawiya From youth he was remarkable for his contentment and piety *He spent twenty years at holy places* chiefly at Najaf Mashhad, Karbala and Hirat Mawlana Shikebi and Anisi (pp 646 648) looked upon him as their teacher and guide He held poetical contests (*mushā'ara*) with Mawlana Sahābi (صحابی) He embarked at [illegible]

town

The *Mir'at* mentions a Mahwi whose name was Mir Mahmūd and says that he was for twenty five years Akbar's Munshi

21 Sarfī of Sāwah[1]

He ■ poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence.

My dealer in roses wishes to take his roses to the bazaar, but he ought first to learn to bear the noisy crowd of the buyers

---

I am shut out from the road that leads to the Kaᶜba, else I would gladly wound the sole of my feet with the thorns of its acacias[2]

I have no eye for the world, should it even lie before my feet; he who takes care of the end, looks behind himself

---

That which I desire[3] is too high to be obtained by stooping down. O that I could find myself lying before my own feet!

22 Qarārī of Gīlān[4]

His name is Nurᵘ 'd Dīn He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts A curious monomania seized him he looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū 'l Fath, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them

---

[1] The MSS of the Āᶜīn call him " Sayrafī but the metre of several verses given in

The longer the grief of separation lasts, the gladder I am, for like a stranger I can again and again make his acquaintance

---

I doubt Death's power, but an arrow from thy eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years

---

He [the beautiful boy] must have been last night away from home, for I looked at his door and the walls of his house, but had no pleasure from looking

---

If in that hour, when I tear the hood of my life, I should get hold, of, what God forbid, Thy collar, I would tear it to pieces

---

I envy the fate of those who on the last day, enter hell, for they sit patiently within the fire [1]

My madness and ecstasy do not rise from nightly wine, the burning of divine love is to be found in no house

---

1 O heart! when I am in love, do not vex me with the jealousy of the watchman, thou hast made me lose my faith [Islām] do not speak ill of my Brahmanical thread [2]

2 To be far from the bliss of non existence seems death to him who has experienced the troubles of existence O Lord! do not wake me up on the day of resurrection from the sleep of non existence

---

1 If the love of my heart should meet with a buyer, I would do something openly

2 I have spread the carpet of abstinence in such a manner that every thread of the texture ends in a thousand Brahmanical threads

1 The drinking of my heart-blood has surfeited me; like my sweetheart, I have become an enemy to myself

2 I have killed myself, and, from excessive love to him, have cast the crime on my own shoulders [1]

23 ʿItābī of Najaf [2]

He possesses harmony of thought, but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life

---

I am the nightingale of thy flower bed I swear by the pleasure of thy society that the rose has passed away, and I do not know where the garden is

---

1 May all hearts rest peacefully in the black night of thy curls, when I, the miserable, wander restless from thy street!

2 I have knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and have come to the door of despair, hopeless of getting help from heathen and Musulmān

3 I had come from the land of faithfulness what wonder, if I vanish from the dear memory of the [faithless] fair?

---

1 I have consumed my sober heart on the rubbish-heap of passion; I have burnt the Kaʿba candle at the idol temple's fate

2 The flower bed of a certain beloved has not wafted to me the fragrance of fulfilled desires, and hopelessly do I consume myself in my dismal corner

3 No one has ever said the word "friend" to me, not even by mistake, though I consume myself before acquaintances and strangers [3]

---

[1] [illegible]

1 O heart, what portion of his wine coloured lip dost thou keep in thy flagon, that thy inside is full of sighs and thy neck full of sobs [1]

2 Love has thrown me into oceans of bloody tears, go, go away, that for once thou mayest reach the banks of the stream

---

I have given thee permission to shed my blood without retaliation I have said so, and give it thee black on white, and stamped with my seal

---

Sometimes I am drowned in floods sometimes burning in flames Let no one build a house in my street!

In the name of God let us go, if you belong to my travelling companions This caravan [2] has no bell to sound the hour of starting

---

In a realm where the word 'faithfulness' produces tears, the messenger and the letter he brings [3] produce each separately tears

---

1 Is the killing of a man like me worth a single sign of anger and hatred? Is shedding my blood worth the bending of thy arm (pr thy eye)?

2 If thou art resolved to break my heart is it worth while to ill treat thy lovers?

24 Mulla Muhammad Sufi of Mazandaran [4]

He is in affluent circumstances but from virtuous motives he mixes little with the world He seeks retirement by travelling about

---

Look upon me when standing below the revolving roof of the heavens, as a lamp concealed under a cover

1 O heart, thy road is not without thorns and caltrops, nor dost thou walk on the wheel of good fortune

2 If it be possible pull the skin from the body, and see whether thy burden will be a little lighter

---

1 You asked me "How are you Muhammad, after falling in love with him?—long may you live!" "I stand" said I, "below the heaven as a murderer under the gibbet

25 Juda'i [1]

His name is Sayyid ʿAli and he is the son of Mir Mansur He was born and educated in Tabriz and attained, under the care of his Majesty, the greatest perfection in the art of painting

---

The beauty of idols is the Kaʿba to which I travel, love is the desert, and the obstinacy of the worthless watchers [2] the acacia thorns

---

I am a prey half killed and stretched on the ground far from the street of my beloved I stagger along tumbling down and rising up again till I come near enough to catch a glimpse of him

---

In the morning the thorn boasts of having been together with the rose and drives a nail through the broken heart of the nightingale

26 Wuquʿi of Nishapur [3]

His name is Sharif

Love and the lover have in reality the same object in view Do not believe that I lose by giving thee my life

1. I do not care for health[1] O Lord, let sorrow be my lot, a sorrow which deprives my heart of every hope of recovery!

2 I am smitten by the eye which looks so coquettishly at me, that it raises, openly and secretly, a hundred wishes in my heart

27 Khusrawī of Qāʾin[2]

He is a relation of [the poet] Mirzā Qāsim of Gūnābād [or Junābād, or Junābid, in Khurāsān] He writes *Shikasta* well, and is a good hand at shooting with the bow and the matchlock

---

If the dust of my body were mixed with that of others, you would recognize my ashes by their odour of love

---

Thy coming has shed a lustre on the ground, and its dust atoms serve as *surma* for my eyes

---

The lions of the Haram should not stain their paws with my blood O friend, give the dogs of the Christian monastery this food as a treat

---

What do I care for comfort! I think myself happy in my misery, for the word "rest" is not used in the language of this realm [love]

28 Shaykh Rahaʾī[3]

He traces his descent from Zainu 'd Din Khāfī He pretended to be a Sūfī.

---

rocks of several thousand *mans* lying about near my house he exclaimed with a sigh All these helpless things are only waiting to assume human form Notwithstanding his wicked belief he composed poems in praise of the Imāms, but he may have done so when he was young He was an excellent *katib* and letter writer and was well acquainted with history He died in A.H. 1002

[1] Health is the equivalent of indifference to love

[illegible]

quotes the same verse as Abu l Fazl *Padaʾoni* says he left a well known diwān In [illegible]

No one has, in thy love, been more brought up to sorrow than I, and that thou knowest not my sorrow is a new sorrow

---

I took to travelling in order to allay my grief, not knowing that my road would pass over hundred mountains of grief

29. Wafa'i of Isfahan [1]

He possesses sparks of taste He had been for some time wandering in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders [2]

I do not call him a buyer who only wishes to buy a Yusuf Let a man buy what he does not require ! [3]

Knock at night at the door of the heart for when it dawns, the doors are opened and the door of the heart is closed

---

I am secure from the dangers of life no one deprives the street beggar of his bareness

---

1 The dart of fate comes from the other side of the armour, [4] why should I uselessly put on an armour ?

2 Flash of death, strike first at me ! I am no grain that brings an ear to the harvest

---

Joy and youth are like the fragrance of the rose that chooses the zephyr as a companion

30 Shaykh Saqi [5]

He belongs to the Arabians of the Jaza'ir He has acquired some knowledge

---

[3] As to example love grief

[4] i e a place where man is not protected because he does not expect an arrow from that side

1. I became a cloak to ruin, Sāqī, and like the Kaʿba, a place of belief and heresy.

2. I have found no trace of love, much as I have travelled among the hearts of the infidels and the faithful

---

My heart is still ardent with love, and thou art still indifferent. O sweetheart, speak, before I openly express myself

31 Rafīʿī of Kāshān [1]

His name is Ḥaydar. He is well acquainted with the *ars poetica* and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and *tārīkhs*

My heart is sensitive, you cruel one; what remedy is there for me? Although a lover, I have the temper of the beloved—what can I do?

---

1. A recluse does not sin [love] and calls thee a tyrant, I am plunged into crime [love] and think that thou art forgiving

2 He calls thee a tyrant, I call thee forgiving, choose whatever name pleases thee most.

32 Ghayratī of Shīrāz [2]

His diction is good, and he knows the history of the past

I am smitten by the eyelash of my murderer, who has shed my blood without letting a drop fall to the ground [3]

[illegible]

The present age asks God for a mischief maker like thee, who makes the days of the wretched bitterer [1]

I am free from worldliness, for my aspirations do no longer lean against the wall of confidence

---

I am smitten by the fearless glance of a Christian youth, for whose sake God will pardon, on the day of resurrection, the slaughter of a hundred Musalmans

---

Even death mourns for those who are killed by the grief of separation from thee

---

The street of the sweet boy is a beautiful land, for there even heaven's envy is changed to love

---

I saw the heart of another full of grief and I became jealous, for there is but one cruel tyrant in these regions [2]

33 Halati of Turan [3]

His name is Yadgar He is a selfish man

Leave me to my grief! I find rest in my grief for him I die, if the thought of the possibility of a cure enters my heart

---

When my eye caught a glimpse of him my lips quivered and closed Oh that life remained but a moment within me!

To whatever side I turn in the night of separation my heart feels pierced by the thought of the arrow of his eyelash

---

[1] That is my beloved boy causes the greatest mischief among the hearts of men

[2] No boy is lovelier than the beloved of the poet If the poet therefore sees another man love sick he gets jealous his beloved boy must have bestowed favours on the other man

[3] [illegible]

34 Sanjar of Kāshān[1]

He is the son of Mir Haydar, the riddle writer He has a taste for poetry, and lives in good circumstances

---

I came from the monastery of the Guebres and wear, from shame on account of improprieties, a sacred thread twisted round my waist, and a wailing gong under my arm[2]

I am jealous and I shall die from the aggressions of fickle lovers I am a fresh plant, but shall die from the heap of rubbish about me

---

I, too, have at last perished in the century of thy love Alas! none is now left of Majnūn's tribe[3]

Sorrows rush from every side on my heart without first knocking at the door I cannot help it, my house lies on the highway

35 Jazbī[4]

His name is Pādishāh Qulī, and he is the son of Shah Qulī Khān Nāranjī of Kurdistān, near Baghdād

---

See how extremely jealous I am My bewilderment leaves me, if any one alludes to him [the beautiful boy] whose memory causes me bewilderment

---

[1] Sanjar came in A H 1000 from Persia to India and met his father (p 662 (?)) For some crime ' to mention which is not proper Akbar imprisoned him When again set free [illegible]

[illegible]

Rahīmī

The *Khizānā-i ʿĀmira* and Mr T W Beale of Agra the learned author of the *Miftāh-i Tawārīkh* give the following verse as *tārīkh* of Sanjar's death (metre *Muzāriʿ*) —

افکند پادشاه سخن چتر شاعری

The king of literature has thrown away the royal umbrella

of which the words *pādishah-i sukhun* give 1023, but as the pādishāh throws away the umbrella we have to subtract a ب or 2, for the figure of the Arabic ب if inverted looks like an umbrella

[2] i e love has made the poet forget his faith and he has become a heathen or a Christian The Christians in many eastern countries used gongs because they were not allowed bells

[3] The poet only is a true lover He alone resembled Majnun.

[4] The Tazkiras give no details regarding *Jazbī* His father has been mentioned above on p 537 and from the *Akbarnāma* (III p 512) we know that Pādishāh Qulī served in Kashmir under Qāsim Khān (p 412) Jazbī means 'attractive', a similar takhallus is "Majzūb", "one who is attracted by God's love"

Badāʾonī (III 213) ascribes the last verses given by Abu 'l Fazl to Pādishāh Qulī's father

1 Sometimes I break my vow of repentance and sometimes the wine bottle once twice incessantly I break my plaintive flute [my heart]

2 O Lord deliver my heart from these bad practices! How often shall I repent and again break my vow of repentance!

36 Tashbihi of Kashan [1]

His mind from his youth was unsettled He belongs to the sect of the Mahmudis but I know nothing of his origin nor of his present condition The Masnawi entitled Zarrah o Khurshid "the Atom and the Sun" is written by him

---

Dust of the graveyard rise for once to joy! Thou enclosest a corpse like mine slain by his hand and his dagger

---

Dress in whatever colour thou wilt, I recognize thee when thy figure shines forth

---

[1] The Ātashkada calls him [illegible]

Pass some day by the bazaar of the victims of thy love, and behold the retribution that awaits thee, for there they buy up every one of thy crimes at the price of a hundred meritorious actions [1]

O thou that takest the loaf of the sun from this warm oven, thou hast not given Tashbihī a breakfast and he asks thee for an evening meal [2]

---

1 I am that Tashbihī who, *from foresight, chooses to* dwell in a graveyard

2 I like to dwell in a graveyard, because dwelling in a graveyard lies before our sight

---

The hands of this world and of the world to come are empty With me is the ring !—all other hands are empty [3]

37 Ashkī of Qum [4]

He is a Ṭabāṭibā Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent

Those who are slain by thee lie *everywhere* inebriated on the ground: perhaps the water of thy steel was wine

---

[1] This verse is an example of a well known rhetorical figure The word "retribution" leads the reader to expect the opposite of what Tashbihī says The lovely boy has of course broken many hearts and shed the blood of believers, nevertheless all are ready to transfer the rewards of their meritorious actions to him and thus buy up his crimes

[2] The sun looks round like a *loaf*, the *warm oven* is the heat of the day

[3] In allusion to a game in which the players secretly pass a ring from one to another and another party has to find where the ring is "The ring is with Tashbihī" i e, he has [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Thou hast killed poor Ashkī
And I wonder at thy crime being hidden
With thee four Dīwāns of his remained
And what remains of thy poems is his

Dāghistānī says that Ashkī died in Mīr Judā'ī's house and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī, but as he only quotes a hemistich the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlīm* is preferable

Badā'onī says that Ashkī's poems are full of thought and that he imitated (*tatabbu'*) the poet, Āsafī. He died at Āgra.

My body melts in the fire of my madness, when he [the lovely boy] is away, and if you should hang an iron chain to my neck, it would flow (molten) to my feet

---

Whenever I have to bear the pang of separation from my beloved, no one bears with me but death

---

Ashki, I think my tears have turned watchers, for whenever I think of him, they rush into my face [1]

[illegible] Asiri of Ray [2]

His name is Amir Qazi He is a man of education

The messenger was a watcher in disguise, and I did not see his cunning, The cruel wretch succeeded in putting his contrivance between us

---

I have pardoned my murderer, because he did not take his hand away from me for as long as life was left within me, his murderous hands were properly employed

---

His love has so completely filled my breast, that you can hear him breathe in my breath

[illegible] Fahmi of Ray (Tihran) [3]

Give him no wine who feels no higher pleasure in the juice of grapes, do not even give him water when he lies as dust before the door of the tavern

---

[1] So do the watchers of the beloved boy rush up against Ashki when he declares his love

[2] Asiri was according to Bada,oni an educated man and the best pupil of Hakimu l Mulk (p 611) But the climate of India did not agree with him and he did not find much favour with the emperor He therefore returned to Ray his home where he died [illegible]

[3] [illegible] Fahmi yi Tihrani which [illegible] pparent In fact it looks [illegible] tay because no *Tazkira* [illegible]

I have no patience when in love, and have lost in reputation Tell reputation to go, I cannot be patient

40 Qaydi of Shiraz[1]

He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied, but he thinks much of himself

---

As thou hast never gone from my heart, I wonder how thou couldst have found a place in the hearts of all others

---

1 Thou drovest me away, and I came back, not from jealousy, but because I wish to confess that I feel ashamed of my love having had jealousy as a companion

2 My tears derive a lustre from the laughter of cruel wretches, else a wound inflicted by thee could never produce such bloody tears

---

A lover may have many reasons to complain, but it is better not to unburden the heart before the day of judgment

---

If I desire to accuse thee of shedding, in every look, a hundred torrents of lover's blood, my lot, though hostile enough, would be ready to be my witness

---

I am gone, my reason is gone! I want a flash of madness to strike my soul, so as to keep it burning [with love] till the day of judgment

---

1 Last night union [with the sweet boy] raised her lovely form before me and the gloomy desert of my heart shone forth in raptures

2 But the bat had no power to gaze at the sun, else the sun would have revealed what is now behind the screen

---

[1] Qaydi came from Makkah to India and was well received by Akbar Once at a court assembly he spoke of the injustice of the *Dāgh o Mahalli* Law on which Akbar had set his heart (vide p 252) and fell into disgrace He wandered about for some time as Faqir in the Byāna District and returned to Fathpur Sīkri suffering from piles A quack whom he consulted cut open the veins of the anus and Qaydi died. He was an excellent poet *Badā'onī*

Dāghistānī says that he was a friend of ʿUrfī and died in A.H. 992

41 Payrawī of Sawah [1]

His name is Amīr Beg He was a good painter

Where is the wine of love given to wretches without feeling? Loving idols is a drunkenness let men be careful to whom to give it!

O God! I cannot reach the world of the ideal forgive me if I worship form [2]

42 Kāmī of Sabzwār [3]

His mind is somewhat unsettled

If I knew that tears could make an impression I would altogether turn to blood and trickle from the eye

Whether I see him [the beautiful boy] or not my heart is in raptures Have you ever seen such a sight?

I wished I could like a breeze pass away from this base world This is not the street of the sweetheart from which one cannot pass away

My blood dances from mirth in my vein like a flame the look he gave me commences to work and my heart is effectually wounded

43 Payāmī [4]

His name is ʿAndu s Salām He is of Arabian extraction and has acquired some knowledge but he is not clear to himself

Payrawī imitated the poet [illegible]

Badā,ūnī also mentions him [illegible]

[illegible] who conquered the country

Fortune cheats in play, loses and takes back what she paid One cannot play with a companion that is up to such tricks

---

1 How long do you file down your words and polish them how long do you shoot random arrows at the target ?

2 If you would take one lesson in the science of silence you would laugh loud at your silly conversation

---

1 I keep a thousand thunderbolts concealed below my lip Go away go away take care not to put your finger on my lip

2 I have come to the public square of the world but I think it were better if my Yusuf were yet in the pit than in the bazaar [1]

Patience in order to console me has again put me off with new subterfuges and has stitched up the book of my happiness the wrong way

---

1 My heart has overcome the grief of separation and has gone from this land it has tucked the hem up to the waist and has gone

2 My heart saw among the companions no trace of faithfulness hence it smiled hundred times by way of friendship and went away

44 Sayyid Muhammad [Fikri] [2]

He is a cloth weaver from Hirat He generally composes Ruba'is

---

1 On the day when the lover kindled the fire of love he learnt from his beloved what burning grief is

2 This burning and melting has its origin in the beloved for the moth does not burn till it reaches the candle

---

1 On the day of judgment when nothing remains of the world but the tale the first sign of Eternity's spring will appear

---

[1] Yūsuf means here 1 16 p t non-existence bazaar existence

[2] Sayyid Muhammad's poetical name is *Fikri* the pensive He came according to the *Haft Iqlim* in 963 to India and his excellent rubā'is induced people to call him the Khayyām of the age or Mīr Rubā'ī He died on his way to Jaunpūr in 973 the *tārīkh* of his death being *Mīr Rubā'ī safar namud*

2 The beloved will raise like plants their heads from the dust, and I, too shall raise my head in courtship [1]

45 Qudsi of Karabala, Mir Husayn [2]

I am utterly ashamed of the dogs of thy street, for they have made friendship with a man like me

I am in misery, and you would know the sadness of my lot, if you were instead of me to suffer for one night by being separated from him [the beautiful boy]

Who am I that thou shouldst be my enemy, and shouldst care for my being or not being?

46 Haydari of Tabriz [3]

He is a merchant and a poet, he works hard and spends his gains liberally

Show no one my black book of sorrows let no one know my crimes [love]

[1] Tb s verse rem nds me of a verse by Kalim I think (metre *Rajaz*) —

روز قیامت هر کسی بدست گیرد نامهٔ
من نیز حاضر می شوم تصویر جانان در بغل

Each man on the day of resurre tion will sei e a book (the book of dee ls) I too shall be

in Ind a he sa d —

در کشور هند ساقی و می معلوم
اعضا دل شاد و جان خرم معلوم
جایی که سگک روبه نتوانیم آورد
ایام معلوم و قدر ایام معلوم

O Haydarī, try, like the virtuous, to attain some perfection in this world of sorrow; for to leave this world deficient in anything, is like leaving the bath in a dirty state.

47. Sāmrī

He is the son of the preceding. His versification is good.

My disgrace has made me famous, and my shame [love] has rendered me well known; perplexed I ask myself why I remain concealed.

The farmers have committed their seeds to the field, and now hope to receive aid from the flood of my tears

48 Farebī of Ray (?) [1]

His name is Shāpūr. He is a good man, but is in bad circumstances. If he is diligent, he may become a good poet

---

1. I go and beat my brain with the love of a certain sweetheart; I sit in the midst of the flame, and breathe a hot sigh

---

no equal in ʿIrāq or Khurāsān About that time Shah ʿAbbās came to the place to hunt pheasants (*kabg*). [*Kabk* is the *Chukor* partridge of India—P] It happened that the king's own falcon flew away, and sat down on the house

2 It is not my intention to be in ardours for myself, Shāpūr, my object is to bring a certain sweetheart before the world

I am the thorny shrub without leaves in the desert, no bird takes shelter with me from fear of accidents

1 If the martyr of thy love grief is to have a tomb, let it be the gullets of crows and kites, or the stomachs of wild beasts

2 Until I pass along the torrent of restlessness [love] I cannot plunge into the shoreless ocean

49 Fusuni of Shiraz [1]

His name is Maḥmūd Beg He is an excellent accountant, and knows also astronomy well

When the eye has once learned to see [to love] it loses its peaceful sleep, when the heart has once learned to throb, it loses its rest

The passion which I feel for other lovely ones, has made my heart like a bud which has been forced open by blowing upon it

When I wish to kiss his foot, I first wipe it with my wet eye, for the eye feels, more than lip, the sweet sorrow of kissing his foot

Woe me, if my blood is not shed for the crime of my love! To pardon my faults were worse than to take revenge on me

Sole friend of my chamber! I feel jealous of those who stand outside disappointed Sweet companion of my feast! I feel jealous of the spectators

1 If I flee from thy cruelties tell me what dust I am to scatter on my head when far from thee

2 If I sit in the dust of the earth on which I wander, whose victim shall I be when I arise? [2]

---

[1] Abu l Fazl says that Fusuni was from Shiraz *Badāʾonī* and Taqī call him Yazdī, and Daghistānī and the Ātashkada says that he came from Tabriz *Badāʾonī* says that [illegible]

50 Nādirī of Turshīzī[1]

I am as if blind and wander about seeking for something I pant after this mirage [love], though I hold a cooling drink in my hand

---

Nādirī, I complain of no one; I have myself set fire to this heap of thorns.

51 Nawʿī of Mashhad[2]

He is a poet of talent; if sharply spoken to, he writes very well

---

I am dead, and yet the blisters of my wandering foot do not dry up; neither death nor the life to come can bring the journey towards this stage [love] to a close

---

No eye is fit to behold my glory; my figure in the looking glass even appears veiled

---

If that be Manṣūr's love, do not grieve, O heart Not every weak-minded man is fit to love[3]

---

prince

[3] Manṣur attained a high degree of pantheistic love, he saw God in everything, and at last proclaimed Ana al ḥaqq "I am God"—for which he was killed The poet here accuses Manṣur of weakness because he proclaimed his love, he should have kept it to himself, as is proper for true lovers (*vide* p 625 note 1)

Intrinsic beauty cannot be seen, and he who looks into the looking-glass sees, indeed, his figure, but forms no part of the glass itself [1]

Make thyself a heart as large as the orb of heavens, and then ask for an atom Do not be satisfied, Nawʿī, with a ray of the sun, cherish the lofty aspirations of the little mote [2]

52 Babā Ṭālib of Iṣfahān [3]

He is a thoughtful poet, and is experienced in political matters

---

I would not exchange my lonely corner for a whole world, and I am glad that my intercourse with the people of the world has left me this impression

---

It is no wonder that my little heart expands into a wide plain, when it is filled with thy love

---

I cannot raise from weakness, my hands to my collar, and I am sorry that the rent in my collar reaches so late the hem of my garment [4]

---

1 In being separated from me thou givest me poison to taste and yet askest 'what does it matter?' Thou sheddest my blood, thou drivest me away, and yet askest "What does it matter?"

2 Thou dost not care for the havoc which the sword of separation has made, sift the dust of my grave and thou wilt know what it matters [5]

---

[1] The poet means by the looking glass the beautiful face of the beloved boy He sees in it his woeful figure but does not become one with him

[2] Properly half a mote The dust atoms that play in the sun rays are in love with the sun

[3] ...

[4] Vide p 560 note 1

[5] This Rubaʿi pleased Jahangir so much that he entered it with his own hand in the Court album *Iqbālnāma* loc cit

53 Sarmadi of Isfahan[1]

His name is Sharif He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties His rhyme is excellent He understands arithmetic

---

Fortune has been faithful in my time, I am the memorial tablet of Fate's faithfulness

---

I was at home, and thou camest to me with drunken eyes and with roses under the arm, the very dust of this house of grief budded forth to see the sight of thy arrival

---

1 What have I not done to myself in the heat of transgression! What crimes have I not committed whilst trusting to Providence!

2 I and my heart have soared up to a rose bed, and we are jealous of the zephyr's going and coming

3 A lover has hundreds of wishes besides union with him [the beautiful boy], I still want thee, Fortune, for many things

---

I have in contempt set my foot upon both worlds, neither joy nor sorrow have overpowered my heart

---

1 I cherish a love which will be talked of on the day of resurrection, I cherish a grief which no tale can relate

2 A grief which can coquet with the grief of others which no thought can comprehend and no pen can describe

54 Dakhli of Isfahān[2]

He is a man without selfishness, and of reserved character Though he says but little he is a man of worth

---

[1] Muhammad Sharif was mentioned above on p 581 No 344 as a commander of Two Hundred. *Bada*'*oni* says that he was at first Chauki nawis and is at present (i e 1004) with Sharif i Amuli (p 502) in Bengal He used at first to write under the *takhallus*

1. I have burnt the furniture of my strong and wise heart; I have set fire to the house of my aspirations and burnt it.

2 I have given up heresy and faith, and, half-way between the Ka'ba and the idol temple, I have burnt the sacred thread and the rosary.

---

1. I know of no plaint that has made impression; I know of no evening that was followed by a cheerful morn

2 They say that grief is followed by joy, but this is an error; I know but of sorrows being followed by sorrows.

55 Qāsim Arslān of Mashhad[1]

He possesses some talent He works hard in order to collect wealth, and spends it in a genial way.

I am intoxicated with the pleasures of the society of wits: for there the subtleties of expression vanish at a hint.

Word and thought weep over my circumstances, when without thee I look into the book (of my poems)

My life is half gone—what am I worth now when a single look from thee is valued a hundred lives?

Thou hast the brilliancy of the rose and the colour of wine. How wonderful, what a freshness!

---

such influence with Tahmasp that several legacies (*auqāf*) in Persia belonging to Makkah [illegible]

villag [illegible]
In th [illegible]

Ir [illegible]
to th [illegible]

56 Ghayuri of Hisar [1]

Manliness shines on his forehead and simplicity is the ornament of his life

---

When longing directs its way to that door [love] it overthrows all possibility of returning

---

1 The door of Shah Akbar, the victorious is a paradise of rest,
2 And if I shave my beard I do so not to beautify myself
3 But because beards, like crimes are of a deep black dye and can therefore have no place in a paradise [2]

57 Qāsimi of Mazandaran [3]

He lives as a Faqir, and wanders bare footed and bare headed through the world

---

I do not compare thee in beauty with Yusuf, Yusuf was not so, I do not flatter

---

1 My sickness has increased to night in consequence of the pain of separation and my wretched condition arises from the hundred excesses of yesterday
2 *The wine of desire flows every night freer What shall I to-night* do with my unsteady heart?

58 Sheri [4]

He belongs to a Panjabi family of Shaykhs Under the patronage of his Majesty he has become a good poet

---

The beloved [boy] came and blotted out my name, nay, he made me quite beside myself

---

[1] Ghayuri is called in the *Akbarnāma* Mulla Ghayūri and Daghistānī calls him Ghayuri *of Kābul This shows that he came from Hisar in Kabul and not from Hisār Firūza.* The *Haft Iqlim* tells us that Ghayuri was at first in the service of Mirzā Muhammad Hakim Akbar's brother and king of Kābul On the death of his patron he entered Akbar's service and was a Yuzbāshī or Commander of One Hundred He was killed in 994 with Bir Bar in the Khaybar Pass catastrophe (under 34 p 36)

[2] Akbar in 1000 forced his courtiers to shave off their beards *vide* p 217

[3] Dāghistānī mentions a Qāsim of Māzandaran. Qāsimi seems to be an unknown poet

[4] Mullā Sheri has been mentioned above pp 11[?] 207 21[?] 214 He was born in Kokuwal in the Panjāb (Bari Duāb) His father's name was Mawlānā Yahyā. He belonged to a tribe called in *Badāonī* Maji

Sheri was killed with Bir Bar in 994 in the Khaybar Pass

The beloved has so closely surrounded himself with an array of coquetry, that even Desire found access impossible in this dense crowd

---

O Zephyr, the beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire. I am thy devoted servant, but thou art rather too devoted to his street.

---

1 My heart has polluted itself with revealing its condition Though I am silent, the language of my looks has betrayed me.

2 A little thing [love] offers thousands of difficulties, an object apparently within reach offers hundreds of impossibilities

59 Rahī of Nīshāpūr

His name is Khwāja Jān He is a good man.

---

1 O Rahī, no longer cunningly twist this thread [thy religious belief], give up ideas of future life, beginning, and the purgatory

2 Put the thread into the fire of love, so that the offensive smell of the water of the corpse may not go to hell (?)

* * * * * * *

The above (59) poets were presented at Court There are, however, many others who were not presented, but who sent from distant places to his Majesty encomiums composed by them, as for example, Qāsim of Gūnābād, Zamīr of Isfahān, Wahshī of Bāfa, Muhtashim of Kāshān; Malik of Qum, Zuhūrī of Shīrāz, Walī Dasht Bayāzī, Nekī, Ṣabrī; Figārī, Ḥuzūrī, Qāzī Nūrī of Isfahān, Ṣāfī of Bam, Tawfī of Tabrīz; and Rashkī of Hamadān

A'īn 30 (*concluded*)

THE IMPERIAL MUSICIANS[1]

I cannot sufficiently describe the wonderful power of this talisman of knowledge [music] It sometimes causes the beautiful creatures of the

---

[1] We have to d[illegible] play[illegible] and [illegible] by [illegible] fam[illegible] Dur[illegible] thos[illegible] whe[illegible] he [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible] to Mukund Deo of Orisā

harem of the heart to shine forth on the tongue, and sometimes appears in solemn strains by means of the hand and the chord The melodies then enter through the window of the ear and return to their former seat, the heart, bringing with them thousands of presents The hearers, according to their insight, are moved to sorrow or to joy Music is thus of use to those who have renounced the world and to such as still cling to it

His Majesty pays much attention to music, and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art There are numerous musicians at court, Hindūs, Īrānis, Tūrānis, Kashmiris, both men and women The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week When his Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow, and thus increase intoxication, in some, and sobriety in others

A detailed description of this class of people would be too difficult, but I shall mention the principal musicians

1 Miyān Tansen,[1] of Gwālyār A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years
2 Bābā Rāmdās,[2] of Gwālyar, a singer
3 Subhān Khān, of Gwālyar, a singer
4 Srigyān Khān, of Gwālyār, a singer
5 Miyān Chand, of Gwalyār, a singer
6 Bichitr Khān, brother of Subhan Khān, a singer
7 Muhammad Khān, Dhārī,[3] sings
8 Bir Mandal Khan, of Gwālyar, plays on the *sarmandal*
9 Baz Bahādur, ruler of Malwa, a singer without rival (p 473)
10 Shihāb Khān, of Gwālyar, performs on the *bīn*
11 Da'ūd Dhārī,[3] sings
12 Sarod Khān, of Gwālyār, sings
13 Miyan Lāl,[4] of Gwālyar, sings
14 Tāntarang Khān, son of Miyān Tānsen, sings
15 Mulla Is hāq Dhārī,[3] sings
16 Ustā Dost, of Mashhad, plays on the flute (*nay*)

[1] Regarding Tansen or Tānsain or Tansin *vide* p 445 Rām Chand is said to have once given him one kror of tankas as at present Ibrahim Sur in vain persuaded Tansen to come to Āgra. Abu l Fazl mentions below his son Tantarang Khan, and the *Padishāh* [illegible]

17 Nānak Jarjū, of Gwalyār, a singer
18 Purbin Khān, his son, plays on the *bīn*
19 Sūr Das, son of Babū Rām Das, a singer
20 Chānd Khān, of Gwalyār, sings
21 Rangsen, of Āgra, sings
22 Shaykh Dawan Dhari,[1] performs on the *karnā*
23 Rahmat[u] 'llah, brother of Mullā Is haq (No 15), a singer
24 Mir Sayyid ʿAli, of Mashhad, plays on the *ghichak*
25 Usta Yūsuf, of Hirāt, plays on the *tambūra*
26 Qasim, surnamed Koh bar[2] He has invented an instrument intermediate between the *qubuz* and the *rubāb*
27 Tāsh Beg, of Qipchāq, plays on the *qubuz*
28 Sultan Hafiz Husayn, of Mashhad, chants
29 Bahrām Quli, of Hirāt, plays on the *ghichak*
30 Sultān Hāshim, of Mashhad, plays on the *tambūra*
31 Usta Shāh Muhammad, plays on the *surnā*
32 Usta Muhammad Amīn plays on the *tambūra*
33 Hāfiz Khwāja ʿAli, of Mashhad, chants
34 Mir ʿAbd[u] 'llah, brother of Mir ʿAbd[u] 'l Hay, plays the *Qānūn*
35 Pirzada,[3] nephew of Mir Dawām, of Khurasān, sings and chants
36 Usta Muhammad Husayn, plays the *tambūra*[4]

---

[1] Dhari means 'a singer' "a musician

[2] Koh bar as we know from the *Pādishahnama* (I b p 335) is the name of a Chaghtāʾi tribe The *Nafaʾisʾl Maʾasir* mentions a poet of the name of Muhammad Qasim Kohbar whose *nom de plume* was Sabri *Vide* Sprenger's Catalogue p 50 (where we have to read *Koh bar* for *Guh-paz*)

[3] Pirzada according to *Badaʾoni* (III 318) was from Sabzwar [illegible]

[illegible]

End of Volume I

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 31, note 1

Ṭodar Mal. For correcter and fuller biographical notes, *vide* p 376

Page 35, note 2

Qulij Khān The correct year of his death is given on p 381

Page 36, line 20

Bābāghūrī This word is not in the Dictionaries, but there is no doubt that it means "White Agate" The word is also mentioned in the 4th Book (my Text Edition, II, 60), where it is said that all the weights used at court for weighing jewels were made of "transparent Babaghuri" Ṭahir Naṣrabādī, in his *Taẕkirah*, under Jalal, has the following "When the case came on," he said to Mīrzā Taqī, "I have often counted with the point of my penknife the Babaghuri threads (the veins) of your eye—there are seventeen"

در روز دیوان با میروا تقی میکفت که مکرر سول قلمتراش رنار باباغوری چشم شما را
شمرده ام هفده رنار دارد !!

Page 46, middle

Salaries of the Begams Under Shahjahan and Awrangzib, the queens and princesses drew much higher salaries Thus Mumtāz Maḥall had 10 lakhs per annum, and her eldest daughters 6 lakhs, half in cash and half in lands Awrangzib gave the "Begam Ṣahib' 12 lākhs *per annum*

Regarding Nur Jahan s pension, *vide* p 574, note 3

Page 49, note 7

Gulbadan Begam From Badaoni, II, 14, we see that she was Akbar's paternal aunt, i e she was Humayun s sister She was married to Khizr Khwaja, *vide* pp 207, 394

Page 58, line 4, from top

Sorūn Soro is the correct name of a town and Pargana in Sirkār Kol. It lies east of the town of Kol (ʿAligarh), near the Ganges

Page 58, line 14, from below

Panhān This I believe to be a mistake for "Paṭhan" or "Paṭhānkoṭ" The MSS have پیهان or پـیهان, but as the initial as in MSS. is often written with three dots below it, it is often interchanged with پ and reversely The spelling پیهان *Paithan*, for *Paṭhan*, is common in Muhammadan historians My conjecture is confirmed by the distance mentioned in the text.

Page 69 note 2

KILÁS Mr F S Growse C S informs me that *gilas* is to the present day the Kashmiri term for *cherries*

Page 75 line 7

MAHUWA This partly confirms Elliot's note under *Gulú* (Beames Edition, *Races of the N W Provinces* II p 335) and corrects Shakespeare's Dictionary

Page 77, line 7, from below

PÁN LEAVES In the 3rd Book of the Áʾin (Text p 416 l 20) Abú l Fazl mentions another kind of *pan*, called *Makhi* or *Mukhi* grown in Bihar

Page 84 line 7

QAYSÚRÍ Col Yule tells me that the correct name is FANSÚRÍ According to Marco Polo Fansur was a state in Sumátra probably the modern Barus

Page 87 note

ZIRBÁD This should be ZERBÁD *for zer i bad i e under the wind leeward* the Persian translation as Col Yule informs me of the Malay *Báwah angin* below the wind by which the Malays designate the countries and islands to the east of Sumatra

Kháfí Khán (I p 11) couples Zerbad with Khata over both of which Tulu Khán son of Chingiz Khán ruled

Page 93 note 6

کرکراق I have since seen the spelling کرکراق which brings us a step nearer to etymology *Yaraq means* supellex *and lark means for*

Page 93 line 2 from below

AHMADÁBAD The comma after Ahmadabad may be wrong Ahmadabad is often called Ahmadabad i Gujrat

Page 94 line 17

GHIYÁS I NAQSHBAND We know from the *Ta kira* of Tahir Nasrábadi that Ghiyas was born in Yazd The world has not since seen a weaver like him Besides *he was a good poet Once he brought a piece of mushajjar brocade* on which there was among other figures that of a bear between some trees, to Shah ʿAbbas (1585–1609) when a courtier after praising the stuff admired the bear Ghiyas said on the spur of the moment

خواجه در خرس بیش مست هرکسی مثل خوش مست

The gentleman looks chiefly at the bear Each looks at his own likeness

Bears in the East are looked upon as stupid animals A proverb says

خرس در کوه ابوسینا

A bear on the hill is an Avicenna i e a fool among bigger fools is a philosopher Nasrábadi quotes some of Ghiyas's verses

Page 100, middle

COTTON CLOTHS Of the various cotton cloths mentioned by Abu l Fazl

Chautar was woven in Haweli Sahâranpur
Siri Saf and Bhirau in Dharanga on Khandesh
Gangajal in Sirkar Ghoraghat Bengal
Mihrkul in Allahabâd

and Pachtoliya was mentioned on p 574 in connexion with Nur Jahân

Page 105 note 2

ÂDAM I HAFT HAZARI I find that this expression is much older than Abu l Fazl s time Thus Ziau d Din Barani in his preface to the *Tarikh i Firuzshahi* (p 5 l 6) states that the Khalifa ʿUmar lived seven thousand years after Âdam

Page 107 note 8

ASHRAF KHAN A correcter and fuller biography of this grandee was given on p 423 He died in 983 not 973

Page 108, note 3

KHANDÂN The collection of Delhi MSS belonging to the Government of India has a copy of the *Tazkiratu l Auliya* written by Khandan in 920 A H and yet the *Mirâtu l ʿÂlam* gives 915 as the year of his death

Page 110 note 3 line 4

BECHÛ Though Bechû is a common Hindustani name there is little doubt that the correct name of the saint is Panchu or Panjû *vide* p 607 Badaoni (II 54) gives as *tarikh* of his death the words مسيح سحو and tells the reader to subtract the middle letter (ب) i e 971 − 2 = 969 *Vide* also my Essay on Badaoni and his Works , *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1869 p 118

Page 123 line 18

SANGRÂM Akbar s favourite gun We know from the Tuzuk (p 20) that Akbar killed with it Jatmall the champion of Chitor

Page 129 lines 27 to p 130 line 2

The reader is requested to substitute the following —

Elephants are found in the following places In the Subah of Âgrah in the jungles of Bayawan and Narwar as far as Barar in the Subah of Ilâhâbad in the confines of Pannah (Bhath) Ghorâ, Ratanpur Nandanpur Sirguja, and Bastar in the Subah of Malwah, in Handiah Uchhod Chanderi, Santwas Bijagarh Râisin Hoshangâbâd Garha, and Hariagarh in the Subah of Bihâr about Rohtas and in Jharkhand and in the Subah of Bengal in Orisa and in Sâtgân The elephants from Pannah are the best

Page 179 note 3

Sulayman Kararani reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980

Page 192, note 1

Prince Murad was born on the 3rd Muharram, 978 *Badaoni* II 132 *Vide* below

Page 203 middle and note

In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for May 1870 (p 146) I have shown that the unclear words in Badāonī's text are —

کالاں کہ خوشگاہ ایشان است

the cunabula which is their time of mirth

By cunabula the Jesuits meant the representations of the birth of Christ in wax etc which they used to exhibit in Āgrah and Lāhor

Page 281 line 8

The Sadr read the *khutbah* in the name of the new king and thus the *julus* became a fact *Khafi Khan* I p 52 l 2 from below

Page 282, middle

MAWLĀNĀ ʿABDᵘ L-BĀQĪ *Vide* p 596 note 3

Page 321

AKBAR'S WIVES For *Raqiyah* the diminutive form *Ruqayyah* is to be substituted Regarding Jodh Bai *vide* next note

Sulta Salima Begum She is the daughter of Gulrukh Begum a daughter of Babar Mirzᵘ Nurᵘ d Din Muhammad Gulrukh's husband was a Naqshbandi Khwaja

Gulrukh Begum must not be confounded with another Gulrukh Begum who was the daughter of Mirza Kamran and wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza (*vide* p 516)

Of other women in Akbar's harem I may mention (1) the daughter of Qazi ʿIsa (p 498) (2) an Armenian woman *Tuzuk* p 324 *Vide* also Keane's *Agra Guide* p 38 (3) Qasimyah Bānu married by Akbar in the 19th year (*Akbarn* III 94) (4) a daughter of Shamsᵘ d Din Chak (*Akbarn* III 659)

SULTAN MURĀD He was married to a daughter of Mirza ʿAziz Koka (p 343) Their child Sultān Rustam did not live long (*Akbarn* III 539 552)

SULTĀN DANYAL The correct date of his birth seems to be the 2nd Jumada I 979 not the 10th but the MSS continually confounded دوم and دهم His first wife was a daughter of Sultan Khwaja (p 466), by whom he had a daughter of the name of Saʿadat Banu Begum who was born in 1000 (*Akbarn* III 643)

Page 323

JAHĀNGIR'S WIVES An additional list was given on p 533 note 1 Besides them I may mention (1) a daughter of Mubarak Chak of Kashmir (2) a daughter of Husain Chak of Kashmir (*Akbarn* III 659) (3) another Kashmiri lady mentioned in *Akbarn* III 639

Page 329 middle

DEATH OF MIRZA RUSTAM Thus the date is given in the *Maasirᵘ l Umara* but from the *Padshahnama* (II 30) we see that Mirza Rustam died on or a few days before the 1st Rabiʿ I 10.. The author adds a remark that the manners (*awdaʿ*) of the Mirza did not correspond to his noble birth which was perhaps due to the absence of nobility in his mother

Page 329 line 4 from below

QARĀ QUILI TURKS. The correct name is Qaraqoinlu The Calcutta Chaghtai Dictionary gives Qaraqunlu Vambery (*History of Bokhara* p 26 note) mentions

the Ustajlu Shāmlu Nikallu Baharlu Zu l Qadr Kajar and Afshār as the principal Turkish tribes that were living in Transcaucas a o the southern shore of the Caspian and in the west of Khurā an Qaraqo nlu means the black sheep tribe

Page 33? note 1

The correct name of the place where Bayrām was defeated is Guna hur گوناچور which l es S E of Jal n lhar The word کنور پیلور wh ch the B bl I dica E on of Bada on g ves conta ns Phillaur wh ch l e S W of Gunachur

Page 342 note

I do not th nk that P r Muh an mad came from the Sharwān ment oned in this note It is more l kely that he was a Sh rwani Afghan

Page 343 note

This note has been corrected on p 445 l ne 14 and p 458 note

Page 349 l ne 6 from below

Zu l Qadr is the name of a Turkman tribe vide above

Page 361 last line

Gogaṇda Regarding the correct date of the battle vide p 460 note 2

Page 376

Todar Mal The *Ma ās r ul Umara* says that Todar Mal was born at Lahor But it is now certa n that Todar Mal was born at Laharpur in Audh vide *Proceedings Asiat c Soc ety Bengal* September 1871 p 178

Page 40? note 2

Miyān Kāl The note is to be cancelled M yan Kal has been explained on p 615 note

Page 404 line 4

Yūsuf Khān Regard ng his death vide *Tuzuk* p 328 H s son ʿIzzat Khān is wrongly called in the B bl Ind ca Ed t on of the *Pādishahnāma* (I b p 30?) عزت خان H s name was ʿAz z ullah hence his t tle ʿ*Izzat*

Page 412 l ne 1

Qāsim Khān I dare say the phrase Chamanara Khurasan merely means that he was Governor of Kābul

Page 413 l ne 24

Bāqī Khān He is often called Khan Baqi Khan

Page 423 l ne 15

Mir Bābūs The spell ng I gur is now common but in Ind a the word is pronounced " Ighur The query may be cancelled vide p 488 note 1

Page 435 line 9

Dastam Khān Vambéry spells " Dostum

Page 454, middle

Shaykh Farīd-i Bukhārī That the name of Farīd's father was Sayyid Ahmad-i Bukhārī, may be seen from the short inscription on the "Bukhārī Mosque" in the town of Bihār, which was built by Shaykh Lād, at the cost of Farīd-i Bukhārī, and bears the date 16th Rajab, 1017

Mr J G Delmerick has sent me the following inscription from Farīd's Jāmiʿ Masjid in Farīdābād —

بعهد شاه نور الدین جهانگیر	شهنشاهی عدل و داد واحسان
اساس این بنای خیر بنهاد	فرید عصر و ملت مرتضی خان
سر و شوکت و جود و سخاوت	خلف ابن الخلف با شاه مردان
رقم خیر البقاع از خامه سرزد	پی تاریخ این جاوید بنیان

1 *In the reign of Shah Nuru d Din, a king who is pious, just, and liberal,*

2 *Murtaza Khan, the unique one (farid) of the age and faith, erected this religious building*

3 *He is honoured, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men (ʿAli)*

4 *As Tārikh of this lasting structure the words Khayru l Biqāʿ issued from the pen*

This gives 1014 A H

Page 468, middle

Khwāja Tāhir Muhammad He is mentioned as a Sijistani on p 523 among the Bakhshis

Page 476, note 1

Maʿsum Khān-i Kabuli This rebel who gave Akbar no end of trouble had the audacity to assume royal prerogatives in Bengal The following inscription I received through Bābu Rajendralal Mitra from Raja Pramatha Nath Raja of Dighaputi Rajshāhi It was found in a ruined mosque at a village called Chatmohor not very far from Dighaputi

این مسجد رفیع در زمان سلطان الاعظم عمدة السادات ابو الفتح محمد معصوم خان خلد الله ملکه ابدا یا رب و یا باقی باکرد خان رفیع مکان عالیشان خان محمد بن توی محمد خان قاقشال فی سنه تسع و ثمانین و تسعمایه

This lofty mosque was built during the time of the great Sultan, the chief of Sayyids, Abu l Fath Muhammad Khan—May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever O Lord O Thou who remainest! by the high and exalted Khan Khan Muhammad son of Tui Muhammad Khan Qaqshāl in the year 989

This was therefore nearly two years after the outbreak of the Bengal Military Revolt (9th Zi Hijjah 987) vide p. 486

Page 485, line 7

Sayyid Muhammad Regarding the correct date of his death vide p 548

Page 499, line 27

Surat There is every probability that Sorath and not Sūrat, is intended

Page 506

THE GAKKHARS *Vide* pp 544 545

The places Pharwala and Dangali (دنگلی not Dangali) mentioned in the note as the principal places in the Gakkhar District are noticed in E Terry's *Voyage to East India* (London 1655 p 88) *Kakares* the principal Cities are called *Dekalee* and *Purhola* it is a large Province but exceeding mountainous divided it is from Tartaria by the Mountain Caucasus it is the extremest part North under the *Mogol's* subjection

De Laet also gives the same passage

Page 512 line 1

YARAQ KHAN The correct name is I believe Boraq Khan *Vide* Vambéry's *Bokhara*, p 153

Page 552 middle

KUCH HAJU Regarding Kuch Hajū and Kuch B har and Mukarram Khan *vide* my a ticle on these countries in *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1872 p 54

Page 553 line 5

GHAZNIN KHAN of Jālor

The Pahlunpūr family is of Afghan origin belonging to the Lohanī tribe and it is said occupied Bihar in the reign of Humayun They subsequently took service w th the king of Dihli and from Akbar Shah in A D 1597 Ghaznin Khan the chief obtained the title of Diwan for having successfully repulsed an invasion of Afghan tribes for his services on this occasion he was also rewarded with the government of Lahor In A D 1682 Fath Khan Diwan received the provinces of Jalor Sanchor Pahlunpur, and D sah from Awrangzib Fath Khan d ed in 1688 leaving an only son Pir Khan who was supplanted in his rights by his uncle Kamal Khan who subsequently being unable to withstand the increasing power of the Rathors of Marwar was compelled in A D 1698 to quit the country (Jalor) and retire with his family and dependents to Pahlunpur where the family has remained ever since —*Selections Bombay Government Records* No XXV —*New Series* p 15

Page 591 line 27

ALI QULI BEG ISTAJLU Vambery spells Ustajlu which is the name of a Turkish tribe *vide* p 687

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54	30	top	ʿAbu l Qad r	ʿAb lu l Qād r
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